SOAPBOX -- by Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED to the Supreme Court of the U. S. of America?

What are the reasons in back of its continued refusal to review the case of a Negro sharecropper?

Why is it the Supreme Court will not even give reasons for its refusal?

It cannot be possible that politics has at last invaded the one great bulwark of civil liberties of our nation. And yet, some un-American menace has cast its shadow over that body. Unless you, the people, flood Washington with letters of protest, a Negro sharecropper, Odell Waller, will be executed Friday, the 19th of June, in this year of our Lord 1942.

On Monday, July 15, 1940, a 23-year-old Negro sharecropper of Gretna, Va., arrived at his former landlord's house to receive his pay. His pay was 50 bags of wheat, earned [illegible] for Oscar Davis, white tenant farmer. He was met by a [illegible] language. Finally, the landlord ran his hand into [illegible] trying to pull out a gun. Odell Waller whipped his [illegible] him.

The sharecropper pleaded self-defense, but the Circuit Court of Appeals of Pittsylvania County, Va., condemned him and the Virginia Supreme Court refused to grant him an appeal.

High and above this one case of many stands the whole issue of the Bill of Rights, as it affects not only Negroes, but whites as well—an American citizen shall always be tried by a jury composed of peers or equals of the [illegible] rights it is summoned to determine. It shall be composed of persons having the same legal status in society as that which the accused holds.

Odell Waller was a sharecropper, but there were no sharecroppers on his jury. In fact, in Pittsylvania County, over 80 per cent of the population is barred from jury lists because they cannot pay the poll tax. Odell Waller was tried before a jury of ten farmers, one business man and one carpenter, most of whom employed sharecroppers. It costs more than a week's income in order to be a voting citizen in the state of Virginia. Only one Negro in every 125 cast a ballot in Odell Waller's county.

The Workers' Defense League has done a great job to date in trying to make justice out of injustice. They have been bucking a head tide all the way. Unless we, the people, rise up and flood the Supreme Court with appeals, not only Odell Waller will die on June 19, but democracy will suffer another reverse and the future of justice for both black and white sharecroppers in the poll tax states of the South will be exceedingly dark.

Odell Waller cannot die, not for the sake of himself, but for the sake of that vast united section of America where justice still hangs, lynched from the courthouse tree.

PITTSBURGH COURIER

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1942

A PENALTY FOR THE COLOR BAR

This newspaper thinks the Government should stop pussyfooting on the question of the color bar in war industries and impose stiff penalties on those contractors discriminating against Negro workers.

Last week the Senate Naval Affairs Committee approved legislation to deprive of citizenship any Navy contractor convicted during wartime of defrauding the Government by padding payrolls, or charging for work done on private orders.

This supreme penalty would be in addition to a maximum of $10,000 fine and ten years imprisonment.

This newspaper believes that the barring of citizens from employment or promotion in war industries because of color or ancestry is a far worse crime than padding payrolls and should be punished accordingly.

Frankly, we are disappointed with the results so far achieved by the Fair Employment Practice Committee in opening jobs for Negroes.

The Committee is an excellent one and is undoubtedly sincere in its desire to carry out the President's wishes, but the Committee lacks power to punish, and without such power its efforts are almost futile.

It is plainly up to Congress to supply the Committee with the weapon to effectively fight the color bar in war industry, and it should do so with as great speed as it has placed other powers at the disposal of the Executive.

Many firms are obeying the LETTER of the President's order by hiring a token force of Negro workers, but very few are obeying the SPIRIT of his order and employing and promoting workers on merit and regardless of color or ancestry.

When they know that they are liable to heavy fine, imprisonment and loss of citizenship, contractors will definitely and sincerely end the unpatriotic color bar—and probably not until then.

WEST INDIAN REVOLT

The brief but violent labor revolt in Nassau, Bahamas, last week was to be expected.

Both United States and West Indian Negroes protested from the very beginning against the unholy agreement between British and American authorities establishing a sharp wage differential between white and black workers employed on U.S. bases. They were protested.

In Brmuda, Jamaica, Trinidad, Nassau and at other places where American installations are being established in accordance with the Lease-Lend Agreement, black workers are receiving less than white workers both on skilled and unskilled work, although both must pay the same for the necessaries of life.

In Nassau, black workers revolted against a daily wage of only 81 cents for unskilled labor and probably not much more for skilled labor, which also is the average black wage elsewhere in the British West Indies paid by U.S. contractors.

Local planters and employers in all the islands violently protested against black workers receiving more than the highest Negro prevailing wage, and American authorities agreed with them.

At most the skilled black workers got no more than $2 or $3 a day, when they are employed at all, while alongside them are white men getting three times that much or more, and often these white men are aliens—Americans.

Skilled Negro workers from the United States who would have to be paid the same salary as white skilled Americans, have not been engaged for work in the West Indies, thanks to an "understanding" between the British and American authorities, which both sides deny.

With the cost of living skyrocketing in the Caribbean, thanks to the traditional importation of certain staple foodstuffs and the increasing severity of submarine warfare, a living wage is imperative, and should either be increased with each rise in the cost of living or the latter should be frozen.

In any event, there is no excuse whatever for the United States catering to the whims of local island exploiters and maintaining this wage differential based on color.

Black labor in the West Indies and elsewhere should receive the same wages and the same opportunities as white labor, if this is to be regarded as a war for democracy.

LA GUARDIA RAPS ARMED SERVICE JIM CROW

LAUNCH DRIVE TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION

N.Y. Mayor Signs Petition To President Asking Bias Be Dropped

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.—Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia on Friday, May 29, formally launched a nation-wide campaign of the Union for Democratic Action to eliminate discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces by signing the first petition to President Roosevelt in the presence of a distinguished inter-racial committee headed by Dr. Frank Kingdon, president of the Union for Democratic Action. The UDA expects to gather 1,000,000 signatures to the petition.

"I sign this petition gladly," the mayor told Dr. Kingdon and the delegation, which included Fannie Hurst, noted novelist; Alfred Baker Lewis, Frank R. Crosswaith, Jack Altman, and Dr. William Agar, all members of the board of the Union for Democratic Action; J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks; Mary L. Simkhovitch, director of Greenwich House; and Rachael V. Corrothers, exeutive secretary of the Harlem Riverside Civilian Defense Volunteer Organization.

Newbold Morris, president of the City Council, also attended the ceremonies at City Hall. "I believe that advances have been made in combatting discrimination," the mayor said, "through the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. But we still have a long way to go. Public opinion must be aroused to support every move for justice to all our people."

In presenting the petition to the mayor, Dr. Kingdon said:

"In a war for democracy we should begin by exemplifying democracy in our own country. The outstanding aspect of our undemocratic practice is discrimination against Negroes. The obvious place to begin fighting against discrimination is in our armed forces. We are therefore petitioning the President to take action to eliminate such discrimination, and we are asking you, Mr. Mayor, as an outstanding exponent of democracy, to sign the first petition, thus launching the Union for Democratic Action's campaign to obtain 1,000,000 signatures."

The text of the petition addressed to the President follows:

"In the name of the democracy and freedom we are fighting to defend, we respectfully urge you to take immediate steps to eliminate the discrimination which still exists in our armed forces. Despite the slight improvements already made, there remains:

"(1) The numerical restriction against Negroes in the Air Corps.

"(2) No clear assurance that Negroes will be accepted in the Navy for fighting service at sea.

"(3) The continued refusal to accept the constructive proposal that a voluntary interracial unit be set up in the Army.

"To give meaning to the present struggle, to enlist the all-out energies of 13,000,000 Negro citizens, we ask for action in these matters."

ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES!

Petition to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,

Mr. President:

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To give meaning to the present struggle, to enlist the all-out energies of 13,000,000 Negro citizens, we ask for action in these matters.

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE

PLEASE HAVE THIS PETITION FILLED IN AND RETURN WITHOUT DELAY TO:

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

120 East 16th Street, New York City

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Chairman — GRamercy 5-4779 — FRANK KINGDON, President

248

[redacted] are approximately [redacted] hired up and down the [redacted] coast. That there also are [redacted] machinists hired after chasing out the attitudes of prejudice.

When stating that the Negroes are only "technically free," he was greeted with a burst of applause.

[redacted] PLAYS [redacted]

Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, in a scathing speech flayed the Southern influence which almost completely dominates all branches of the Federal Government and whose sole desire is to keep the Negroes oppressed, "instead of demonstrating the vision and courage which would galvanize the colored peoples of the world into a dynamic, uncompromising struggle against the Axis."

He quoted the words of Sumner Wells on Memorial Day, that "our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."

"The plain, bitter truth," he further stated, "is that thinking and action on the problem of race in our country are determined almost completely by the most Fascist-minded elements in the deepest and darkest South."

He vehemently denounced the Southerners who have all of the important committees in hand, which included Carter Glass of Virginia on appropriations; "Cotton Ed" Smith, South Carolina, on agriculture; Tom Connally, Texas, foreign relations; George of Georgia, finance; Reynolds, North Carolina, military affairs; Byrd, Virginia, rules; McKellar, Tennessee, postoffices and post roads; Sumners, Texas, judiciary, "who openly boasted he would never permit even a hearing on any anti-lynching bill as long as he was chairman and today his committee refuses to report out the anti-poll tax bill." At the mention of each name, both of the House and Senate, loud boos were heard.

He concluded in asking these questions: "How can the Negro in the light of the record believe the fine brave words about democracy when tonight Odell Waller sits in death row in a Virginia prison, scheduled to die Friday night because he dared defend himself from being killed by a white landlord? How can a Negro believe in democracy when the Army and Navy of his government say to him: 'You can fight and die for democracy, but you can't experience it in the Army and Navy'?" Asking in the same breath that the United Nations prove to colored people in Asia, Africa and the Carribean that this is a war for freedom, a freedom we desire and intend to have.

A. Philip Randolph, the last speaker of the evening, delivered the keynote speech that the large audience had patiently waited for, which began at 11 o'clock, and for one full hour he denounced the un-American practices of prejudice encountered in the different sections, plants, Government offices throughout the nation, branding these agencies as "setting the pat- and pace of Jim Crow, segre-

20,000 CHICAGOANS CHEER A. PHILIP RAND

STAGES MILITANT PROTEST AGAINST DISCRIMINATIONS

By GARFIELD L. SMITH Jr.

CHICAGO, July 2.—All roads in Chicago, the city of "I Will," led to the huge Coliseum Friday night, when 20,000 Negroes forwarded an energetic protest to Washington through the March-On-Washington Committee. They came from every walk and station of life silently, intently, with much concern about the things and the purpose about to be exposed; they came to hear the much-heralded, militant leader A. Philip Randolph, leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The multitude began their trek as early as 6 p.m. and at 7:30 practically every seat in the house had been filled. It was no deluge for the illiberal or the skeptics, but a voice of solidarity as the colorful organization cheered, booed and showed their approval in a vehement and vociferous manner way past the hour of midnight.

CAPACITY CROWD

Attorney Charles W. Burton, regional director for the movement, announced that their expectations had been realized when amplifiers were serving the thousands who were unable to get into the hall. Also that a committee had toured through the Southside and the scheduled blackout from 9 to 10 p.m. had been a success.

One of the speakers, David M. Grand, representing the St. Louis unit of the March-On-Washington committee, spoke of the trouble Negroes encountered in his city with a company "who lease and operate a plant built and owned by our own Federal Government, and the largest of its kind in the world for the production of small arms and munitions, now employs 21,000 workers, of whom only 600 are Negroes, and these employed as porters and common laborers. Of this total number of employes, merely 9,000 are women, ALL WHITE; not a single Negro woman in the plant."

GET RESULTS FROM MARCH

On Saturday, June 20, he stated that "over 500" Negroes resentfully marched around the plant, carrying banners "condemning and denouncing discrimination in employment because of race. The daily papers took pictures and ran stories about the march. Washington sent in mediators. The community was aroused, and still is aroused."

He further stated as a result of the march, which was not necessary beyond two days, "the wages of Negro porters were raised 10 cents per hour. Four days following the march, 72 Negro women were placed. But no Negroes are on the production line at the company," he flaunted.

OUTLINED FEP WORK

Milton P. Webster, [illegible] the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, rendered a magnificent outline of the functioning of his committee, and the investigation of "certain places for Negroes to work" and "certain places Negroes should not work," even though in lowly paid positions. He stated that until the committee [illegible]

gation and discrimination based upon race and color in America."

The well known leader, typically in his own inimitable style, stated that he would not imply that all Southerners are anti-Negro, and cited such figures as Dr. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Audrey Williams of the NYA; Clark Foreman, Will Alexander and others. As for Martin Dies, the last name should be changed from "D" to "L."

He cited the attitudes of the USO canteen workers, who run out to trains loaded with soldiers, give them cigarets, candy and refreshments, and upon finding they are Negro soldiers and sailors refuse to serve them, "though they are Uncle Sam's boys on their way to fight for democracy."

Stating that rumors were out that he had ambitions for staying in politics, he wanted to set them at rest. "I don't want anything that the President has to give. I don't want to be in the cabinet. I don't want to be ambassador to any nation. I don't want to go to Congress. I only want one thing, and that is I propose to dedicate my life to the task of helping to stop these white people from pushing Negroes around." He was greeted with a long, lasting round of applause.

He raised the question, "How can you love God, Whom you have not seen, and hate your brother whom you have seen? How can we fight for Burma, a country we have not seen, when we don't have democracy in Birmingham, a city we have seen? How can we carry the Four Freedoms to Manilla in the Pacific, when we don't have the Four Freedoms in Mississippi, in the Atlantic?"

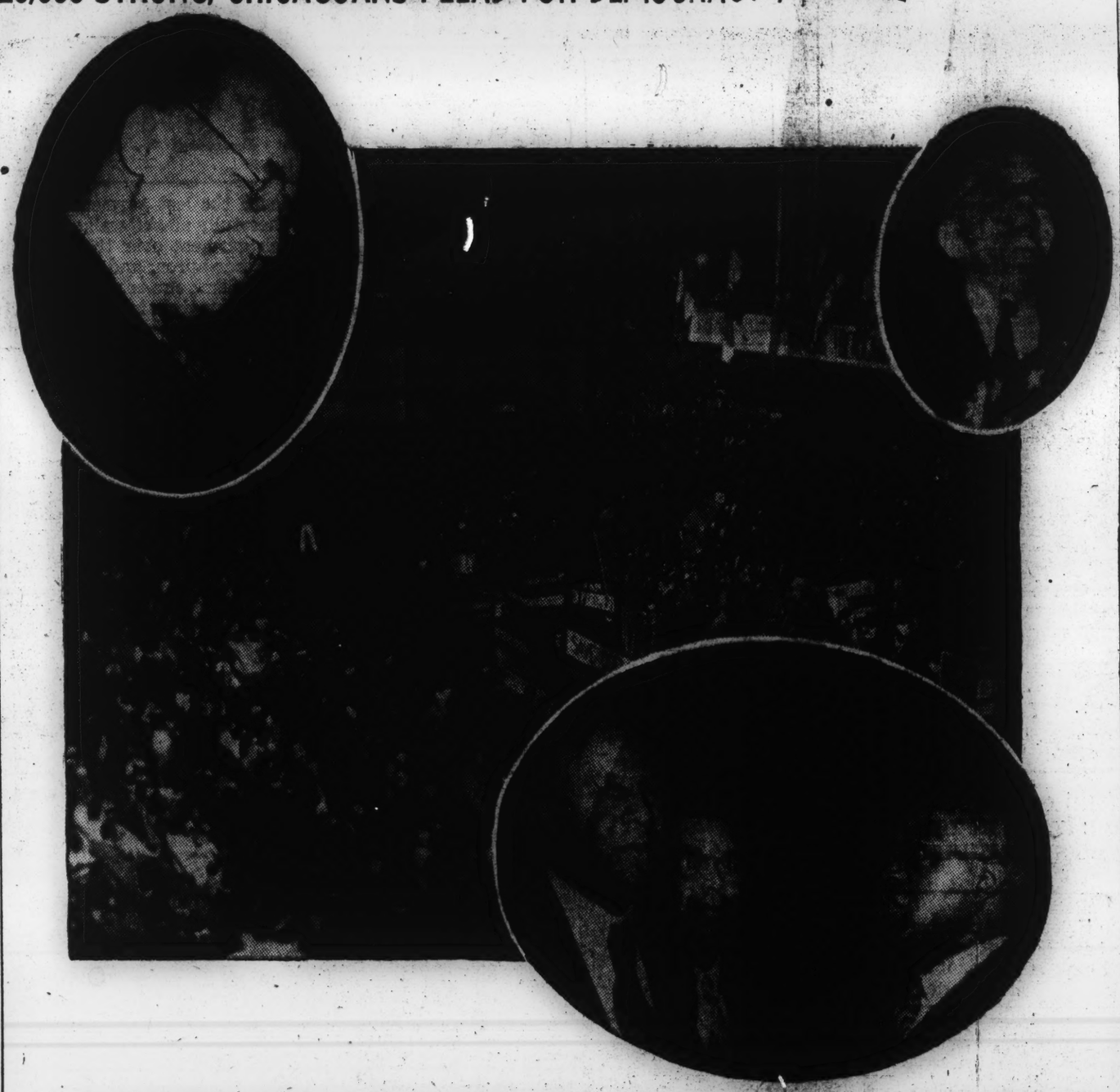
NO COMPROMISE

Concluding the 60-minute speech, he stated, "Undaunted and undismayed we shall not compromise. We shall not retreat a single step and we will be heard."

Others to apppear on the program were Rev. Archibald Carey, pastor of Woodlawn AME church; Mrs. Fannie Baxter, president of the Chicago and Northern District Association of Colored Women; Mrs. Ethel L. Payne, Attorney J. Ernest Wilkins, president of Cook County Bar association.

A playlet, entitled "The Watchword is Forward," written by Dick [illegible]ell of New York, who came to Chicago for the affair, was interesting, inspiring and well received by the audience, revealing some of the many prejudices encountered when Negroes attempt to be taken on equal terms in all walks of life.

20,000 STRONG, CHICAGOANS PLEAD FOR DEMOCRACY AT HOME



In the old historic Coliseum at Chicago, 20,000 militant, vocal Negro Americans gathered last Friday night at a huge protest rally staged under the auspices of the March-On-Washington Committee, to hear inspiring orations from national leaders against segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, industry and government. Top left: Atty. Charles W. Burton, regional director, was chairman of the meeting. Top right: Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, lambasted the Southern legislators who control important Congressional machinery and prevent Negroes from obtaining their full rights. Center: A partial panorama of the crowd which overflowed into the streets. Bottom right: A. Philip Randolph, leader of the movement, shakes hands with A. N. Fields, manager of The Courier Chicago office.—Photos by George Myles.

SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1942

PHILIP RANDOLPH

T HOME

icans gathered last Friday night Committee, to hear inspiring ora- forces, industry and government. ng. Top right: Walter White, sec- mbasted the Southern legislators aining their full rights. Center: A : A. Philip Randolph, leader of the ice.—Photos by George Myles.

SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1942

The Pittsburgh Courier

RANDOLPH-POWELL MAY SPLIT OVER RECENT VICTORY RALLY

NEW YORK CITY, July 2—Harlem leaders engaged in a controversy over the Victory Rally sponsored in New York Sunday. Ranged on one side were A. Philip Randolph, head of the March-On-Washington movement, Frank A. Crosswaith, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Ashley L. Totten, secretary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

On the opposing front were Councilman-Publisher Adam Clayton Powell Jr., James W. Ford, Communist leader and other sponsors of the rally.

First indication of opposition to the meet was seen in a statement released by Randolph several days ago, carried in the New York World-Telegram. Randolph branded the Negro Labor Victory Committee a "Communist front," which he alleged was attempting to undermine the March-On-Washington movement.

On Thursday Paul McNutt, War Man-Power Commission head, billed as principal speaker, was petitioned on Monday by telegrams signed by the anti-rally spokesman not to appear. The telegram charged the meeting was promoted by Communists who had no support from authentic Negro groups, but instead "are capitalizing on" McNutt's name to underscore the groups now in existence.

McNutt, who it was said had consulted Archibald MacLeish, head of the Office on Facts and Figures, before accepting the speaking engagement, was understood to have discounted the telegram on the strength of a report on the sponsors given him by MacLeish.

Harlemites raised their eyebrows at the frontal attack made on the rally sponsors, realizing that the attack meant a possible rift between Randolph and Powell. The latter's publication, The People's Voice, is one of the three sponsoring organizations.

Saturday, July 11, 1942

"Land of The Noble Free"

By LAYLE LANE

ON JULY 2 Odell Waller paid with his life for a crime unjustly charged as first degree murder; while just before then the liberalism of Franklin D. Roosevelt toward the Negro was likewise sniffed out by the hatter of reactionary Southern politics.

Just now Mr. Roosevelt has legislation on Congress which he wants the Southern Democrats to help put over. He will do nothing then to antagonize the Solid South and especially the Byrd-Glass machine in Virginia. Neither a full page open letter to the President signed by a host of distinguished citizens petitioning Mr. Roosevelt to make a public appeal to Governor Darden for a commission of inquiry nor the determined efforts of a committee to reach the President with the same request had any effect. The President refused to act on the ground that the advice of the Attorney General stated there was no basis in law by which he could intervene.

For eight hours and more a committee headed by A. Philip Randolph tried to get their plea over to the President. The experience of that run around will ever remain a bitter incentive to greater and greater organization.

Mr. Randolph presented an able plea for the President to issue a public appeal to Governor Darden for a commission of inquiry first because of the fact that Waller was not tried by a jury of his peers, and secondly because in the interest of Negro morale, every opportunity for the issues of the case to be determined impartially should be made. The Waller case had become a symbol to Negroes of their oppression in their homeland and if the President acted there would be the hope that the Government was concerned with justice for the Negro. Indeed each member of the delegation made a forthright statement of what the Negro is thinking and feeling nationally about the Waller case and about the necessity of having an equal share in American life.

We were listened to courteously but impassively. It was made clear to us that the Attorney General had already sent in his opinion to the President. Nothing we said made any change in that decision though we were told our attitude would be made known to the Attorney General and to the President. The Mooney case was not at all similar, for there was a doubt of Mooney's throwing the bomb—none that Waller had shot Davis. The doubtful evidence of premeditation in Waller's case did not seem an important consideration—certainly not enough to warrant a public appeal for an impartial commission.

Mr. Berge rather callously suggested there had been other cases of injustice before Waller's and doubtless there would be more after his case. He wondered whether there would be the same concern and activity. The irony of an official of the Department of Justice indicating that public activity about every case of injustice would be a headache is indicative that more rather than less concern must be shown by Mr. Citizen about what goes on in the courts.

From the Department of Justice, we went to a conference with the secreatry of Vice President Wallace. Mr. Young, a tall, stout man from Texas, was easy-going, deliberately friendly, determnied to speak encouragingly to us but equally determined not to disturb the Vice President with the Waller case. His advice was to reach Mrs. Roosevelt, for if anyone could help it was she. However, he promised to phone the Vice President and would let us know results in another half hour. While waiting outside, Mr. Wallace appeared on his way to his office. He spoke to Mrs. Bethune but as she stepped forward with a request to speak to him he turned away intentionally. Such a rebuff from the Vice President was completely unexpected and shocking. Even though he intended to take no action he could at least have received the delegation.

This together with the apparent futility of our mission encouraged our discussing a picket line around the White House.

[redacted]

ing of June 29. —

Whether it was thought quicker or more favorable action could be secured if Government officials know about a proposed picket line is not clear, but Mrs. Bethune informed Mr. Davis' office of it. While at dinner we were told an appointment with Mr. Davis was being

SAYS 'MARCH ON WASHINGTON'

McCRAY BELIEVES METHODS USED BY GROUP ARE HARMFUL

By GEORGE F. McCRAY
(Labor Editor, Associated Negro Press)

CHICAGO, July 16. (ANP)—Perhaps the March-On-Washington movement is not as seditious as many people in Chicago are saying it is; perhaps A. P. Randolph is the strong leader editorials in the Negro press describe him as being; however, the methods which the March-On-Washington crowd is using to organize Negro communities to protest our legitimate grievances constitutes a grave menace to the interest of Negro labor. This is the only conclusion to draw after hearing Randolph's reckless "we-don't-give-a-damn" speech before 12,000 Chicago citizens last week.

In that meeting in Chicago, Randolph and Walter White and a drama written for the occasion, accomplished at least two things. The first is an intensification of racial antagonisms and suspicions thus making interracial labor cooperations more difficult at a time when we need it most. Secondly, the meeting will undoubtedly weaken the Negro worker's desire, as well as that of other Negroes, to give enthusiastic support to the war effort. These two effects are the inevitable results of the narrow racial basis upon which the March-On-Washington crowd is recruiting members.

HAMPERS WAR EFFORT BY MISGUIDED EMPHASIS

In spite of the hurried qualifications and slight exceptions which were sprinkled through the major speeches, the sum total message was that undemocratic elements here in the United States are far more dangerous to Negroes than is a victorious fascism. Only passing reference was made to the supreme task of defeating Hitler and winning the war.

However, quite a point was made of the "crackerism" of men like Congressman Rankin. Yet, Hitler represents Rankin "crackerism" magnified a thousand fold. Not a word was said to point Hitler out as the world's champion Negro hater and that Negroes in self defense like other American citizens should direct all of their energies toward his defeat.

Does this omission mean that Randolph and White are Axis agents? It most certainly does not. The very idea is perfectly ridiculous. However, their overemphasis, or better, disproportionate emphasis on our domestic ills would blind Negroes to the greater menace of Hitlerism.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR TOUCHED BY WHITE

Walter White touched the core of our problem when he stated we must fight for the right to fight for democracy. In spite of Randolph's eloquence, maximum use of the military and productive manpower represented in Negroes is not mainly or exclusively the problem of Negroes. It is the problem of all our citizens, white or black, and it is our duty, since we understand the problem better, to convince our fellow citizens who are white of the urgent need to remove all barriers to the full participation of Negroes in the war program.

In this latter undertaking it is destructive of national unity to argue that we should not welcome the support of all our citizens who wish to lend a hand in this fight whether he be Jew, Catholic, yellow, white or brown.

After all, is it not from various members of these groups that we are seeking some recognition of our claim for equal participation in American life. Are we to reject that recognition when it is offered to us?

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, GOOD AND BAD

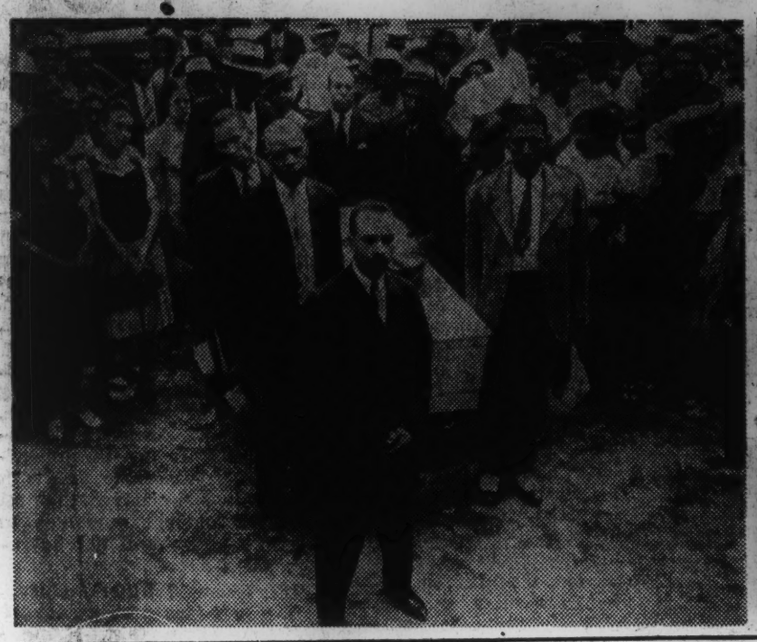
While Randolph called American democracy a miserable failure his associate Walter Webster gave a report which convinced me that in spite of our national shortcomings compared to what we should be, America is still the most democratic country in the world today. Our democracy is not the democracy at which all this talk was going on held anywhere in continental Europe where Hitler has established his power.

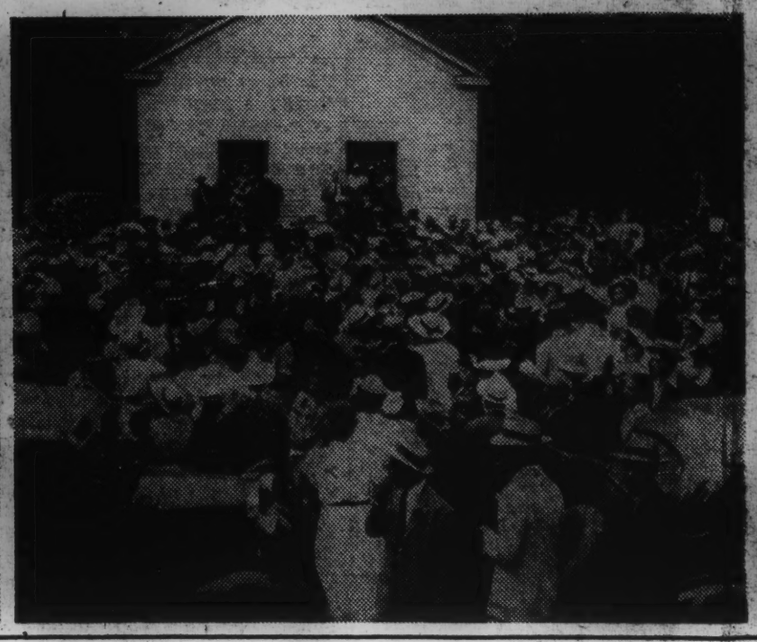
The only positive statement of what we have at stake came from Webster, who as a member of the President'st Committee on Fair Employment Practices, gave an impressive account of what the committee had been able to achieve. To me this speech meant one thing: that in America a minority can make tremendous gains toward equality if organized and led by men with sense enough to express the interest of that minority in terms of the interests of the whole nation. How otherwise can a minority cease to be a minority with special problems?

GRAVE ERRORS

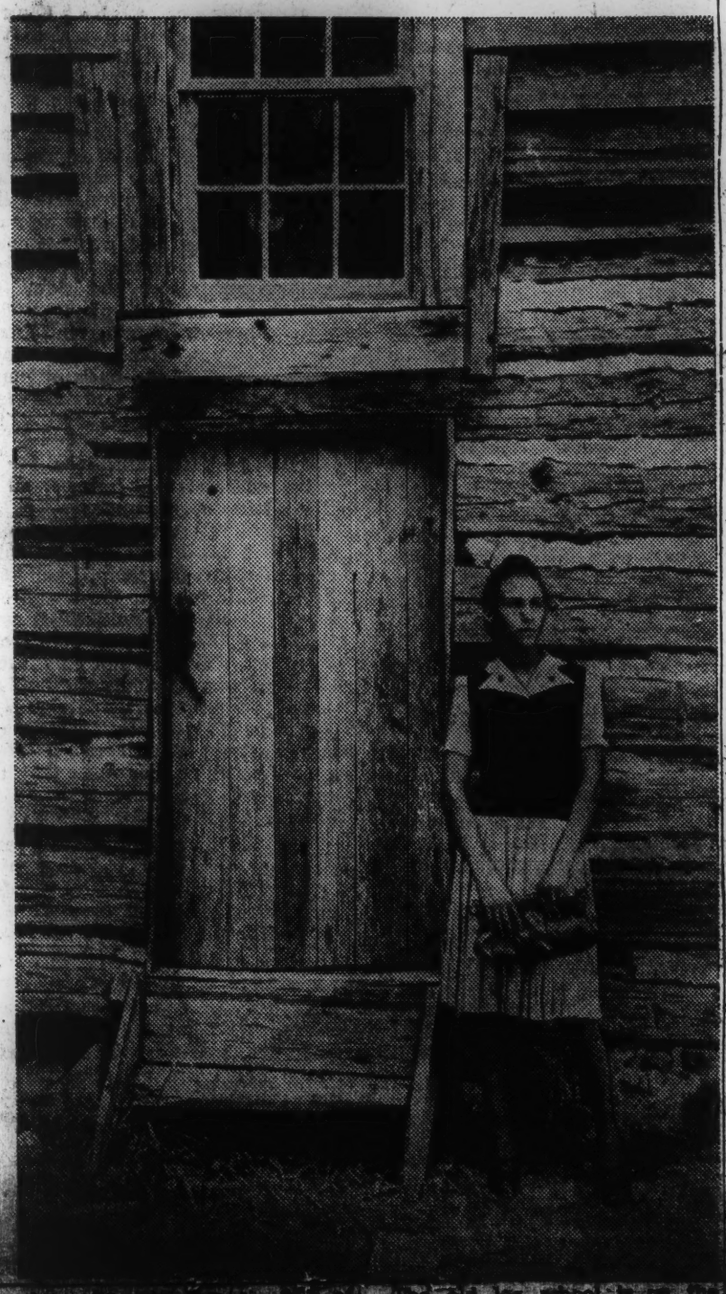
Thus I think the March-On-Washington leadership is guilty of two grave errors at a time when grave errors become disastrous errors. They are failing to make it clear to Negroes that their greatest enemy is Adolph Hitler who thinks Negroes are sub-human beasts; they are failing to emphasize our stake in American democracy; they are failing to point out that as a minority group we need strong allies to support our demand for full and equal participation in American society.

"A Sharecropper's Body Lies Mouldering in the Grave"—but Soul Goes





School Waller Attended



Miss Layle Layne, New York public school teacher and writer, and Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers' Defense League, shown reading AFRO-AMERICAN account of Waller's fight for life. They are in front of the church during period when Pittsylvania County neighbors viewed body at funeral.

dering in the Grave"—but Soul Goes Marching On

No. 1 — Odell Waller's body shown being borne to Fairview Baptist Church near Gretna, Va., by his country neighbors and sympathizers from Danville. Pallbearers shown are Willie Blair and T. W. Coles of Danville, R.H. Miller of Java, Sam Gilbert of Gretna, Willie Lipport and Raney Welford of Danville. J. H. Hughes, Danville undertaker, is shown in rear, center.

No. 2—Here are part of the people who could not get into church for the funeral. Waller, young sharecropper, was executed in Richmond on Thursday for slaying his white landlord, Oscar Davis, in a dispute over crop division.

No. 3—Waller lies in state like a king on the church grounds. Note the serious faces of the young girls, who came bearing home garden and field flowers.

No. 4—Members of Waller's family shown leaving the church after funeral of the man whose life and death became a symbol of the desire for freedom, security and justice in Pittsylvania County and elsewhere in the South. In the front row from left to right are: Samuel Hairston, Waller's uncle; Mrs. Annie Waller, his foster mother and aunt; Mrs. Dollie Harris, his real mother; and Carl G. Harris, her husband, both of Man, W.Va. In the rear are Mrs. Annie Waller, sister of Odell's foster father, Willie Waller; and Mrs. Brogia Waller, another aunt.

New Yorkers at Funeral

Miss Layle Layne, New York public school teacher and writer, and Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers' Defense League, shown reading AFRO-AMERICAN account of Waller's fight for life. They are in front of the church during period when Pittsylvania County neighbors viewed body after funeral.

Dying Statement of Odell Waller

Excerpts from the statement of Odell Waller written on July 1, the day before his execution and handed to Edmund M. Preston, Richmond associate of John F. Finerty as volunteer counsel for the Workers' Defense League in the case.

I have asked God to forgive me and I feel that he has.

Have you ever thought about some people are allowed a chance over and over again then there are others alowed little chance (—) some no chance at all. When a fellow accident (accidentally) falls dont get one (on) him with both feet (—) help him up.

First I will say dont work for a man two (too) poor to pay you. He will steel (steal) and take from you. In my case I worked hard from sun up until sun down trying to make a living for my family and it ended up to make death for me.

When the wheat was threshed I was in Maryland working seven days a week 10 to 12 hours per day sending money home to pay for harvesting and threshing the wheat and had told mother to have Robert to bring my share from the machine when it was threshed.

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I pulled a gun and begin shoting (shooting) not intending to kill him. I was frightened.

I no Davis had a pistol for I have seen it in his parket (pocket). He carried it for his son Edgar. They always had trouble and Davis tried to [illegible] wouldnt leave. He said I fight daddy (daddy) every day before he take my crop.

Began Bootlegging

When I started to violate the laws of the land I was farming working part time day an night trying to make something. During the year I bought a car.

One time the end of the year I diten have any thing to pay for it with the man was going to take it back. I wanted to keep the car. I diten believe in robin (robbing) and steeling so I bought 2 gallons of whiskey from a fellow & gave him $5.00 for it.

I sold that at 50 or 60c per pint took that money and bought some more. When I sold that I made a little payment on the car. I kept on buying an selling paying on cars. That got me that rep (reputation).

You take big people as the president governors judge their their children will never have to suffer. They has plenty money. Born in a mention (mansion) nothing to never worry about. I am glad some people ar that lucy.

Waller's Wife Not Present at Sharecroppers' Funeral

GRETNA, Va. — Mrs. Mollie Waller, wife of Odell Waller, was not present at Fairview Baptist Church on Sunday for the funeral of the young sharecropper who was executed in Richmond on Thursday for slaying his white landlord in a crop division dispute. Mrs. Waller was present at the State Capitol on June 29 when Governor Darden held a commutation hearing. She was there at the request of the Workers' Defense League, sponsor of Waller's defense.

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Sharecroppers Aided

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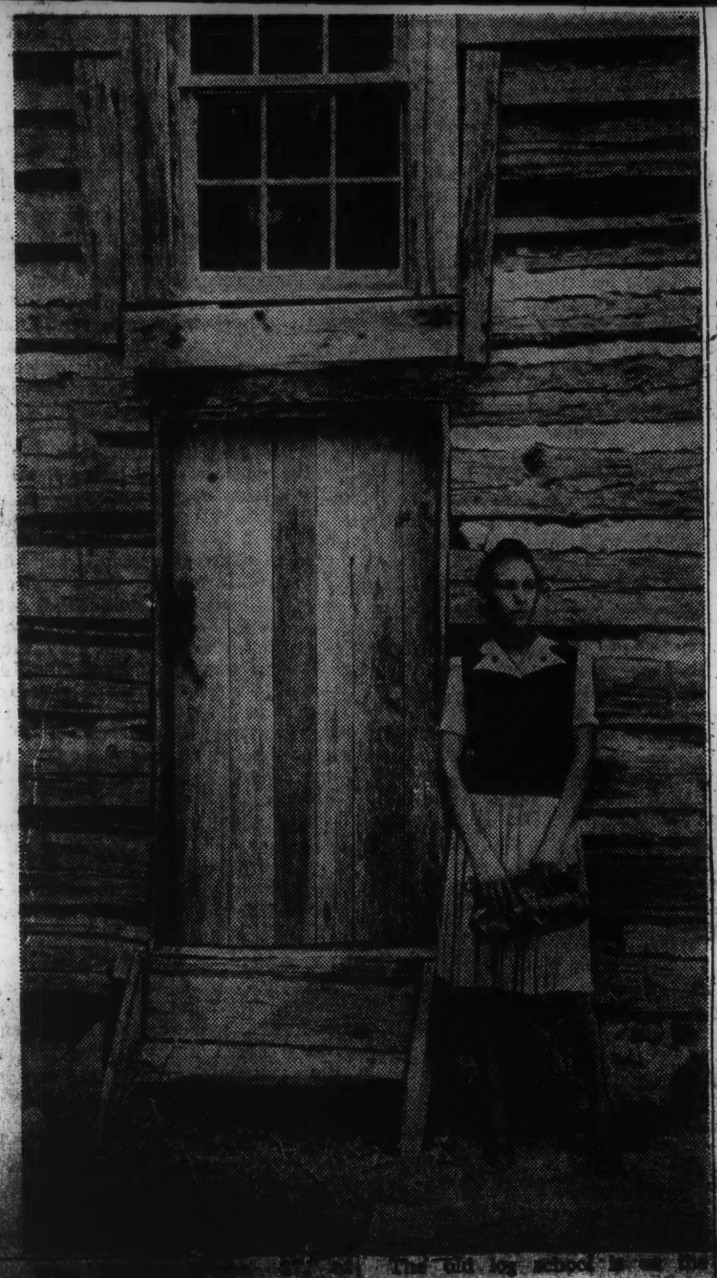
Randolph Charges Reds Muddled in Waller Case

NEW YORK.—Denouncing the Communists' silence of almost two years on the Waller case, [illegible] Workers' Defense League," the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and direc-



Chatham, Virginia, is shown standing in front of the old log-cabin Fairview School, near Gretna, Va., the first attended by Waller. She was his schoolmate. The school is not used now, and one a bit more modern is nearby.

The school is next to the church, and but a few steps from Fairview Cemetery, where Waller was buried on Sunday beside his foster father.

Dropped Out of High School

Later Waller attended the new community school, and went to high school at Chatham for a short while, but that required a walk of ten miles, and he soon dropped out.

The old log school is on the edge of a shady grove on a slight ridge, about 1200 feet from the spring where the pupils got their drinking water. Fairview church members use the spring today. On Sunday the 2500 persons attending the funeral put such a demand on the spring that it was dry three times during three hours.

The spring, under a giant mulberry tree with its green, red and purple fruit, is walled with boards. The water is cool and sweet.

In the days when Waller was a youngster, the teacher was Miss Mary Simmons. Now she is Mrs. Mary Anderson.

About Waller Case

Comments of various organizations and individuals on the execution of Odell Waller follow:

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE, New York City:

"An appaling blunder has been committeed which should sober every American citizen with enough insight to understand the perils facing America and all freedom-loving peoples at this hour. The character of any people is found not in its words but in its deeds.

"The execution of Odell Waller is a setback to the improvement of race relations which has been going on steadily in the South for the last quarter-century."

Death Served Sectionalism

ERNEST E. JOHNSON, 438 Lewis Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.:

"Odell Waller did not die in the name of justice!

"Waller died to satiate the bloodthirsty maw and warped mentality of a mean and vindictive sectionalism that even now would consider secession and a separate peace with a paperhanging despot and champion of their own type of thinking far preferable to giving to the colored man a chance to live in peace in this wide world."

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION, CIO, 346 West Seventeenth Street, New York City:

"The execution of Odell Waller was condemned as a 'brutal miscarriage of justice' at a special meeting of the National Maritime Union in the Port of New York today. In a stirring speech in support of the resolution, Al Smith, colored seaman, said:

"'We are going through a critical country, and we need the unity of all peoples, regardless of race, color, creed or political affiliation. We cannot bring back this man to life, but we can and must have a precedent for the future, so that when the American people speak, we will be heard.'"

Blow to National Unity

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS, 1123 Broadway, New York City:

"The execution of Odell Waller was a blow to the whole cause of colored rights, our war effort and to national unity to defeat Hitler. This outrageous crime shows the need for wiping out all of the hideous injustices against colored people out of which Waller cases grow.

"Waller's execution symbolizes the inequalities which exist against colored people, not only in civilian life and in courts of law, but also in our war effort, and it came at a time when every attack upon the rights of the colored masses gives confidence and aid to the enemies of our nation who are serving Hitler within the country."

A Victory for the Axis

RESOLUTION ON ODELL WALLER, adopted by 22,000 people at Independence Day rally held at Madison Square Garden, July 2, 1942, under auspices of the New York State and National Committee of the Communist party:

"The execution of Odell Waller is an outrageous miscarriage of justice, a brazen defiance of the will and democratic aspirations of colored people and the entire nation. It is a serious blow against colored and white unity. It is a triumph for the enemies of the nation, for the poll taxers, the hypocritical defeatiests and appeasers, for Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini.

"The execution of Odell Waller is an outgrowth of the disgraceful jim crow system of national oppression of the colored people. Jim crow must go. Jim crow must go NOW."

Virginia Justice and Waller

JUDGE J. T. CLEMENT of Pittsylvania County—"The false and vicious propaganda touching this case which has been spread over the United States, has certainly caused the colored people in this section to assume a disrespectful and hostile attitude toward the white race, which will surely give trouble to both races unless it is stopped."

SHERIFF H. A. OVERBY of Pittsylvania — "The people of Pittsylvania County feel that if Governor Darden commuted Odell Waller's sentence colored people would feel that they had won a victory and would gather on the streets and talk about the case."

GOVERNOR DARDEN—"I am convinced that the rights of the accused were not prejudiced by the class of persons from which the jury was drawn."

Miss Layle Layne, New York public school teacher and writer, and Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers' Defense League, shown reading AFRO-AMERICAN account of Waller's fight for life. They are in front of the church during period when Pittsylvania County neighbors viewed body after funeral.

Waller Case Cost $30,000; So Justice Isn't So Free

Morris Milgram, National Secretary of Workers' Defense League

"We have not sent a copy of our financial statement on the Waller case to Governor Darden yet. Handling the case almost two years cost $30,000, and Defense League workers cut their pay to a maximum of $15 weekly for a ten week period when funds were scarce because they wanted to fight for Waller. The highest regular salary was $25 weekly. For a period of six weeks when publicity was needed most we had two public relations experts to come in and help us. One received $50 a week and the other $75.

"Of course the Waller briefs and other material were made available for even the Governor's use by the league. Stamps cost nearly $6,000. Telegrams cost about $800. We end the case with a deficit of $1,500.

"We know that justice isn't free."

Governor Darden of Virginia

"The people throughout the whole nation have been circularized with appeals for financial contributions to Waller's cause, to be used for what purpose I do not know, since the attorneys representing him tell me, and I have no doubt of their statement, that their services are gratuitous."

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Dying ... of Od...

Excerpts from the ... Waller written on Ju... fore his execution an... mund M. Preston, R... of John F. Finerty as ... for the Workers' Defe... case.

I have asked ... me and I feel tha...

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Began ...

When I st... laws of the ... working part... trying to ma... ing the year ...

One time ... I diten have ... for it with th... take it back. ... the car. I dit... (robbing) an... bought 2 gall... a fellow & ... it.

I sold that ... pint took that ... some more. ... made a littl... car. I kept on ... paying on cars ... rep (reputatio...

You take b... president gov... their childre... to suffer. The... Born in a ... nothing to ne... am glad som... lucy.

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Harlem Ho...

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Speakers inc... dolph, Dr. Cha... senior secretary ... Council YMCA; ... waith, chairma... Labor Committ... M. Ervin, chair... on-Washington ... John Finnerty, ... ler.

One Out of 1... at Richmond

RICHMOND, ... man was amon... the army this m... selective service ...

Coming Co...

JULY 11-12 ... men's Conferenc...

JULY 13-16— ... tion of Negro ... Johnstown.

JULY 14-19 ... Angeles.

JULY 15-18— ... eration of C... Clubs, Bordento...

JULY 16-17— ... den District Chu... vention, Great F...

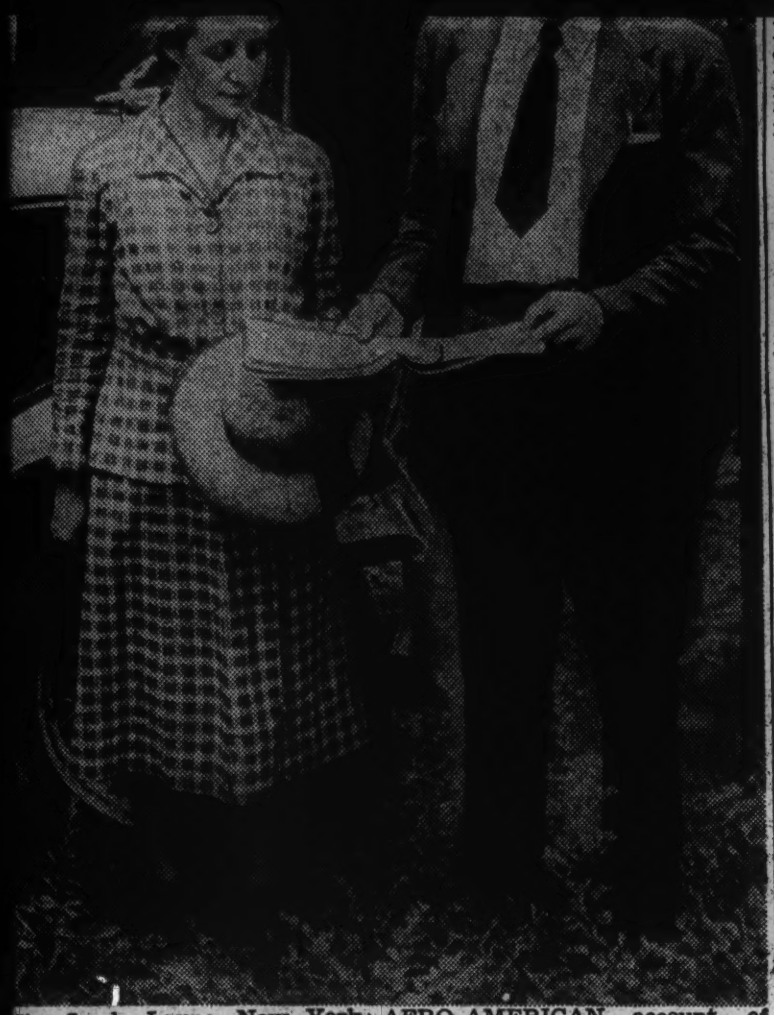
Their Pleas Failed to Save Waller

The above delegation visited the Department of Justice and Vice-President Wallace in an effort to save the life of Odell Waller, Virginia sharecropper who was executed Thursday.

They are, left to right, front row: the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Frank Crosswaith; second row: Misses Pauli Murray, Anna Hedgeman, and Layle Lane; rear: Albert Hamilton, Frank Reeves and Ralph Matthews.

Waller's Birthplace

Here is house where Waller was born in Pittsylvania County near Gretna, Va. Willis Waller, his foster father, owned the farm. The property was foreclosed six weeks after his death four years ago. Farm now is owned by a white landlord. Sharecropping tenant fled inside and stayed there when he saw AFRO photographers with camera pointed.



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Miller of Java, Sam Gilbert of Gretna, Willie Lipport and Raney Welford of Danville. J. H. Hughes, Danville undertaker, is shown in rear, center.

No. 2—Here are part of the people who could not get into church for the funeral. Waller, young sharecropper, was executed in Richmond on Thursday for slaying his white landlord, Oscar Davis, in a dispute over crop division.

No. 3—Waller lies in state like after funeral of the man whose life and death became a symbol of the desire for freedom, security and justice in Pittsylvania County and elsewhere in the South. In the front row from left to right are: Samuel Hairston, Waller's uncle; Mrs. Annie Waller, his foster mother and aunt; Mrs. Dollie Harris, his real mother; and Carl G. Harris, her husband, both of Man, W.Va. In the rear are Mrs. Annie Waller, sister of Odell's foster father, Willie Waller; and Mrs. Brogia Waller, another aunt.

Dying Statement of Odell Waller

Excerpts from the statement of Odell Waller written on July 1, the day before his execution and handed to Edmund M. Preston, Richmond associate of John F. Finerty as volunteer counsel for the Workers' Defense League in the case.

I have asked God to forgive me and I feel that he has.

Have you ever thought about some people are allowed a chance over and over again then there are others alowed little chance (—) some no chance at all. When a fellow accident (accidentally) falls dont get one (on) him with both feet (—) help him up.

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Harlem Holds Service

A memorial service for Waller, 25-year-old Virginia sharecropper, who died in the electric chair on Thursday after appeals to President Roosevelt and Governor C. W. Darden, Jr., to intervene failed, was held in Harlem on Sunday at St. James Presbyterian Church.

Speakers included Mr. Randolph, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the National Council YMCA; Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee; Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, chairman of the March-on-Washington Movement; and John Finnerty, attorney for Waller.

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One Out of 163 Inducted at Richmond Is Colored

RICHMOND, Va.—One colored man was among 163 taken into the army this month through the selective service center here.

Coming Conventions

JULY 11-12 — National Laymen's Conference of YMCA.

JULY 13-16—Pa. State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, Johnstown.

JULY 14-19 — NAACP, Los Angeles.

JULY 15-18—N.J. State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Bordentown.

JULY 16-17 — Columbia-Camden District Church School Convention, Great Falls, S.C.

Ethridge's Statement C

By MARK ETHRIDGE

As the chairman has explained, this is one of a series of regional hearings by this committee. Previous hearings have been held in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Washington. Another is projected for the Southwest.

The committee came into being not to create, but to ease, tensions. It was born of tension, despite the ostrich-headed people who refused to see it; of the perfectly legitimate feeling upon the part of the minority groups in this country that since we are to fight to the death to preserve freedoms all of us have won, or inherited, they have a right to participate, both as members of the armed forces and as workers in our war industry.

When we consider that out of a population of 133,000,000 persons in America, we have 6,000,000 Jewish people, 13,000,000 colored people, almost 5,000,000 aliens, 1,000,000 Orientals and American Indians, approximately 5,000,000 Spanish-speaking peoples, or peoples of Spanish extraction, and 26,000,000 Catholics, all of whom are at certain times and in certain areas discriminated against in employment, we find about 40 per cent of our total population within the spheres in which prejudice operates—such a high percentage that it presents to us who are not of the minorities the question whether we can afford not to have those of the minorities accorded full participation in the war effort.

Need All Able-Bodied Men

The answer is obviously that we cannot allow anything to stand in the way of an all-out effort. From the military standpoint, if we build an army and navy of 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 men, we shall need every able-bodied man of every race and creed either to bear arms or to make arms. I am aware that there has been some apprehension in the South that so many white boys have been taken and so many colored men left at home, but I have been assured in the last half of this year the army intends greatly to accelerate its draft of colored boys of military age. We must have men of all colors and creeds in our fighting forces.

From the standpoint of employment, we do need and will need more and more, until we build enough ships to sink the submarines which have operated off the Gulf Coast and in other waters, enough ships to haul the implements of war to our troops abroad and to our hard-pressed allies; we will need every hand that can run a machine or that can learn to run a machine. There should be only one test of employment in a war industry at a time like this, at any time in which the national life is imperiled: We cannot afford any other test than that a man has the "know how," or can acquire it, to operate machines that turn out war goods.

Any employer or union man who indulges his prejudices to defeat the all-out war effort is worse than the sugar hoarder, the black market operator or the tax evader, because he is actually retarding production and prolonging the war. The longer it takes us to get ready for the knockout blow, the more men we shall lose on ships that go out of Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Charleston and Jacksonville; the more men we shall lose in all the fields of combat; the more men our gallant allies will lose. It is literally true that an Allied offensive waits upon the industrial machinery, particularly upon the shipyards of America.

More and More Ships

Raymond Clapper said in a column published Tuesday of this week:

"Nothing now is more needed than increased ship production.

"The whole future of the war rests on that. Men who have anything to do with making parts of a ship are now carrying the responsibility for winning the war.

"Troops, planes and weapons are waiting on ships. The need is not for more shipyards, but rather to speed up still more the output from those in existence, because the number of ships that go into operation this summer and fall and next winter will determine whether it is to be a short war or a long war."

A good deal of shipbuilding is centered in the South. The country is, therefore, looking to this section for the maximum effort in turning out ships. A good many ships that go out of Southern ports have been sunk in Southern waters. This section has a particular obligation in the war: With a vast, largely untapped reserve of manpower, it owes the country the fullest employment of that manpower in the war effort.

We still have to recruit approximately 4,000,000 more men for the army this year for it to be brought to what the general staff expects to have under arms by the first of 1943. We still have to recruit about 3,000,000 more men for industry to bring it up to the estimated employment figure which Mr. Hillman used some time ago.

Men for the army and navy will inevitably be drained out of industry. This is a time in which we cannot stop to ask ourselves: What is the creed or the color of this soldier or this workman?

Colored Rights Restricted

This is a time for all of us, particularly for us of the South, to be coldly realistic. We are too often inclined to confuse the rational and emotional approach to the problem of the colored man and the white man living together amicably and peacefully, with the full opportunity, within our economic limitations, for both to improve themselves and their lives.

No white Southerner can logically challenge the statement that the colored man is entitled, as an American citizen, to full civil rights and to economic opportunity.

Full civil rights embraces the right to vote, the right to justice in the courts, the right to share equitably in the tax burden and in the distribution of tax moneys for public health, for public education, for public improvements such as streets and sidewalks and parks.

Economic opportunity embraces the right to work according to one's own skill. I do not believe any white Southerner who sincerely believes in the meaning of this country, or in the future of this country, or who subscribes to the fundamental tenets of democracy will challenge those statements.

Committee Must Take a Stand

Where we get into the field of emotional tension is when somebody mentions social equality, the abolition of Jim Crowism or segregation.

Individual members of the committee have their own ideas about that and I do not pretend to speak for them, but **the committee has taken no position on the question of segregation of industrial workers.** It has recognized that the President was not endeavoring, in Executive Order 8802, to write a social document; he was writing, as the language of the order plainly shows, a document designed to secure the fullest use of the manpower available to us, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

All the steps taken by the old National Defense Commission, the old O.P.M., the War Production Board and the Office of Education plainly show that the administration's intent was to break through prejudices—some ancient, some whipped up by Axis propagandists and swallowed by gullible Americans—that prevented the full employment of skilled persons, or persons who could become skilled with training.

Ethridge Sl or Be Ren

The opening stat (white), member of the ment Practice Comm Birmingham, Ala. Th ored members.

Since this statem part by the AFRO alarmed have asked rep which the AFRO prin changes.

On the basis of this Ethridge compares P Hitler and declares the Order 8802 cannot be editorial page) calls for al and urges the comm ridge's boast, that it (F to agree on what the P

ing.

I believe it is perfectly apparent that Executive Order 8802 is a war order, and not a social document.

F.D.R. Order on Hitler Pattern

Had I conceived it to be, I should not have accepted membership on the committee, because I would have regarded it as a perfectly futile, if not dangerous, gesture on the part of the President; because I would have conceived it to be disruptive, rather than unifying, in that I would have considered a Federal fiat demanding, for instance, the abolition of social segregation against the general peace and welfare; and because I would have considered a Federal order of that kind to be in the Nazi dictatorial pattern rather than in the slower, more painful, but sounder pattern of the democratic process.

By the same token, this order is part of the democratic pattern. We draft men for the military services because we recognize it as the fairest way to it. This executive order is a dra upon the non-military manpow of the country and those wh violate it, whether they be em ployers who refuse to hire b cause of prejudice, or union me who refuse admission to unio or work permits because of pre udice, stand in the light of thos

Veteran Ship Caulker Says Trade Is Dying Out and This War Is the Worst Yet

By E. O. HOOD

BALTIMORE

"Caulking is not what it was in the last war," says Omar T. Muir, 17 Rich Avenue, Catonsville, Md., who has been a caulker in local shipyards for the past thirty years.

"They are making boats almost entirely from metal now, but in the last war there were a lot made of wood, and that is my job, caulking wooden boats, small craft, scows, pleasure boats, scooners, bateaus, barges and tugs."

Expert Caulker

Mr. Muir is employed by Smith and Sons Shipyards, Curtis Bay, and is considered an expert in using the caulking iron, mallet and the thirty-six various other tools a caulker utilizes in his work.

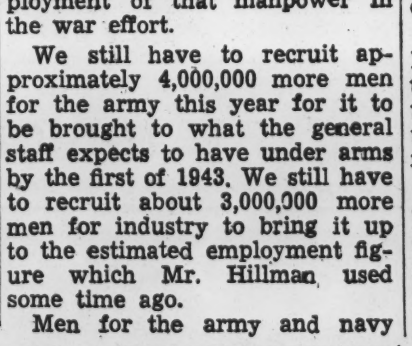
He is 51 years old and he does not mind walking the three miles to the wharf after he gets off the street car. He goes to work every morning and he must be there by 8 o'clock to get in his eight hours before 4:30.

In those eight hours sometimes they do three boats, sometimes more.

The government is fixing up

Mr. and Mrs. Muir live in an attractive house on the new highway, Edmondson Avenue Extension, and Mrs. Muir is known all around the village as the lady who has the lovely flowers and chickens and eggs.

Sailor Boys



Richard and Charles Rideout, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Rideout of Washington, D.C., were the first pair of brothers in the Washington Area to be assigned to the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. The boys will train to be seamen. Richard, 22, was employed at a printing company, and Charles, 20, by a motion picture company. Both are grad-

League Wants Data on USES

NEW YORK.—Colored workers in all parts of the country are urged by the National Urban League to report their experiences in registering or being referred for war industry jobs through the U.S. Employment service.

In a letter to John J. Corson, director of the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security in May, Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the league, summarized reports of inadequate service presented by the league's forty-six affiliates in cities throughout the country.

Mr. Granger urged that USES heads meet league representatives and other interested organizations to locate and adjust weaknesses in the service. This has been done in some cities.

Facts Needed

The league head points out, however, that little progress can be made unless colored workers who have actually filed for war jobs report to competent representatives their experiences and success or failure in finding jobs for which they are qualified.

Hence, organizations concerned with war jobs are urged to list complaints of persons regarding discriminatory treatment, sifting them for accuracy, and report them promptly to the nearest Urban League office or to national headquarters here at 4133 Broad-

Skilled Me Join Army

thirty years.

"They are making boats almost entirely from metal now, but in the last war there were a lot made of wood, and that is my job, caulking wooden boats, small craft, scows, pleasure boats, scooners, bateaus, barges and tugs."

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In those eight hours sometimes they do three boats, sometimes more.

The government is fixing up small craft and pleasure boats now for their use and the owners send them to these repair yards where they are gone over in preparation for use in the war effort.

Caulkers Duties

Oakum, a fiberous material, and cotton are the main materials used, and the caulker pushes either or both as the case may be, into the crevices between the boards of the ship.

Sometimes the caulker works on deck, fore or aft, sometimes the ship is laid on its side, sometimes work is done from the bottom.

Filling up all the cracks is some job, and Mr. Muir is one of three colored caulkers employed at Smith and Sons. They employ colored and white, about half and half, but the majority of the colored are non-skilled workers.

The Vanishing Tradesmen

"The old caulkers are dying out now and the young people are not learning the trade. I taught my two nephews the way I learned caulking as an apprentice. They are both caulkers now.

Emory White, who lives on Madison Avenue near Whitelock, is a caulker and has been for the past sixty years; he is at least 80 years old now, and he is a fine worker," Mr. Muir stated when asked about others who are caulkers.

There was twice as much work in his line during the last war and wages were higher, he declared, adding: "You have to join the union now to get the high wages. This war is far worse than the last war in every respect. There was no rationing in the last war."

Sailor Boys

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GILBERT

FEPC to Expand Its Staff and Budget, NAACP Is Told

WASHINGTON

In answer to the objections of the NAACP board of directors to the creation of a colored "catch-all" bureau, Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, wrote the NAACP, June 26, that President Roosevelt is not contemplating any such scheme. The President has agreed to extend the staff and budget of the FEPC and the committee will extend its facilities to "awaken other government agencies to carry out both the letter and the spirit of Executive Order 8802," Dr. MacLean said.

CONGRESS GETS PLAN FOR VIRGIN ISLANDS PROJECTS

WASHINGTON

Congress has received a Department of Interior recommendation for $4,592,000 in public works improvements in the Virgin Islands, emphasizing hospital construction.

TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION CANCELS ANNUAL MEET

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Because of gas and rubber rationing, the American Teachers' Association has canceled its 1942 meeting at Langston University and will substitute regional conferences.

Resentment Against Injustices Increases

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — The Civil Liberties Union in its annual report released last week pointed out that resentment is mounting "in the colored press and among colored agencies against the exclusion of colored people from defense industries, from branches of the armed forces and of the public services."

RALPH JOHNSON NAMED HAMPTON TREASURER

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, Va. — Ralph B. Johnson, white, partner of Smith, Barney and Co. for seven years, New York City, has been appointed trustee and treasurer of Hampton Institute.

A graduate of the University of Wisconsin, Mr. Johnson served in the first World War, in the medical corps.

DR. SCOTT BEGINS WORK AT ALL-COLORED PLANT

CHESTER, Pa. — (ANP) — Dr. Emmett J. Scott of Washington assumed duties on July 1 as personnel director at the all-colored Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company plant under construction here.

WHAT OTHER PAPERS SAY

A. Philip Randolph . . . . Our New Leader

The lack of dynamic, practical and uncompromising leadership pressing forever on the legitimate demands of the masses, has been the greatest handicap to the solution of the Negro problem. Although every major national crisis in the past has brought forth some kind of a Negro leadership, that leadership, however, has been of the wrong kind—the kind that could either be bribed into compromise or silenced by threats.

For awhile it appeared that the burden of promoting the just cause of the Negro would have to be borne by enlightened, sympathetic whites of the moral and intellectual stature of Mrs. Roosevelt, Miss Buck and Mr. Willkie. The Negroes who, though devoid of the requisite qualifications, would have catapulted themselves into leadership were dissuaded from such step by the very militancy of the new generation of Negroes who brook no compromise. They were forced to recoil into their shells.

Times and circumstances create great men; men who have courage, determination and a self-sacrificial spirit to carry on their work at the risk of forfeiting their own personal freedom. For the first time in our history, the Negro has found a clear-visioned, practical yet fearless leader: A. Philip Randolph.

It was he who initiated the "March On Washington" that resulted in the issuance of the President's Executive Order forbidding racial discrimination in the defense industries, and creating the Fair Employment Practice committee. It is he who is organizing the masses on a scale unparalleled since the collapse of the Garvey movement. It is he who has come forward with a program and the means to achieve it. He says:

"The main and basic responsibility for effecting the solution of the Negro problem rests upon Negroes themselves. We believe that Negroes should supply the money and pay the price, make the sacrifices and endure the suffering to break down the barriers to a realization of full citizenship rights in America. The March On Washington movement believes in racial equality, and we propose to fight for it with all our might. It rejects the doctrine of racial supremacy of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Gov. Eugene Talmadge of Georgia.

"We believe in the technique and method of mass action as an expression of Negro power to batter down all forms of racial segregations and discriminations. We are opposed to any movement or propaganda against white people and any movement or propaganda of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, or anti-foreignism or anti-labor. The basic principle of the March On Washington movement is democratic. He believes wholeheartedly in the cause of the United Nations and seeks to aid in achieving victory of the armed forces of the United Nations over the Axis powers."

This is the type of leadership that all of us should endorse, and must endorse if we hope to achieve our goal in this world and take our rightful place in this democracy.

PAGE TWO RED

"RANDOLPH

"NEGROES MUST OBTAIN RIGHTS NOW"

Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1942

ORGANIZING DRIVE TO END JIM-CROW AS WAR MEASURE

NEW YORK, July 16—A nationwide campaign is being mapped by the March-On-Washington movement to secure five million signatures to a petition calling upon President Roosevelt to issue a proclamation or executive order in the same pattern and spirit of the Proclamation of Emancipation issued by Abraham Lincoln, which broke the chains of chattel slavery, according to an announcement by A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement and president of the Brotherhod of Sleeping Car Porters.

The petition will call upon the President to wipe out and abolish jim-crow, segregation and discrimination in the Nation's capital and "in every hamlet, village, town and city within the confines of the United States and its territories; and in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, Marines, defense industries and every department of the government — city, state and federal."

MUST GET RIGHTS' NOW!

The petition campaign follows close on the heels of the two successful meeting sponsored by the March On Washington committee in New York and Chicago where over 50,000 Negroes registered their protests against discriminations in the nation's war program.

"If Negroes don't get their democratic rights now when this war for democracy is over we are through," declared Randolph. "A drive will be made to put every president and educator of the colleges and universities, leading preachers, trade union heads, captains of businesses, senators, congressmen, governors, mayors, State legislators, city councilmen — together with the rank and file masses, Negro and white, on record as to whether they are willing to join in a mass petition to the President to grant as a war measure the full constitutional and democratic rights of the Negro."

Pointing out such a measure is necessary for national unity and victory for the United Nations, Randolph declared it is also proof and evidence to the skeptical colored peoples of Asia, Africa, the West Indies and the isles of the sea of the war aims of the United Nations.

The New York Age
SATURDAY, JULY [illegible]

THE COMMUNIST REPLY

IN A LETTER to the editor last week, Ben [illegible] Davis Jr., a member of the editorial board of the Daily Worker, replied to our recent editorial on "Communism and the Negro." Although our editorial was less than a column in length, Mr. Davis took three times as much space to explain his paper and party's attitude on the Negro.

The occasion for our editorial was the failure of the Daily Worker and Communist Party to support the Madison Square Garden mass meeting of the March on Washington Committee. In his reply, Mr. Davis refers to his open letter to A. Philip Randolph, which appeared in the June 14 issue of the Daily Worker and said:

"Our letter assisted the Negro people and the meeting by doing what certain Norman Thomas Socialists in the sponsorship of the meeting tried to avoid doing: It showed the Negro people their relationship to the war and pointed out that their own special demands are to be won through the prosecution of the war to victory. This was highly beneficial to the meeting for none of these political bedfellows of the Norman Thomas Socialists dared to insult the Negro people by using a meeting of theirs to denounce the war against the "Jeff Davis" of Berlin. There was no red-baiting speeches at the Garden Rally to disrupt the Negro people's unity."

Mr. Randolph happens to be a Socialist and it appears to us that Mr. Davis and his associates condemned the meeting in advance for this reason and this reason alone. They did not want to see it put over in a big way because it would redound to the credit of Randolph and his fellow Socialists. We submit that this is a narrow and prejudiced point of view; that even though the movement was initiated by a Socialist it was none-the-less a good cause and should have had the support of all who were interested in the fighting for the Negro those rights of citizenship guaranteed him by the Constitution. And if the purpose of Mr. Davis' open letter was to aid the meeting, this purpose could have been accomplished by a much more direct method—the publishing of a release or advertisement on the program and purposes of the meeting.

It's common knowledge that the Communist Party and the Daily Worker did an "about-face" after Russia's entry into the war on the side of the allied nations in June, 1941. Prior to that time, both the party and its newspaper had denounced the war as "imperialistic" and had trod close to the shores of sedition in their advocacy that the masses had nothing to gain from such a war. As a matter of fact, the Communists had become such a disrupting influence to national unity that the government had begun to jail their leaders on various pretexts in order to destroy their influence. That was the real reason Earl Browder was sent to jail.

The masses of Negroes cannot understand why if the war was "imperialistic" at the start it should suddenly became a holy crusade upon the entrance of Russia into active participation in the conflict. They cannot understand why the Daily Worker suddenly dropped its fight for freedom of the Scottsboro boys, the fight in behalf of the sharecroppers of the South and has considerably toned down its agitation for the abolition of the poll tax and other causes which it originally sponsored, and is now telling the people that by winning the war we will gain these things.

Despite the length of Mr. Davis' letter, he failed to explain this changed attitude on the part of the Communist Party and until there is an explanation, the sincerity of their efforts in behalf of the Negro will remain in doubt.

Ethridge Called 'Pussyfooter'; Resignation From FEPC Suggested

(Continued from Page 1)

In criticising Ethridge, Randolph said:

"If by social segregation, Mr. Ethridge means all forms of racial discrimination, segregation and jim-crow, he has taken in an awfully wide territory. Moreover, how does he know? The South is not omnipotent and Mark Ethridge is not omniscient. The old slave masters said the same thing about slavery but slavery was abolished.

"Mr. Ethridge should also know that if as he says that all of the mechanized armies of earth, allies and axis, cannot force the South to the abandonment of segregation and jim-crow that it is also true that all of the power in the world—not even the mechanized armies of earth, allies and axis, could force the Negro to the abandonment of his fight for the destruction of racial discrimination, segregation and jim-crow," stated Randolph.

Dickerson, who is vice chairman of the committee, presently headed by Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, president of Hampton Institute, in his statement Tuesday, expressed his sharp difference with Ethridge over the function of the body.

Committee members, he said, cannot afford to "pussyfoot" on this issue.

He declared in part:

"Because I disagree with most of the sentiments expressed by Mr. Mark Ethridge at the Birmingham, Ala., hearings of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, I feel impelled to issue a statement in answer to many inquiries regarding my position on segregation and discrimination in national defense.

"First, I wish it understood that as a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and as a lawyer and private citizen, I am unalterably opposed to discrimination and segregation in any and all of its ugly and sometimes tempting forms, whether in the South or in the North.

"Mr. Ethridge's statement, in support of segregation in the South, in my opinion violates both the letter and spirit of the President's Executive Order 8802. It is inconsistent with our professed belief in the principle of democracy. It shows very definitely that the South is still more interested in 'keeping the Negro in his place' than in winning the war for democracy. Instead of marshaling its forces for an all out effort to beat the totalitarian powers, the South is still fighting the Civil War, which, history records, was won over 75 years ago at Appomatox.

"The philosophy expressed by Mr. Ethridge, representing as it does, the majority opinion of the white people of the South, is certainly not heartening to America's colored allies. It gives aid and comfort to the enemy, who have long been broadcasting to the world that America is not fighting this war for freedom.

"If the function of the committee is to bring about full participation of all groups in the war effort, and I believe it is, then, it must press vigorously toward this end. Because of the very nature of its creation, the committee on Fair Employment Practice must be opposed to segregation and discrimination.

"It cannot hedge on so-called delicate issues. It cannot make concessions to the South, which after all is still a part of the geographical boundaries of the United States. There should be 'no pussyfooting' on segregation by members of the committee."

ASK ETHRIDGE OUSTER; CALLED 'PUSSYFOOTER'

Randolph and Dickerson Attack Publisher For Birmingham Speech

A storm of criticism was launched against Mark Ethridge, former chairman of the Fair Employment Practices committee this week, for his recent speech in Birmingham, Ala., as statements were issued by Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, member of the committee and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Ethridge, editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, in an address at the opening of the Birmingham hearings in June, stated his opposition to using the committee to break down racial segregation.

At one point in his address, which evoked a storm of criticism, Ethridge declared: "He (the southern Negro) must recognize that there is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis—which could now force the southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of segregation."

He added that had he thought the purpose of the committee was to break down the pattern of segregation in the South, he would never have accepted membership on the committee.

Randolph, leader of the March On Washington Movement, in his statement, supported [illegible]

EARL B. DICKERSON
"Stands Pat"

CHICAGO DEFENDER
July 25, 1942

OF THE PEOPLE — BY THE PEOPLE — FOR THE PEOPLE

NEGRO JOURNAL

Vol. I — No. 7 TUCSON, ARIZONA, FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1942 5c

RANDOLPH SCORES PREJUDIC

27th Spingarn Medalist Says "America Challenged For Her Loyalty to Negro"

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Here, before the tried and true legions of the NAACP, visitors, and California and national emissaries, A Phillip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, last Friday night, addressed the 33rd Annual Conference of the National Association [illegible] message ever delivered by an acceptor of the Spingarn Medal.

Twenty-seven [illegible] in a long line of [illegible] Mr. Randolph [illegible] from Blakely [illegible] City, Kansas [illegible] presentation [illegible]

Showing the [illegible] tally of his [illegible] Washington," Mr. [illegible] to work immediately on the [illegible] that the NAACP has determined to take, following [illegible] note address on [illegible]

Acknowledging [illegible] who had traveled [illegible] attend the [illegible] dom announced [illegible] the Spingarn Medal [illegible] Negroes of America [illegible] the march for their [illegible]

Said Mr. Randolph [illegible] dent of political [illegible] problem of the [illegible] of segregation discrimination [illegible] prejudice. This problem is [illegible] where. In America it had its [illegible] in the exploitation of slave labor.

"The problem of color is not [illegible] peculiar to the South. It is a problem that exists all over the world."

In throwing additional light on the alignment of races against each other due to color pigmentation, Mr. Randolph cited the economic structure of America and said that it had been founded on a pillar of black, yellow and brown flesh.

Discussing racialism generally and specifically, he stated that the economic motivation in America is monopoly and capitalism and [illegible] practices, preserving [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] Nothing less."

of Hong Kong, Singapore, France's exploitation of Indo-China and Germany's domination of the Cameroon section of Africa.

In speaking against brutal tyranny, he voiced the sentiment that a passion for freedom burned in all peoples and that though countless thousands of Africans were murdered in cooperation with the white man's gospel of superiority and Christianity and civilization, still millions elected and do elect now to fight and perish rather than surrender their liberty to civilized nations of the world.

"Darker races are not only fighting to be free," said Mr. Randolph, "but they are out to build world power, for it is power alone that guarantees the right to be free."

Speaking on the issue of China, he warned that China is after [illegible] and the meaning of their [illegible] struggle. He prophesied that China will eventually turn on her white benefactors who have drained her of her economic blood and exact a right to strike out the yellow discrimination that points its damning finger at them now.

Forcefully, the president of the Sleeping Car Porters told the gathering, "It is the mandate of the law of survival of the fittest. It is the meaning of the revolt of African natives against white superiority."

The speaker [illegible] on the pattern followed in the U. S. by all those who believe in worldly white superiority.' He said that Negroes are softened by academic degrees, political plums, good jobs, and rosy promises, and that these things paralyze the will power of men allowing them to continue to bear the ills of a contaminated civilization. He announced that power is the means to an end and reminded Negroes that they are not given the run-around because they are Negroes but because they are disorganized. He explained that letting down the barriers for one Negro, or for a few Negroes, because of a so-called 'white heart' does not solve the problem of the masses.

He advised an interest in labor movements, remarking that the Negro waited until it was almost too late to show interest in unions.

He pictured the railroad condition, showing that for years Negroes performed most of the railroad work until the unions began to force him out of important jobs

pressure brought to bear upon the people who should feel what mass pressure can do to change their existing conditions."

Negroes were urged to mass their strength now because the country needs them now more than ever before. They were informed that they have always been promised more than they ever receive. He cited India as an example and said that India can get more than Britain was and is willing to offer.

He moved the audience when he told them "People who don't get what they want when the time arises, don't know what Democracy is all about."

Mr. Randolph then moved to the [illegible] issue, stating "The Negro is not challenged to be loyal to America, but the government is challenged to be loyal to the Negro.

"It is the responsibility of all citizens to keep government right when it is wrong and to keep it right when it is right," said the speaker.

[illegible] heard him slowly [illegible] tion, bring the [illegible] with the words "The [illegible] wrong on segregation [illegible] actuating inferiority [illegible] color."

Mr. Randolph said the government never takes up a fight for a group; the group must fight for itself. He remarked that any minority group must take what it gets and take it by pressure as they can't get it any other way.

The gathering was audibly moved when he struck the rostrum gently and looking earnestly at his listeners, told them "The South has no intention of giving the Negro his rights. Most Southern 'crackers' would rather lose the war than give Negroes justice. The whites always have and still continue to trade in race hate. Our freedom is a major-

forces. He suggested that the War Department put out pamphlets advising the white man of his colored brother the same as they are advising the American of his Irish and English brother.

Randolph advised Negroes to resent being called '[illegible]rs' and remarked that the Negroes' fight is no embarrassment as the government has already embarrassed itself. "It is possible to win the war in Europe and [illegible] and lose it in Georgia. Negroes [illegible] on the job to 'lick the hell' out of segregation in Georgia as well as 'lick the hell' out of Hitler. If Negroes don't fight now for their constitutional rights, afterwards, we are through!"

He brought Communism to the carpet asking the Negroes to forget their grievances and complaints and enlist themselves in aiding an all-out movement for a second front. Said Randolph, "Negroes will not permit the Communists of Russia or the Communists of America to tell them what to do about their problems in America. Negroes know the Communist line may break in chains at any time. If Russia drops out of the war tomorrow she will be hollering for help. Negroes will fight and fight with all they've got until they win their constitutional rights. Equality is what we guarantee. Equality is what we want. [illegible] Nothing less."

Tail Wags Dog

CAYTON BELIEVES RANDOLPH MAY STEAL PLAY FROM NAACP IF ASSOCIATION DOESN'T WAKE UP

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

MAYBE it is too soon to predict, and even by the time this article is published this may be changed, but at the moment, it is my feeling that the present convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a pretty routine affair. I said this last year about the Houston affair. It is not a bad conference; in fact, it is a good conference, but it should be a great one. Even last year the association, the oldest and most respected Negro organization, was faced with a tremendous problem of orienting Negroes toward the war effort. They failed to do this in any satisfactory way. This year I, as an individual at least, am not getting much clarification out here in Los Angeles.

Mr. Cayton

The delegates fall pretty much into three different camps, which might be termed the Left, Right and Center. Speaking for the middle-of-the-road position, Roy Wilkins made the keynote speech, in which he advocated what constitutes the "Double V" position of The Courier. A. Philip Randolph is to the left (or right, depending on the way you look at it) and wants Negro rights now, regardless of the war effort. Mrs. Charlotta Bass of the Los Angeles branch was the articulate spokesman for that group which thinks that the rights of Negroes should be subordinated, for the time being, to the general war effort.

ATTACKS RANDOLPH

INCIDENTALLY, Mrs. Bass used rather poor taste in making a personal attack on Randolph and his program, in trying to explain her attitude regarding the war, in view of the fact that Randolph is a member of the board of the NAACP and was to be recipient of the Spingarn Medal.

As I was at the press table I was unable to see whether Randolph came in during the speech or directly after, but it created a tense situation and was pretty embarrassing for Walter White. Randolph appeared to take it in stride. This did more than anything to damage the position and analysis of the "all-out for war bloc," if such a bloc existed.

There is no question that Randolph is the man most worshiped by the Negro rank and file now. To them, he is the man who is saying things they want said and is getting things done. Curiously enough, it is a case of the tail wagging the dog, for Randolph and his March on Washington program is putting new life blood into the association. Walter White seems to go with him all the way, but Roy Wilkins is much more eager about the association's losing its identity in this upsurge of mass feeling that has frightened the more conservative of the members

NAACP CLINGS TO RANDOLPH'S COAT-TAIL

THE whole complexion of the convention may change, but so far, instead of being a statesmanlike approach to the problem and presenting a concrete program of action, the convention is just a powwow of big-name Negroes. In spite of the fact that the theme of the convention is "Victory Is Vital to the Minorities," the question of the relationship of the Negroes to the war effort, the extent to which that should or should not be subordinated to a struggle for Negro rights, is not being reduced to a practical program of action which will have meaning to the ordinary Negro on the street.

I hate to say it (and I hope I am wrong), but unless there is a sudden turn of events, we will find that the association again in this crisis has failed to interpret to the Negro masses the position they should take in this war. Certainly one can say, however, that with this failure, A. Philip Randolph will emerge with even greater prestige and that he and the March on Washington organization will become the spokesman for the Negroes, with the NAACP holding on to his coat-tail. Whether this is a good thing or a bad thing will be determined by the type of program which Randolph really

XXXIII—No. 30 PITTSBURGH, PA., SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1942 PRICE TEN CENTS

...er In Detroit

...GETS MEDAL

A. Philip Randolph, militant race leader, is shown receiving the 27th annual Spingarn Medal from Bishop J. A. Gregg at the 33rd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Los Angeles, Calif., Friday night. —Griffin Photo.

FIGHTING SPIRIT DOMINATES LOS ANGELES CONF...

...Courier Correspondent Analyzes Walter White, ...dolph and "March-On-Washington" Movement.

By HORACE R. CAYTON
(Special To The Courier)

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 23—With vehemence which reached a new high, A. Philip Randolph, Spingarn medalist and the moving spirit behind the "March-On-Washington" movement, brought the 33rd convention of the National Association of Colored People to a stirring climax here Friday evening.

Randolph went ever further than he had in his famous Sherman Hotel speech in Chicago recently, when he stated that Negroes wanted their rights NOW and didn't "Give a Damn" about later.

In a speech that became bitter as he spoke about the inaction of the government, the continued discrimination towards the Negro in the armed forces of the country and the lynching of Negroes in the South, Randolph became vitriolic when he mentioned the recent speech of Mark Etheridge of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

RANDOLPH'S CONVENTION WAS CAYTON'S CONCLUSION

"Mark Etheridge has said," stated Randolph, "that all of the armed forces of the Allies and Axis alike cannot change the social pattern of the South.

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 4)

...TERRIFY ...RACE WOMEN

BIRMINGHAM, July 22—(ANP)—A woman charged in an interview here this week that two white soldiers failed to lustfully thrust themselves upon her and another woman and that 20 others terrifyingly disturbed passengers on a train on which she was riding from Detroit to Birmingham.

Mrs. W. B. Green, of Detroit, said Wednesday at the home of her sister that between Nashville and Birmingham a white soldier, accompanied by another, came into the coach in which she was riding, molested her and another woman, and then incited around 20 other white soldiers into threatening them as the entire coach of Negro passengers was thrown into a screaming panic.

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RACKETEERS PREY ON SOUTHERN NEGROES SEEKING WAR WORK

LOS ANGELES, July 22—(ANP)—An investigation that is likely to land suspected operators of employment "confidence games" behind the bars was opened here Thursday in the state building of immigration and housing.

According to Carey McWilliams, chief of the division, there are labor agents or fake employment agencies operating in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and other southern states that for advance fees have been sending hundreds of Negro applicants here with instructions to report to various plants and firms where they will be put right to work.

UTSEA-CIO WINS CASE AGAINST RAIL UNION

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22—...petition filed by General Counse... George E. C. Hayes and Judg... James A. Cobb in behalf of the... UTSEA for injunctive relief against... the National Mediation Board... which had arbitrarily certified the... Brotherhood of Railway Clerks... AFL as the bargaining agency for... these employes despite the fact... that over 95 per cent of them had... designated the UTSEA-CIO as... their collective bargaining agency...

...Union discrimination in the railroad industry came closer to its Dunkirk as a ...ruling and significant victory won by the United Transport Service Employes of America, CIO, this week when the United States District Court at Washington ordered the National Mediation Board to certify the UTSEA-CIO as the sole collective bargaining agency for all porters, janitors, and red caps at the St. Paul, Minn., Union Terminal Company.

The decision is the result of a ...

...As one of the major representation cases before the National Mediation Board last year, the background of the issue involved cuts deep into the rampant union discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry and is probably considered one of the most significant cases dealing with minority rights under the Railway Labor Act.

Beneath the surface, the decision affects the "scope" agreement practices of the Railroad Brotherhoods which for years has operated unfavorably to thousands of Negro railroad workers who are not permitted to join the Brotherhoods, and thereby on many occasions forces out of the industry by the ...

...only of Negroes but of all Americans...

...immediate steps to guarantee the rights of Negroes to live without fear of lynching and to participate fully in the war against fascism, the Federation wire also urged an immediate investigation by the Department of Justice.

...fighting because some white officers thought Negroes ...getting out of the pool on the post. The ...diers were supposed to ...powered an officer, se... ...chine gun and returned ...fire on the Negroes. ...groes were said to hav... ...ed.

FREE

...OT SATISFIED FOR ...EMA, PIMPLE ...ITCHING

...years users of Palmer's Skin Success ...relief of irritation of many superficial ...blemishes externally caused and ugly ...ema, have been so delighted that now ...ade. Get a package of Palmer's SKIN ...tment. Use it—if it does not satisfy ...turn the package to your druggist and ...your money. This trial is made at ...r cannot supply you, send 25c ...Company, Inc., 127 Water ...(75c economy large size ...ach.)

...plexion beauty aid ...ated powder is an ...UCCESS 50c, 25c.

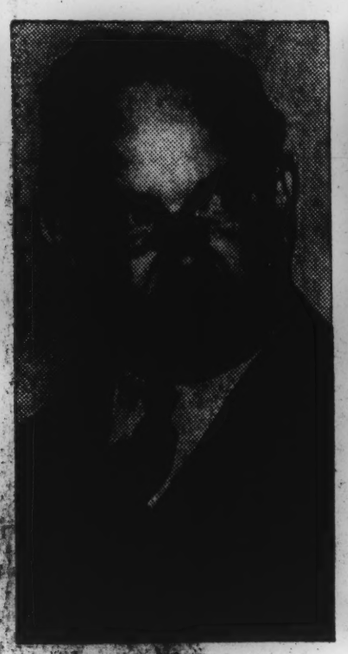
USED FOR 100 YEARS

...SS OINTMENT

R SE CRETARY RAPS SUPERIORITY I

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOP

A. P. RANDOLPH



MAYOR BOWRON

MRS. C. A. BASS

ATTY. T. L. GRIFFITH

Chicago Defender Pacific coast cameraman caught these notables in attendance at the thirty-third annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which closed Sunday in Los Angeles, Calif. (Top, left) Wendell L. Willkie, right, arrives in Los Angeles to address the association and is greeted by Walter White, executive secretary of the association.—Acme photo. A. Philip Randolph is shown in a candid photo, taken after the convention auditorium had emptied after a meeting, deeply engrossed in conversation.—Norman Siminoff photo. The weather was hot and the words hotter! Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, editor of the California Eagle, is shown here as she fanned away a little of both during the second evening mass meeting which she shared with Dr. MacLean as guest speakers for the evening.—Norman Siminoff photo. Outlining the progress made by the President's Fair Employment Practices committee of which he is chairman, Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, president of Hampton institute, graphically presented the past, present and future employment picture for minority groups in the United States.—Norman Siminoff photo. "With open arms the city of Los Angeles welcomes you and trusts that your next trip here will find you buying a plot of ground upon which to build your dream home for you and yours," thus greeted Mayor Fletcher Bowron on behalf of the city at the opening meeting.—Norman Siminoff photo. As president of the host branch to the thirty-third annual conclave of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Atty. Thomas L. Griffith opened proceedings with the remark that "We haven't been bombed out yet by the Japs here on the coast." Thus, dispelling the fear of an air raid over the western metropolis, he bid delegates welcome to the "garden spot of America."—Norman Siminoff photo.

N.Y. 'March On Washing
Plans Parade Protest C

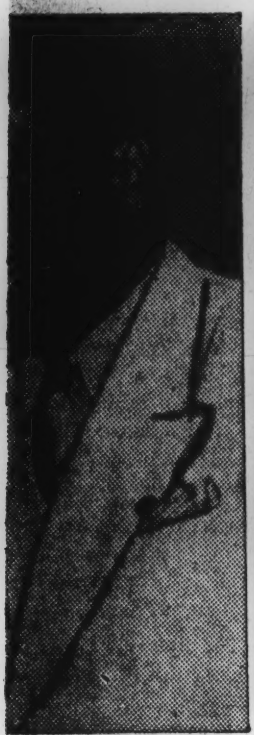
NEW YORK.—The execution of Odell Waller on July 2, described as a "legal lynching" by [illegible] Negroes, followed [illegible] by the mob lynching of Willie Vinson on July 16 in Texas, [illegible] Texas, the shooting of Private Jessie Smith by a posse in Flagstaff, Ariz., and the beating of the noted tenor, Roland Hayes and his wife in Rome, Ga., have brought a country-wide storm of protest.

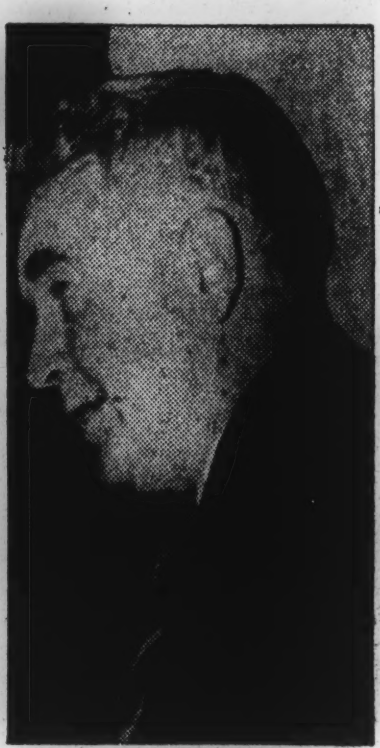
New York Negroes under the direction of the local division of the March on Washington Movement plan a silent parade to the beat of muffled drums Saturday, July 25 to protest this wave of killings and brutality.

In announcing plans for the parade, Dr. Lawrence Ervin, president of the New York division, March on Washington Movement, said, "We want the world to know, and particularly our government, how the Negroes in Harlem feel about the electrocution of Waller, the lynchings of Willie Vinson and Pvt. Jessie Smith in Texas and Arizona, and the brutal beating and jailing of Roland Hayes. There will be more Wallers and Vinsons and Smiths [illegible] these things go unchallenged [illegible] Negro is safe anywhere.

'TY MYTH

D PEOPLE MEETS





r. L. GRIFFITH DR. MacLEAN

Washington' Group Protest Of Lynchings

gton Movement, said, he world to know, and our government, how in Harlem feel about cution of Waller, the Willie Vinson and Pvt. in Texas and Arizona, tal beating and jailing yes. There will be and Vinsons and t these things go Negro is safe any-

We are Americans, and as Americans we would speak to America.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

OPINION

Pressure Can Produce a New Emancipation

A. Philip Randolph Is Nearest Approach to a Leader for the Common People; Pegler Joins the Ranks of "All Are Americans."

Westbrook Pegler last week joined the ranks of "All Are Americans."

That list is headed by the First Lady, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Equally distinguished individuals and organizations include: Pearl Buck, Wendell Willkie, Vice President Henry Wallace, Dr. E. Stanley Jones and a score of newspapers and magazines headed by PM and The Nation.

"If I were colored," says Pegler, "I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition.

"I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers who come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars."

Millions of colored Americans do live in constant fury. The papers report only a fraction of instances in which they batter themselves against the bars of segregation. Other millions hate and wait for the day when they will go all out for their own liberation.

Opposition Organized in South

Opposition to full citizenship of colored people centers in the South. It is organized in government and is powerful. Behind it is 300 years of customs and traditions. It has yielded ungraciously step by step.

First it had to give up its right to hold slaves, to keep them out of the army, away from the ballot box, out of the jury box, out of public conveyances and public buildings. Its last stronghold is segregation, and it has announced through its stooges its willingness to grant everything but that.

So segregation is the issue in this war, just as slavery was the issue in 1862, and the first crack at slavery was Lincoln's proclamation.

President Roosevelt faces the same situation that plagued Lincoln. It is not at present so acute, but it will be.

The Lineup

On one side is the liberal North and West, which know we need all our forces to win this war. They have seen Filipinos, Chinese and Russians fight to death for liberty, and they have also found in Java, Burma and India no allied aid because there was no freedom for which to fight.

On the other side are the forces of bigotry, intolerance and race hate that learn nothing from history and science and Christianity except that which will help preserve the status quo.

We are in the midst of an undeclared war of colossal proportions. No wonder there is no great hatred of Japan and Germany in the South. Its bile and venom are so constantly used upon the home front that none is left for foreign enemies.

Mr. Roosevelt early in this war, faced with a march of colored citizens on Washington, issued Executive Order 8802. It provides for full and equitable

MARCH ON WASHINGTON movement has strong supporters in these hi school and college girls caught by the camera in a silent poster walk on Seventh ave. The posters announce the *Silent Parade* protesting the electrocution of Odell Waller and the lynchings of Wilie Vinson, army private Jessie Smith, and the beating of Roland Hayes and his wife. Pictured are: Bernice McMillan, Thelma Griffith, Floria Pinkney, executive- secretary of New York division of MOV; Ruth Neal and Mary Thompson.

March On Washington Staging Silent Parade, Muffled Drums

The execution of Odell Waller July 2, described as a "legal lynching" by irate Negroes, followed closely by the mob lynching of Willie Vinson July 16 in Texarkana, Texas, the shooting of Pvt. Jessie Smith by a posse in Flagstaff, Arizona, and the beating of the noted Negro tenor, Roland Hayes, and his wife in Rome, Georgia, have brought a country-wide storm of protest from Negroes. NY Negroes, under the local division of the March on Washington Movement, plan a silent parade to the beat of muffled drums, Saturday, July 25, at 2:30 pm to protest this wave of killings.

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement, in a vigorous letter of protest to President Roosevelt, declared, Waller's electrocution has intensified a wave of determination for a showdown on the question of total democracy for the Negro which cannot long be held back by leaders who use the bargain and compromise method. It was the signal for the barbarous forces in this country to renew the unleashing of their venom of hatred upon the Negro people.

"With the world in the agony of a war for the survival of sheer human decency, the race issue in America is crucial to the whole struggle. These fascist-like brutalities in the United States are grist for the propaganda mill of the Axis powers and undoubtedly will be used to destroy the faith of allied nations in the honesty and integrity of American democracy, and hasten the deterioration of the morale of the enslaved peoples of the world which hangs precariously on this hope," Randolph continued. "If the Negro is not given his full rights now, then the battle for democracy is lost."

In announcing plans for the parade, Dr. Lawrence Ervin, president of the NY division, said, "We want the world to know, and particularly our government, how the Negroes in Harlem feel about the electrocution of Waller, the lynchings of Willie Vinson and Private Jessie Smith in Texas and Arizona, and the brutual beating and jailing of Roland Hayes.

Wearing black mourning arm bands and carrying signs of protest against lynching, Waller's electrocution and the poll tax, the marchers will assemble at 56th st and Eighth ave, march south to 14 st, east on 14 to Union Square where the parades will be greeted by speakers and musicians.

participation of all workers in defense industries and in government without discrimination because of race or creed or national origin.

But the order was so hastily drawn and poorly worded that the members of the President's own commission are not in agreement with what it means.

New Executive Order Needed

A new executive order is a necessity, and we set down here what it should say:

1. That there should be no segregation or discrimination of any kind against any citizen of the United States on account of race, creed, color or national origin—

(a) In any department, bureau, office or unit of the Federal Government, or

(b) In any public or private institution, corporation, plant, industry, bureau, which holds a Federal contract, operates under Federal license or in any way utilizes Federal funds or aid.

In support of such an order the President can say that it is designed to uphold and clarify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that no citizens shall have special privileges and immunities.

When F. D. R. Will Act

President Roosevelt will issue such an order when he is convinced that it is necessary to save the nation. We think that the time is now, and that the nation is losing the war because it overrates its racial superiority and underrates the power and capacity of our enemies.

We are finding that we can't buy our way to victory any more than we could spend our way to prosperity. Japanese and Germans are not overawed by the color of Americans, their wealth nor their reputation. The initiative in this war is with the enemy. We have been able to do little except defend and retreat.

Randolph Fitted to Lead

How can we get all this over to the nation and to the President? Manifestly we must have organization and leadership. In times like these we must agree upon one leader and we must give him our complete confidence and support.

The man today who most nearly reaches to the status of leader is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, director of the March on Washington Committee, and 1942 Spingarn Medalist.

He is an intelligent and forceful labor leader, an organizer who creates confidence and optimism with the spoken or written word. Raised in the hard-boiled school of socialism and labor unions, he knows that public opinion yields only to pressure, that heads of government constantly balance pressure, and that the strongest side wins.

Mr. Randolph's ability to get the government to issue Presidential Order 8802 recommends him to us as the man to lead the masses toward the new freedom.

LOS ANGELES
Tribune
•AM

Vol. 2—No. 23 Monday, July 27, 1942 20 cents per month or 5

Randolph sets up March on Washington group here

Launched here by A. Philip Randolph this week, a local March on Washington committee will conduct its first campaign against the L. A. Railway's bar on the employment of Negroes as conductors and motormen.

Machinery for the Committee, 20th in the country to be organized by Randolph, was set up last week, prior to Randolph's departure today, (Sunday), for his headquarters in New York.

A planning committee, composed of persons who responded to Randolph's call Tuesday and Friday at the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' local, is headed by Oscar Soares, secretary-treasurer of the local. Wendell Green, member of the L. A. Sentinel's staff, is secretary. Miss Almena Davis, TRIBUNE editor, heads a program committee which will plan the organization's first public meeting. Members of the committee include: Leon Washington, editor of the Los Angeles Sentinel; Loren Miller, local attorney; Miss Joyce Key, TRIBUNE theatrical editor; Earl Grimm, Pittsburgh Courier photographer; Miss Anita Grant of the Negro Directory.

Declaring that the L. A. Railway will shortly begin to employ white women to replace men drafted into the defense forces, or now employed in defense industry, Randolph told the Committee that Negroes should now begin to wage war on the bar against their employment in other than menial capacities by the public utility. Procedure of the committee will include interviews of LARY officials to secure a statement of their policy; demand for employment; picketing and strikes against street cars, and a mass demonstration, if necessary.

Addressing those who attended meetings of the organization, Randolph, who organized the first March on Washington in March of 1941, which resulted in Presi-

(Continued on Page 6)

Echoing his address before NAACP conventioners last week, highpoint of the 33rd annual convocation of the body, Randolph said, "We feel that now is the time for it." Opposition to the committee he said he felt did not amount to much. Discussing the technique of protest, the labor leader, who is international president of the Brotherhood, said the masses of Negroes over the country want organized protest against injustice done them, and that "whenever you see an opinion held universally among the masses, you want to go slow in opposing that opinion."

PRECEDENT SET

Asserting that every group in the nation has bargained with the Government for what it wants in exchange for wholehearted interest in the war, Randolph pointed to business, which he said refused to proceed along Government-suggested lines toward increased production until certain profits were assured them. Labor protested wage freezing, he pointed out, and as a price of its cooperation, the Government ruled that out, Randolph pointed out.

"If we can't make the Government respect its uniform on a Negro then we don't deserve the space we occupy in this country," Randolph declared, citing as one of the primary objectives of the ...ect are no longer effective. "The people who are our enemies don't care a thing about what you know," he declared.

"As good and fine a man as President Roosevelt is moved only when Negroes, themselves, move him," Randolph asserted.

In no way opposed to the war effort, Randolph said one of the primary purposes of the Committee will be to urge complete integration of the Negro into national defense and defense industry.

50,000 GOAL

Goal of the Committee, locally, is 50,000. Anyone may be a member; joining fee is 10 cents. Demonstrations and work of the organization will be financed by voluntary contributions.

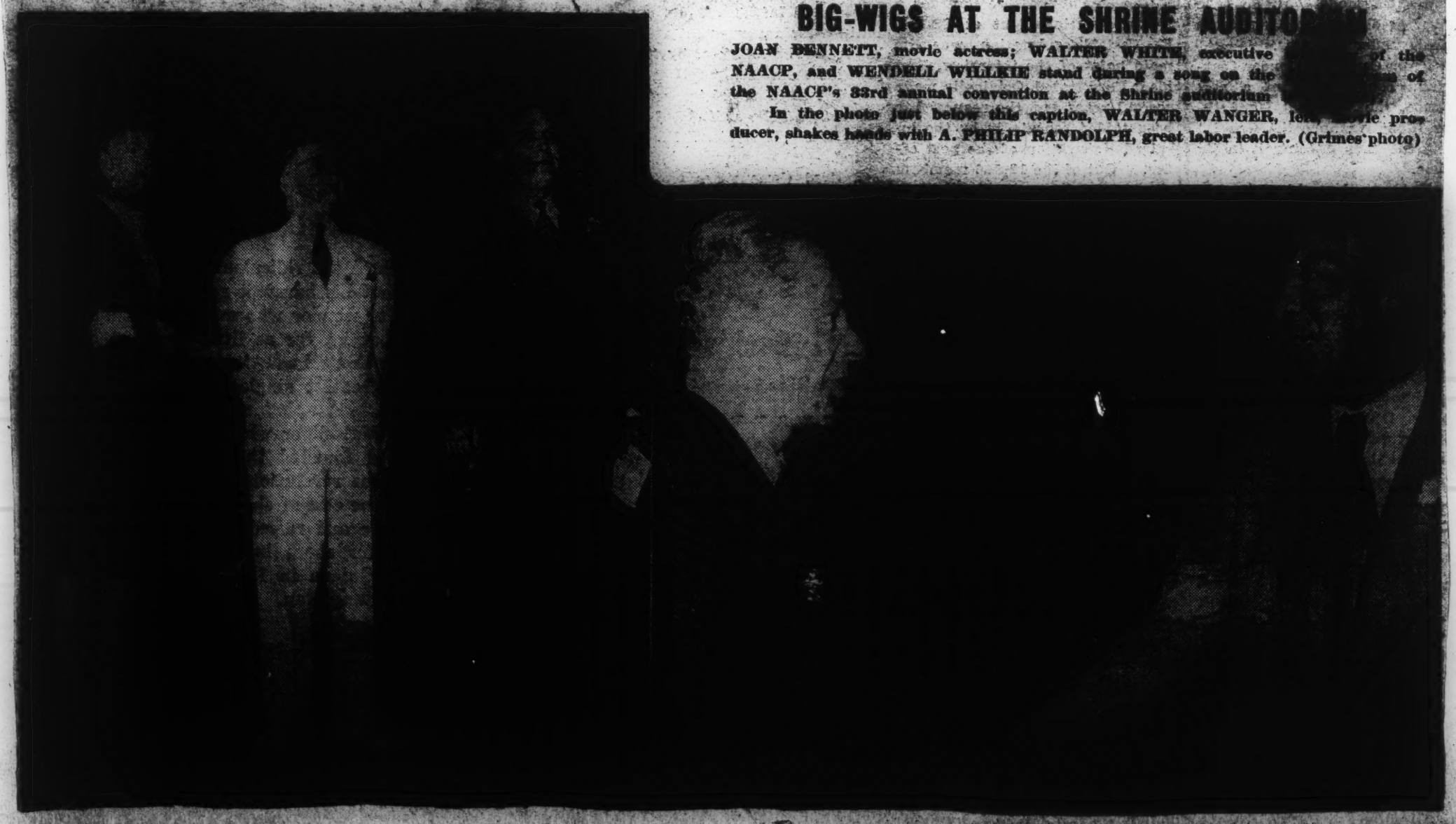
A March on Washington mass meeting in New York cost $8,500 Randolph pointed out, all of which was raised by and among the people.

The Committee will include a sub-FEP committee which will seek to integrate Negroes further into defense industry and urge the upgrading of Negro workers where qualified; an education committee which will take care of the internal problem of urging Negroes to train for jobs; a forum committee which will serve as a central point for discussion and radiation of the Committee, and others. Next meeting of the group...

BIG-WIGS AT THE SHRINE AUDITO...

JOAN BENNETT, movie actress; WALTER WHITE, executive ... of the NAACP, and WENDELL WILLKIE stand during a song on the ... of the NAACP's 33rd annual convention at the Shrine auditorium ...

In the photo just below this caption, WALTER WANGER, le... movie producer, shakes hands with A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, great labor leader. (Grimes photo)



RANDOLPH AND WHITE

From this week's observation of the NAACP in its national convention, we have concluded that Walter White is indeed a brilliant leader for his insistence on working so closely with A. Philip Randolph in his movements toward mass action.

Possessing a wealth of bright young men and women with the education, energy and technical training to fit them for leadership, the NAACP nevertheless lacks a close touch with the masses. It is an organization whose membership rolls read too much like the roster of a more or less select club. Rooted in the church, and the more socially prominent church at that, the NAACP's leadership is composed almost entirely of bourgeoise: Negro doctors, lawyers, teachers, state, county, city and federal government workers, all of them financially secure and many of them educated just to the point where they are [illegible] and caught in a silken web of false culture.

Although the NAACP has won many lasting gains, particularly on the legal front, too much of the organization's power is dependent on contracts its socially presentable leaders have made with white elements disposed to be tolerant, having nothing to lose by tolerance and nothing to gain by intolerance. Unlike Randolph's infant "March on Washington" movement, it has nothing of the real vigor of the people, of solid numbers massed before a single objective, to inspire respectful acquiescence to its demands.

The two groups, then, working harmoniously as intelligent men like Randolph and White will do, are likely to do a more effective job on the problems at hand than the NAACP, singlehandedly, has ever been able to do before.

LOS ANGELES

TRIBUNE SPORTS

Randolph hails Landis statement as 'open door'

Urging Negro players with the support of liberal white friends to take advantage of the opportunity to enter major league baseball, A. Philip Randolph, head of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, hailed the statement of Kenesaw M. Landis, baseball commissioner, regarding the hiring of Negroes as an "open door."

When the statement of Landis was pointed out to him Randolph pointed out that the door opened by the statement would not "stay open automatically." With a large number of white ace players going to the Army the demand, in baseball as in other business and professional enterprises, is greater than the supply.

"If Negroes are not able to break into the major leagues now while the war is on, when the war is over, there will be practically no hope or opportunity since players now in the army will be back looking for jobs. But when once the Negro players break through the barriers of race and color and make good, —and of course they will because of their talent and competency—they will have made a place in major league baseball."

The historic statement made by Judge Landis was this: "I have come to the conclusion that it is time for me to explain myself on this important issue. Negroes are not barred from organized baseball by the Commission and have never been in the 21 years I have served. There is no rule in organized baseball prohibiting their participation to my knowledge."

Randolph Says Leaders Need Unity

CHICAGO, Ill.—There is no unified or well-defined policy or strategy among colored leaders with which to grapple with problems which confront colored people, A. Philip Randolph said at a mass meeting, last Thursday, under the auspices of the March-on-Washington Movement.

Stating that our experience in the war emergency proves the necessity of unity of the colored leadership, Mr. Randolph revealed that the high command is working in tight organizational compartments, and often at cross purposes with little or no co-ordination.

Need Closer Co-operation

There should be some periodic meeting of the top leaders for an objective and realistic discussion of policy and strategy in relation to broad national issues, he said.

If colored people expect to get anywhere during the war and postwar emergency, colored leaders of the church, labor, civic, fraternal and business, law, medicine, education, women and youth must come closer together, Mr. Randolph concluded.

FEPC Given Funds to Probe Job Discrimination in 5 Cities

WASHINGTON

The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee announced Friday that it is rapidly completing plans to hold public hearings in five key cities to probe charges of discrimination in war industries.

The first hearings are scheduled for Detroit in February, or earlier if possible, Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of the committee, stated. Others will follow at six-week intervals in St. Louis, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

Larger Budget Granted

It is understood that these hearings have been made possible by an agreement with the Budget Bureau giving the committee a budget four times as large as its previous allotment.

The appropriation fell short of the FEPC's request, but it was pointed out that there will probably be further negotiations to increase the amount.

To Confer with Employees First

The committee will investigate each complaint submitted to it through its field investigators and will take them up with the industries and labor unions involved, prior to the public hearing, Cramer said.

It is possible that adjustments may be be worked out during the course of investigations, thus obviating the necessity of the public hearing for such concerns as take steps to correct discriminatory practices, he added.

Detroit Rejects Women

At the present time, it was explained that the bulk of the grievances reported in Detroit come from colored women who are being refused employment even by those firms which employ colored men.

In certain cases, it is alleged that employers have agreed to employ the wives of workers inducted into the armed service, but have taken only white women and no colored women.

"Token" Employment

"Last July," Cramer stated, "the committee considered holding a hearing in the Detroit area, but deferred action to permit the local representatives of the War Manpower Commission to push their efforts to open employment opportunities to all women, without discriminatory barriers.

"As long ago as last August, one of the largest employers of women committed himself to desist from refusing to receive applications of colored women because of their race, but up to the present time it is frequently alleged that this same company continues its discriminatory employment practices, even though it has hired a few colored women for token purposes."

Three delegations from the Detroit area, including representatives of labor organizations, have made recent trips to Washington to submit complaints against those discriminatory practices.

St. Louis Out of Line

Cramer Said that in the St. Louis-East St. Louis area, "it is alleged that all efforts to date have failed to bring many of the largest holders of war contracts into line with the national policy of full utilization of manpower and of fair employment.

"In Cleveland and Philadelphia," the FEPC secretary said, "complainants charge that there is a great deal of 'token employment' of minority groups," but that "unfair practices are still preventing many workers from contributing the most to the productive effort."

It was pointed out that in Baltimore, while some employers hire their help without discrimination, several major holders of war contracts are charged with discrimination, both as to hiring and upgrading according to skill.

NAACP To Keep Up Fight For Anti-Poll Tax Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Declaring that the NAACP is "not in the least deterred" by the temporary set-back experienced in the passage of anti-poll tax legislation which occurred when a bourbon Senate majority killed the bill on November 23, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced this week in a statement to the press that the NAACP working in cooperation with other agencies will renew the poll tax fight with the very first day of the 78th Congress on January 3, 1943.

Randolph Demands FEPC Probe WMC

NEW YORK—A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March-on-Washington Movement, declared this week that there can be no compromise on the question of FEPC being restored to its status of independence and responsibility to the President alone.

So long as FEPC is under the wing of Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, it cannot effectively and honestly police Executive Order 8802 because its power and right to investigate discrimination in government departments are limited.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that the United States Employment Service and the Department of Education that are under Mr. McNutt are reeking with racial discrimination. Therefore, FEPC needs to investigate the War Manpower Commission," he stated.

FEPC to Air Case of Firemen Jan. 25

NEW YORK CITY—Milton P. Webster, chairman of a sub-committee of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, stated this week that charges of discrimination by the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen and Trainmen, the Order of Switchmen and the carriers against colored firemen will be aired January 25 to 27.

Documentary evidence and personal testimony from colored firemen on the Atlantic Coast Line, Louisville and Nashville, Seaboard Air Line, Southern Railway, Central of Georgia, the Georgia Railroad and others is expected to be presented.

Counsel of both races are to appear at the hearings. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters provisional committee for the organization of colored locomotive firemen, headed by A. Philip Randolph, is presenting the main case for the colored firemen.

Danville Has Jitters over Blackout

False Rumors Allege Fires Are Planned to Avenge Odell Waller.

By B. T. GILLESPIE

DANVILLE, Va.

It happened at a most inappropriate time, but whites here are spreading the propaganda that colored people are mobilizing to destroy property of whites on the night of the next blackout.

Virginia had an all-night blackout June 17 and Danville was quiet and peaceful. There is every indication that the next blackout wil be carried out in the same manner.

We can point to at least two incidents which may shed light on this unfair rumor. Danville dailies were the only ones in Virginia to insist that Odell Waller be given the electric chair.

Antagonism Aroused

That has caused unfavorable comment here among both races. Colored people have openly resented the way cops push colored women around. They have protested in the courts.

Fortunately, there are some whites here who know full well that Danville has its contribution to make toward the war effort, and that this effort will best be advanced by offering the colored people equal opportunities.

Bus Stations Give Picture

If you want to see how race hate looks its worst, visit the jim crow bus stations in Danville, Richmond and Southhill.

We hear whites, and sometime our own thoughless leaders, say "you can't change conditions over night." That's their excuse for doing nothing about it.

Colored school teachers are teaching for half pay. Children are attending inferior schools. Colored passengers are herded into jim-crow railway cars like cattle, although they pay the same fare as others. They are yanked from their berths after crossing the Maryland-Virginia Line. They are denied admission in parks and play grounds, provided from public funds. Remember Odell Waller. Remember Jim Crow.

Last year Dr. Thomas Elsa Jones, president of Fisk University (Nashville, Tenn.) tendered his resignation to his board. It was not accepted. Dr. Jones resigned on the grounds that he was a conscientious objector to war and wanted to be relieved of his duties at Fisk to work in that direction.

The president spends a great deal of time away from the campus. Fisk alumni have become quite disturbed because Fisk is one school that does little toward the war effort.

It is alleged, that the university has a chance of being swallowed up by Meharry and A. and I. State College. Fisk has done little in past years to improve its physical plant. Meharry and State College both have made rapid growth.

Racial Equality Called Vital to All-Out Effort

600 Study Means Of Curbing Barriers To Negro Workers

More than 600 persons met at the Sherman Hotel yesterday in a mid-western conference designed to marshal sentiment against racial discrimination in the nation's war effort.

Leaders emphasized the importance of equality for Negroes, both in the armed services and in industry.

Four speakers at a luncheon were Ald. Earl B. Dickerson, the Rev. Archibald J. Carey Jr., minister of the Woodlawn Community Center; Turner Catledge, acting editor of The Chicago Sun, and A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Kentuckian Unable to Attend.

Herbert Agar, editor of The Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, who also was scheduled to speak, wired his regret that he could not attend.

Ald. Dickerson warned that the nation must utilize the full capacity of Negroes.

"We cannot accept the 'don't rock the boat' philosophy," he said. "The battle must be waged on the domestic as well as the foreign fronts.

"In our battle against racial discrimination and token employment, we must be courageous and unrelenting. Our record has earned us the right to demand equality and equal participation in the nation's activities."

Key to All-Out Effort Cited.

Mr. Catledge said that the United States will not go all-out in its war effort until it utilizes the full industrial capacity of Negro workers.

Figures assembled by competent authorities concerning industrial discrimination against Negroes are "overwhelming in their impact," Mr. Catledge said.

"They cast before us a shameful picture of what is happening, or what is not happening," Mr. Catledge said. "They demonstrate that millions of competent, native-born Americans are being deprived of their share in saving their country. Figures on the overall industrial problem indicate that we are rapidly approaching a serious, even critical, shortage of labor within and without the skills."

Urgency Emphasized.

Mr. Catledge said it is necessary to approach the problem from the standpoints of the "immediate necessity before us."

"We have to get more jobs for Negroes," he said. "This is for the sake of the Negro and for the sake of his country."

The Rev. Mr. Carey asserted that Negroes "give without regard to color and should get without regard to color."

"Negroes feel that this is the time for Negroes [illegible] and their rights," he said. "[illegible] the time for the America[illegible]ment and the American p[illegible]ive them."

Pressure Methods Talked.

Mr. Randolph said that pressure methods always had been the tools of labor and minority groups.

Preceding and following the luncheon, round-table discussions were held.

RANDOLPH SEES VIOLENCE IN MARCH ON WASHINGTON

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

NEW YORK—(ANP)—A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington movement, gave clear recognition to the possibility of violence in any projected march upon the capital, when he addressed 3,000 persons at a meeting in the Golden Gate ballroom here Friday, but heavily underscored his determination to stick to the objective. "It 's written in the scripture," he declared ominously, "that there is no remission of sin without the shedding of blood." He said this immediately following a recitation of the sins of government that have been practiced against Negroes.

The meeting was sponsored by the local division of the MOWM for the purpose of permitting the national director to make his undelivered speech, originally scheduled for the Madison Square Garden demonstration in June, and to permit the public to see the play presented that night which told eloquently of the Negro's complaint with democracy in America.

Mr. Randolph began with a hope and desire for a victory of the United Nations over the Axis but saw no "certainty" of a "new order" in such a victory unless we press now. He held that the conference approach to a solution is now inadequate, that pressure must be exerted. Thus the establishment of the movement. He justified its existence by citing similar methods being practiced by the American Legion, the famous bonus army, the Daughter of the American Revolution, labor organizations and other special groups. He criticised the transfer of the Fair Employment Practice committee to the War Manpower commission.

Mr. Randolph called the federal government itself the "carrier" of the "germ of race discimination" and pointed to the tendency of American soldiers abroad to transplant their home-grown prejudices to the soil of ordinarily unbiased countries. He complained of the refusal of the President to confer with him on Negro problems although "he always finds time to talk to representatives of AFL and CIO, or other groups seeking a hearing. The trouble, he said, is that "the President has not been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy." The director here reiterated the intention of his organization to go forward with the march. "We have no intention of this organization to abandoning the march," he stated. "This is our major strategy and the MOWM will lead such a march. Personally I have on doubt that the march will be necessary during this war to let the President and the nation know that the Negroes are not going to take a licking from jim crow lying down.

"If the President wants to stop our agitation then let him stop discrimination. If Negroes ar, afraid to fight and go to jail for their rights, then they should be made to get off the earth so that men of stout heart can do the job."

July 1942

Negroes Protest Discrimination In U. S. Forces

11,000 Hear Leader Threaten March On Washington

Vigorous protests against discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces and defense industries were made at the Chicago Coliseum last night at a rally attended by 11,000 Negroes.

The meeting was sponsored by the "March on Washington Movement," an organization which advocates immediate action to gain rights for Negroes during the war.

The movement has been widely accused of Communist leanings, and Communist literature was on sale outside the Coliseum, but A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and director of the movement, emphatically denied that the organization had such leanings.

Denounces Segregation.

He complained against segregation of Negro troops and asserted that USO canteen workers in railroad stations had refused to serve Negro soldiers.

He climaxed his address with an assertion that unless "Jim Crowism" is abolished, "the Negroes are going to march on Washington and not care what happens."

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, indirectly criticized Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain. He asserted that Mr. Churchill's statement that the Atlantic Charter applies only to Nazi-dominated countries of Europe and does not apply to people of the British Commonwealth was "hardly very consoling" to people of the Orient.

Finds Less Discrimination.

Milton P. Webster, one of two Negro members of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, told the meeting that discrimination against Negroes in defense industries was most evident in aircraft plants, but he added that the situation was improving, partly due to the committee's efforts.

Charles W. Burton, regional director of the March on Washington Movement, presided.

July the Fine

Negro Rally Hits At Discrimination

Mayor at Garden Appoints Colored Man

Discrimination in some parts of the country against Negroes casts doubt on the sincerity of the nation's crusade against Fascism, it was said last night at a mass meeting of 18,000 Negroes in Madison Square Garden.

The gathering, sponsored by the March on Washington movement for social rights for Negroes, demanded an end to discrimination in the armed forces and in war industries.

Mayor La Guardia sent a telegram announcing appointment of Frank R. Crosswaith, a Negro labor leader, as a member of the New York City Housing Authority.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said that [illegible] months after Pearl Harbor there still was racial discrimination in the United States. This, he added, must make leaders of the black, brown and yellow peoples wonder about the sincerity of the United Nations.

"What is desperately needed," he said, "is forthright action by President Roosevelt in co-operation with the leaders of the colored world—Chiang Kai-shek of China, Gandhi, Nehru and Arab of India, Manuel Quezon of the Philippines and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to draft and put into execution a Pacific Charter which, with the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill, will form a world charter of freedom."

Other speakers included A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping and Dining Car Porters of America; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.; the Rev. John LaFarge, Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Lester B. Granger.

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

IT CAN BE DONE Last month down at Madison Square Garden at the March on Washington Movement's gigantic demonstration of Negro unity, the national director, A. Philip Randolph, very graciously gave up the time in which he was scheduled to speak, to introduce a pathetic little woman.

She was the mother of Odell Waller. And as she spoke, the huge gathering, which a few minutes before had been a wildly cheering crowd, hushed and with tear-dimmed eyes listened while a heart-broken mother poured out from the very depths of her soul a pitiful plea to the audience to help her save the life of her boy.

Odell Waller has since been electrocuted in the sovereign State of Virginia. By his death he became a symbol of a kind of democracy which on the one hand gives man the right to vote and to be tried by a jury of his peers, and yet on the other hand denies him that right to vote by means of the poll tax and denies him the right to trial by a jury of his peers by denying to Negroes the right to sit on juries.

Ludlow W. Werner

It is within the power of each and every Negro to answer the plea of Odell Waller's mother and show her by our actions that although it was not within our province to help save her boy's life we can strike at the very root of evil and we can prevent there being other Odell Wallers.

Negroes have it in their power to do something about it, but I disagree with those who believe that mere signatures on a petition will do it. There is another power which the powers that be and the powers that hope to be fear more than anything else. And that is the ballot. Judicious use of the ballot will do more than anything else to remedy the situation. Beginning now, there should be a mass determination on the part of Negroes to reward our friends and to punish our enemies.

As this column was being written there was before Congress a petition being circulated to bring to the floor of the House for vote and debate the Geyer bill to outlaw poll taxes as a condition of voting. Two weeks ago this column quoted Walter White, of the NAACP to show just how this country is being throttled to death by Southern Congressmen who are chairmen of all the important Congressional committees. They get those chairmanships by continuance in office, year after year, by the votes of but a few of the citizens of these Uuited States. They continue in office only by virtue of the poll tax as a pre-requisite of voting. They know that once the poll tax is removed, their heads will fall.

And it is here that Negroes can do the most good. Those who live in states where there is no denial to them of the right to vote should write, wire, telephone or see their respective Congressmen and not just tell them that they want the anti-poll tax bill passed, they should demand it. Politically, Negroes have been far too passive in the past for their own good. It is time that they started demanding things instead of asking for them. There is a certain psychological effect, created by a demand that a mere request will never accomplish.

So, to all those Negroes who are bemoaning the electrocution of Odell Waller, I say, stop just talking about the case to your friends and saying it is a shame. Sure, talk about the case, but do more than that. Go to your Congressman and demand affirmative action from him immediately on the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. If he pussyfoots or hedges about it, let him know that there is an election which will be held in November and that you intend to vote for your friends and to punish your enemies. Let him know that you will regard him as an enemy if he does nothing about the bill. Let him know that you won't take no for an answer and you'll do more good to help others who might find themselves in a situation similar to Odell Waller than all the talking will do.

As the Rev. Laurence T. Hosie, acting chairman of the Workers Defense League, so appropriately has stated it: "The most appropriate memorial possible for Odell Walker would be national and state legislation abolishing the poll tax. The long struggle for equal democratic rights will never be over until the poorest man, black and white, is free to go to the polls seeking redress for his wrongs."

And as A. Philip Randolph stated when he and a committee vainly tried to obtain an interview with President Roosevelt on the case: "Failure to grant a commission of inquiry as was granted in the case of Tom Mooney by President Wilson will be interpreted by 13,000,000 Negroes as a refusal because Waller was a Negro. The Negro people will yet be listened to in the halls of government in Washington. The time will yet come when a Negro life will not be sacrificed on the altar of reactionary politics. As all Americans remember Pearl Harbor, Negro Americans will remember Odell Waller, and we solemnly pledge that he shall not have died in vain."

And to those Negroes who have the right to vote but have never exercised that right, I ask just this question: How do you expect to be treated as citizens if you do not act like citizens?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We Were Glad To Help

Editor The New York Age:

On behalf of the officers and members of the March On Washington Movement and myself personally, I want to express our great appreciation for the fine and effective cooperation you gave in The New York Age to make the Madison Square Garden Mass Meeting the greatest demonstration of Negro power in the history of the world.

We hope that you will continue to give us your support.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
National Director, March On Washington Movement.

—30—

Defense Training

Editor, The N. Y. Age:

I am writing to thank you for your cooperation in helping us to find candidates for the defense training courses that are open in New York City.

At the present time, because of the new summer program, there are several thousand training stations vacant in the City of New York. I wish that you would urge Negroes who desire defense training to register for it immediately while there are still vacancies. Persons under 25 may apply at the National Youth Administration office—those over 24 should go to the office of the United States Employment Service nearest their home and ask to be referred to the type of course they wish to take.

Thousands of persons tarined in these courses are finding jobs in defense industry, although at the present time —most of the openings are outside of New York City. It would be tragic if Negroes failed to take advantage of the opportunity now that it is open to them.

EDWARD LAWSON,
Field Employment Assistant
Labor Division.

"Land of The Noble Free"

By LAYLE LANE

AT 4 A. M. July 4, Mr. Milgram of the Workers Defense League and myself left New York for Gretna, Va., to attend the funeral of Odell Waller. We arrived in Washington with just about two minutes, as we thought, to catch the 8:05 on the Southern. However, we had not counted on the indifference of the Southern to time schedule, so it was 9:10 before our train finally started.

Mr. Milgrim decided to ride in the Jim Crow coach with me, for our arrival in Gretna would be less conspicuous. Because passengers were standnig in the coach, the conductor shifted whites to the back of one of the cars so that we could occupy the front. A similar situation in reverse occurred on the return trip. White soldiers about an hour's ride out of Washington board a train which had seats for them only in the coach occupied by colored people. They did not need a conductor to assure them of their right to have a seat; they sat down, though not without spreading white paper to prevent soiling their khaki. It was quite evident they expected the Negro coach to be dirty; also painfully evident they intended to do nothing about it beyond protecting their clothing.

Our coach down was air-conditioned with the air-conditioning out of order. With double windows that couldn't be budged, it was a sweaty trip. Added to this discomfort was the slowness of the train which averaged about 20 miles an hour, and the refuse which littered the car At Charlottesville, the conductor shifted us back to the regular Jim Crow coach where we met, as in the other coach, inquiring glances We talked of the Waller case to those nearest us; some had heard of it, some hadn't. There was none though who did not know the familiar pattern even to the tragic end.

More than two hours late, we arrived about 6 p. m. in Gretna. The conductor was curious—"who you all going to visit around here? I was raised in this country and I know bout all the families." He recognized the name Younger and was apparently satisfied. Though Mr. Milgram had visited the area before, he inquired the way of a cousin of Odell's, who was at the station. We started out on a six-mile hike to Fairview. Fortunately for us, the usual Saturday practice of coming to town was not altered on July 4, so we were able to get a lift to Fairview.

Ironically enough, part of the way was down Patrick Henry Highway. The country was good farm land and fine patches of corn and tobacco bordered the road. Occasionally there were stretches of woods and off in the distances were rounded hills.

We finally reached Fairview and met the few families who made up the immediate community. These were all simple folk who lived both literally and figuratively close to nature. They were wary of strangers and talked freely only after being convinced that we came as friends. Homes were far apart, but we met after supper with Mrs Waller and her brother, Robert. We talked of our last-minute effort to save Odell's life and the reasons for our failure. We wondered what we might have done which might have brought success. We talked of the last hours together of mother and son. We read too Odell's last statement and marveled at its understanding. There was much we did not know how to say. Natural death is so inevitable that its pain is accepted; but the death society imposes—especially if it is unfairly imposed—creates a bitterness and anger one finds no words for.

Sunday was a bright and sunny day and by afternoon it was exceedingly hot. But heat did not deter friends and neighbors from coming to Fairview Baptist Church, of which Odell was a member. The little church was closely packed while outside hundreds more thronged. More than 2,000 persons attended the funeral. A few came from as far away as Richmond but most from the surrounding towns of Pittsylvania County. Some came out of curiosity, but most because they knew Odell or the Waller family and had a deep sense of the injustice which the case revealed.

The church was plain and unadorned except for a motto: "God is Love." Simple flowers from the gardens of friends decorated the

(Continued on page eight)

Solemn Protest Parade Brings Injustice Home to Manhattan

As in days of old footsore pilgrims trod the paths of homage and devotion, so on Saturday, silently, solemnly a hushed procession of Negroes, and a few whites, marched downtown Manhattan streets in tribute to the death of Odell Waller, in protest against the succession of wrongs practised against minorities.

Led by tight-lipped, grim-faced Dr. Lawrence Ervin, chairman of the New York division, March-on-Washington committee, they marched down 56th St. and 8th Ave., past thronged 42d St., down to Union Square.

No sound marred their silence save murmurs from the thousands of whites who lined the curbs, and the significant beat of muffled drums. On their arms the marchers wore black bands in testimony to the fact that something more had died in a Virginia electric chair than the physical frame of Odell Waller.

They bore signs, too: "Stop lynching."

"Cease discrimination."

"Take the color line off the assembly line."

"Integrate Negroes into war industry."

They attracted attention. Shopkeepers came to their doors to find a new Negro on the march. The grins and the smiles and the sneers faded before the unrelenting determination and steady grimness of the marchers.

At Union Square they massed [illegible] makeshift platform—an old second-hand truck. There was an American flag in the center of the truck. These citizens loved that flag, but they wanted the things it represents to hold true for all Americans, regardless of race, creed or color.

Speakers Address Them

Prominent speakers addressed them introduced by Chairman Colden Brown.

Dignified Channing Tobias, senior secretary of colored work of the Y. M. C. A., spoke, emphasizing the "March-on-Washington" slogan—that winning democracy for the Negro is winning the war for democracy. He lit into the Governors of Alabama and Georgia, who last week issued anti-Negro statements. They had defied the edict of the President of the United States, Tobias said, and the real fifth column was in the ranks of the Bourbons of the South.

Dr. Ervin said with impassioned fervor that the Negro would fight and die right here in America, if necessary, to win the fight for democracy at home.

By proxy, Herbert Agar, unable to attend, told the audience that the "war must be won everywhere or it will not be won anywhere;" that the state of interracial affairs was a damning indictment against white civilization.

Other speakers addressed them, but the theme was the same. When the pilgrims turned homeward, they felt a new day was dawning, and thousands of their white brethren had been caused to pause for a moment or two to consider the case of the Negro and his plea for democracy.

WASHINGTON MARCH STILL SCHEDULED

Possibility of Violence Will Not Deter Movement. National Director Maintains in Address.

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

NEW YORK CITY—(ANP)—A. Philip Randolph, national direector of the March on Washington movement, gave clear recognition to the possibility of violence in any projected march upon the capital, when he addressed 3,000 persons at a meeting in the Golden Gate Ballroom here Friday, but heavily underscored his determination to stick to the objective. "It is written in the scripture," he declared ominously, "that there is remission of sin without the shedding of blood." He said this immediately following a recitation of the sins of government that have been practiced against Negroes.

The meeting was sponsored by the local division of the MOWM for the purpose of permitting the national director to make his undelivered speech, originally scheduled for the Madison Square Garden demonstration in June, and to permit the public to see the play presented that night which told eloquently of the Negro's complaint with democracy in America.

Hope For Victory

Mr. Randolph called the federal and desire for a victory of the United Nations over the Axis but saw no 'certainty' of a 'new order' in such a victory unless we press now. He held that the conference approach to a solution is now inadequate, that pressure must be exerted. Thus the establishment of the movement. He justified its existence by citing similar methods being practiced by the American Legion, the famous bonus army, the Daughters of the American Revolution, labor organizations and other special groups. He criticised the transfer of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. Randolph called the federal government itself the "carrier" of the "germ of race discrimination" a n d pointed to the tendency of American soldiers abroad to transplant their home-grown prejudices to the soil of ordinarily unbiased countries. He complained of the refusal of the president to confer with him on Negro problems although "he always finds time to talk to representatives seeking a hearing. The trouble is," he said, "is that the president has not been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy." The director here reiterated the intention of his organiation to go forward with the march. "We have no intention of his organization to abandoning the march," he stated. "This is our major strategy and the MOWM will lead such a march. Personally I have no doubt that the march will be necessary during this war to let the president and the nation know that the Negroes are not going to take a licking from jim crow lying down.

"If the president wants to stop our agitation then let him stop discrimination. If Negroes are afraid to fight and go to jail for their rights, then they should be made to get off the earth so that men of sout heart can do he job."

Randolph May Be Congress Candidate

August 1942

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

NEW YORK —(ANP)—A Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, has been named a candidate for congressman-at-large from this state by the American Labor party and will run in the event the party is unable to prevent the nomination of Atty. General John J. Bennett for governor by the Democratic party.

The candidacy was made known Saturday afternoon along with the announcement that New York City's comptroller, Joseph D. McGoldrick, would head up the party's ticket unless Sen. James M. Mead, choice of President Roosevelt and the New Deal element, is given the Democratic nomination by the State convention. Bennett is being backed by State Chairman James A. Farley, and claims majority support of delegates.

In naming a full slate for the state election, the ALP is apparently going through with the threat to upset the applecart of the Democratics, bring about the election of Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican standard-bearer, and place the blame of chairman Farley. Both the left and right wings of the ALP are unalterably opposed to Bennett and is wholeheartedly for Sen. Mead. However, there is no certainty that the latter will get the nod.

The nomination of Randolph is being viewed as a move to draw upon the strong prestige he holds among Negroes throughout the city and state. In the event the ticket is actualy entered the party expects to collect about a million votes, mostly at the expense of the Democrats. Negroes for the past 12 years, except in New York's mayoralty contests, have been strong Democrats. By naming Randolph, some of this strength can be siphoned onto the ALP on the voting machine.

While Tammany Hall, the New York county democratic organization, is pledged to Sen. Mead, certain defections are anticipated. The delegates controlled by two of the three Negro district leaders will be among these defections. Daniel L. Burrow of the 19th A. D., and Herbert L. Bruce of he 21st A. D., are the leaders. The third leader James Pemberton will no doubt strn galong on the Hall's committee since Michael J. Kennedy, its leader, is somewhat of an angel to Pemberton.

Mr. Randolph was not available over the week-end for comment. Should he run it will be the first time that a Negro has ever made the attempt for congressman-at-large from this state.

Negro Groups Fight Transfer Of Committee

8-17-42

In protest against the placing of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee under the War Man Power Commission, headed by Paul V. McNutt, a mass meeting was held yesterday at the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, under auspices of the Washington Committee of the Negro March Movement.

Cooperating with the committee in the meeting were the Industrial Union Council of the C. I. O., the B'Nai Brith and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, its special attorney, Charles H. Houston, speaking for the latter group.

A resolution was passed asking the President to rescind the order placing the Fair Employment Practice Committee under the Man Power Commission, and seeking further extension of the powers of the committee.

Edward E. Grand, editor of the National Jewish Monthly, urged cooperation of Negro and Jewish people in fighting Fascism here and abroad.

The fight of Negro and white members of the C. I. O., in the South against a reactionary poll-tax Congress," was reviewed by Jack Zucker, vice president of the Industrial Union Council.

Joseph Phillips, president of Local 203, United Federal Workers of America, cited several cases of alleged discrimination in Government service against Negroes, indicating that appeals to the Fair Employment Practice Committee had brought favorable results.

Gandhi Spurns Critics of His Freedom Stand

India Leader Declares He Will Not Hesitate to Go Limit to Obtain Nation's Independence

BY A. T. STEELE

Chicago Daily News Foreign Service

WARDHA, July 20.—Mohandas K. Gandhi is unmoved by the storm of criticism which his demands for immediate independence for India have brought down upon his ancient head.

When I made a farewell call at Ganhdi's ashram — or hermitage—near here, I found him lying on a mattress on the floor of his humble hut, surrounded by a litter of books and papers.

On his stomach was a mud pack—his own remedy for high blood pressure which for some years has afflicted him. A portrait of Jesus Christ looked down upon him from the wall at his side.

GANDHI DETERMINED

Talking of the mass nonviolence campaign, through which he hopes to force the British to yield to demands of the All-India National Congress for "freedom now" — Gandhi spoke with a note of sad determination in his voice.

"This will be the biggest movement in my life," he said.

He indicated that every effort would be made to prevent the movement from getting out of hand, but added that:

"I will not hesitate to go to the extreme limit if I find that no impression is made on the Allied powers."

Gandhi went on to say that, assuming that the All-Indian Congress Committee at its meeting on Aug. 7 confirms the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, there will still be time for the British government to respond, "but not very long, possibly a week or so."

HEARTS CLOSED

I asked him what would be his response, should the British make new efforts to conciliation and negotiations. He replied:

"As far as we are concerned, we have closed our hearts. As we said in our resolution, all hopes have been dashed to pieces. We cannot inwardly wish for any negotiations to be opened. But it is open to America, to Britain, to China and even to Russia to plead for India, which is pining for freedom. And if they made a proposal that was acceptable, it would certainly be open to the Congress or any other (Indian) party to entertain and accept it. It would be churlish on our part if we said we did not want to talk to anybody."

I reminded Gandhi of the belief had by many Britons and Americans that a civil-disobedience movement in India at this delicate juncture in world affairs might disastrously influence the Allied war effort in this country. But the 73-year-old Nationalist leader was unpersuaded.

"That belief," he retorted, "is born of ignorance. What possible internal commotion could take place if the British government declared today that India was absolutely independent? It would, in my opinion, be the least risky enterprise the Allies could make in behalf of the war effort.

MIGHT AID JAPS

"You see, this struggle has been conceived in order to avert catastrophe. At a critical moment an unfree India is likely to become a hindrance rather than a help. The Congress resolution itself hints at the possibility of large numbers of Indians going over to the Japanese side if they affected a landing on Indian shores. That, as we now know, has happened in Burma, Malaya and, for what I know, in Singapore also.

"I am of the opinion that this must have been prevented, at least as far as Burma was concerned, by making her entirely independent. That was not done. We know the result.

WOULD AVERT TRAGEDY

"We are determined, as far as is humanly possible, to avert such a tragedy. We want to secure our independence so that no Indian worth the name would then think of going over to the Jap side. It would then tend to be as much to Indian interest as to Allied interest to resist Jap aggression."

"I am open to conviction," Gandhi continued. "If anybody could convince me that in the midst of war the British cannot declare India free without jeopardizing the war effort, I should like to be convinced."

"And if you were convinced," he was asked, "would you call off your campaign?"

"Of course," came the quick reply. "My complaint is that all these good critics talk at me, swear at me, but never condescend to talk to me."

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SENATE GROUP SETS HEARING ON POLL TAX

Senator Pepper's Bill For Abolition Is Backed By Mrs. Roosevelt

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — Poll tax and its evils will get a thorough going-over on March 12 when the U. S. Senate sub-committee on judiciary conducts hearings on the evil.

Witnesses, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, will appear to urge the abolition of the tax. The hearing is on the bill introduced by Senator Claude Pepper, Democrat of Florida.

Known as Senate Bill 1280, it calls for abolition of the poll tax in all federal elections on the grounds that the poll tax is not a qualification for voting within the meaning of the Constitution.

Economic discrimination caused by the taxes will also be discussed during the hearings.

When the poll tax was removed in three southern states, the number of voters rose far above former levels. In North Carolina, the vote went up 70 per cent; in Louisiana 90 per cent and in Florida 140 per cent.

The poll tax still remains in eight southern states: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Texas.

Numerous southern historians have pointed out that the poll tax was originally imposed to keep the vote away from the poor farmer and working people in order to keep political control in the hands of a small class of wealthy voters.

An all out effort is being made by the group sponsoring the hearing and anticipation of success is high.

Members of the sub-committee on the judiciary include Senators Van Nuys of Indiana; Tom Connally of Texas; O'Mahoney of Wyoming; Chandler of Kentucky; Doxey of Mississippi; Norris of Nebraska; Austin of Vermont; Danaher of Connecticut; Wiley of Wisconsin; Burton of Ohio, the last five being Republicans and the former Democrats.

It is practically the same group that heard the anti-lynch bill when it came before the committee.

PLANS FOR MARCH ON CAPITAL PROGRESS

Washington, (ANP) —The spectacle of 50,000 Negroes silently marching through the streets of Washington, behind muffled drums, will become a reality, says Eugene P. Davidson, speaking for the Washington branch of the committee being organized by A. Philip Randolph to stage such a protest against unfairness of the administration in not doing more to see that Negroes are given jobs in the national defense projects.

Two meetings, held in Washington recently, met with enthusiastic response and the leaders are planning an energetic drive to put over the program in the most effective manner.

On Main Streets

It is planned to have the marchers parade through the main thoroughfares of the city to the famous Lincoln Memorial, where Marian Anderson sang at the feet of the great emancipator and call upon the president to speak to the group there assembled

"We do not want any private meetings with committees," said Mr. Davidson. We want the president to speak out forthrightly on the problem and tell the world what this administration will and can do on behalf of the underprivileged minority groups in the city."

Thorough coverage of the country is going to be attempted and buttons will be placed on sale to cover the costs of the hegira to the nation's capital. Radios, newspapers, advertisements all will be used in a concerted drive to put over the program, says Mr. Davidson.

'NEW BILL OF RIGHTS' IS OFFERED

U. S. Board Looks to Postwar Period

WASHINGTON — (LP) — President Roosevelt's national resources planning board Saturday night urged establishment after the war of a "new Bill of Rights" designed to cure social ills "which our forefathers did not face."

In its seventh report since organization early in 1941, the board asserted "too few corresponding adjustments have been made in our provisions for human freedom" to match the nation's rapid economic and technological development.

"And now to the old freedoms we must add new freedoms and restate our objectives in modern terms," the report said.

"Any new declaration of personal rights, any translation of freedom into modern terms applicable to the people of the United States here and now must include:

"1 The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years.

"2 The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift and other socially valuable service.

"3 The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

"4 The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment and accident.

"5 The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority and unregulated monopolies.

"6 The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent, free from the spyings of secret political police.

"7 The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact.

"8 The right to education, for work, for citizenship and for personal growth and happiness.

"9 The right to rest, recreation and adventure, the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization."

The report emphasized these rights "go beyond the political

Rights

Continued on Page 10

Wendell Willkie To Be Principal Speaker At Closing Meeting Of 33rd Annual NAACP Conference

1942 - N.Y. age

Wendell L. Willkie will be the principal speaker July 19 at the closing mass meeting of the 33rd annual conference of the NAACP in Los Angeles, Calif., it was announced here.

Mr. Willkie, who has several times blasted the treatment accorded Negro Americans in the war effort, particularly in the navy, is expected to tell a huge crowd in the Shrine auditorium the role and stake of minorities in the world-wide struggle, and the rights which a democracy owes each of its citizens.

With Willkie on the Sunday afternoon program will be Walter White, NAACP secretary. Music will be furnished by the Festival Negro Chorus of Los Angeles, directed by Hall Johnson.

Theme of the conference will be "Victory Is Vital to Minoirties." Discussions will center around the Negro in the war effort, touching upon employment, civilian defense, housing, armed services, health.

A day will be given over to the subject, "Protecting Civil Rights During an Emergency," and speakers will deal with federal and state laws, criminal cases, police brutality, the franchise, and education.

The conference will be welcomed at the opening session Tuesday night, July 14, by Thomas L. Griffith, jr., president of the Los Angeles branch. Keynote addresses will be given by Roy Wilkins, national assistant secretary, from New York. A short address of welcome is scheduled to be given by Governor Culbert Olson.

The place of the Negro in war time employment will be outlined by Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and president of Hampton Institute, in his speech July 15. On this program will be Mrs. Charlotta Bass, editor of the California Eagle.

Friday night, July 17, will see the formal presentation of the 27th Spingarm medal to A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The presentation speech will be deliverd by Bishop J. A. Greeg of the A.M.E. Chnrch, and a national vice-president of the NAACP.

Among other speakers at various sessions will be Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City; E. Frederic Morrow, national assistant field secretary; Gloster Current and Dr. J. J. McClendon, Detroit; Crystal Bird Fauset, Washington, D. C.; Thomas N. Roberts, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Amos T. Hall, Tulsa; Walter Hardin, UAW-CIO, Detroit; Carl Johnson, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore; and George M. Johnson, assistant executive secretary of FEPC, Washington, D.C.

Conference headquarters will be in Second Baptist Church, 24th and Griffith avenue, where the Rev. J. Raymond Henderson is

Cite 'Traitors' Before FEPC In Probe Of Jobs

Officials of the Buick Aviation Engine division of the General Motors corporation were charged with deliberate misrepresentation of facts and evasiveness during their appearance before the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices in Chicago Monday.

The charges were made by Howard D. Dozier, industrial secretary of the Chicago Urban League, after William Coen and C. V. Wooliver, personnel officials, flatly denied that the company discriminated against Negroes and Jews in the employment of workers.

The hearing at which the officials of the Buick company appeared was the second held by the committee since the President issued an executive order prohibiting discrimination and establishing a committee to effectuate this policy.

The committee meeting, held in the council chambers of Chicago's city hall, summoned a number of defense contractors who had been charged with discrimination against various religious and racial groups.

In his opening remarks, Mark Ethridge, chairman of the committee, rapped defense contractors who deny employment to workers because of race or creed.

Said he, "This is an all-out war. Anything that does not fall in line with that idea is close to treason."

Throughtout the hearings members of the committee impressed on the audience and especially on the recalcitrant employers that failure to comply with the President's non-discrimination order is a crime against the nation.

First to appear were represen-

NEGRO SOLDIERS IN SOUTHERN CAMPS.

1942

The fatal shooting of a Negro army sergeant by a city policeman in Little Rock, Ark., provides additional proof, if more is needed, that the army is making a mistake in sending Negro troops into the southern states for training. Only two months ago 29 Negro soldiers, almost all of them from the northern states, were injured in a riot in Alexandria, La. Last summer there were clashes between Negro troops and white citizens near Gurdon, Ark. These incidents run all the way back to the Brownsville, Tex., riot.

The report on the Little Rock shooting comes from the city policeman who killed the sergeant. The victim is said to have joined Negro civilians in attempting to release a comrade who had been arrested by military police and to have used violence against the city patrolman. No matter who started the row, the disorder was no isolated incident, and the whole series should demonstrate to the war department that it is asking for trouble when it persists in sending colored troops into a known climate of racial intolerance.

The war department—after the Alexandria shootings—recognized the army's responsibility for maintaining order among troops on leave by promising to correct deficiencies of military police control. The performance has not lived up to the promise. If the war department expects creditable conduct in battle from its colored troops, it will get them out of the south. The morale of these soldiers cannot remain good if they know that anybody can shove them around.

Rights

Continued From Page One

forms and freedoms for which our ancestors fought.

"Their problem was freedom and production of wealth, the building of this continent with its farms, industries, transportation, and power.

"Ours is freedom and distribution of abundance, so that there may be no unemployment while there are adequate resources and men ready to work and in need of food, clothing and shelter."

The board also pointed to "obligations of the individual to use well his rights and to insist on the me rights for others."

Fighting the War the Axis Way

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, AUGUST 1, 1942

Whitewashes Dixie Talk

BALTIMORE

The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, at its session Thursday, declined to take action on the speech of Mark Ethridge advocating segregation of workers in war industries.

Since the speech represented only Ethridge's personal views, the committee said, no action was necessary.

The committee did not comment on the fact that Ethridge's speech was made at the opening of official FEPC hearings in Birmingham, an occasion where personal views have no place without official sanction.

Ethridge at that time said the South was unwilling to give up segregation and neither the President nor all the Axis armies could compel it to do so.

Both colored members of the FEPC in the commitee meeting Tuesday, differed with Ethridge and Earl Dickerson issued a public statement denouncing the Ethridge speech as violating the spirit and letter of the President's order which calls for "free participation" of colored workers in war industries regardless of race, color, creed, etc.

Many war plants, he said, are too small to segregate colored workers and give them free participation as to training and promotion. Besides this is too costly.

A. Philip Randolph issued a statement from Los Angeles saying Ethridge should "have the decency to resign from the committee."

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Along with Horace Cayton and Marjorie McKenzie, I am concerned about the future of hte NAACP, the March-On-Washington movement, and the general leadership of the Negro masses in the current crisis. Mr. Cayton reports that the recent NAACP confab was just another talkfest ending with the usual resolutions, and I can well believe it, knowing the whole routine from A to Z by heart. However I do not share the Cayton view that the March-On-Washington movement is any threat to the NAACP, more's the pity.

It seems to me to be time for some plain speaking about this whole matter of leadership, and I am glad that it is coming in for more careful analysis.

• • •

The March-On-Washington movement is A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph knows how to appeal to the emotions of the people and to get a great following together, but there his leadership ends because he has nowhere to lead them and would not know how if he had. Every person has his or her limitations, and of course Randolph has his. He has the Messianic complex, considerable oratorical ability and some understanding of the plight of the masses, but the leadership capacity and executive ability required for the business at hand is simply not there. The original March-On-Washington move is now admitted to have been a failure else the current agitation would not be necessary. Moreover there is no organizational set-up or observable administrative ability to keep the M.-O.-W. movement alive and functioning. Organization is not merely a matter of ballyhoo and oratory, it is a science, and one that is largely a closed book to Mr. Randolph. Mass leadership in times like these also requires a little more guts than any of the Negro leaders possess. I know of none willing, like Nehru and Gandhi, to go to jail.

• • •

The March-On-Washington movement is no threat to the NAACP, but that is not saying so much for the NAACP. Despite all the drool about how many Negroes Garvey organized, the fact remains that the NAACP has organized more Negroes for group progress than any movement in American Negro history. However, the fact that after 30 years it can muster no more than 70,000 members out of 13,000,000 people is a sad reflection on its program and its leadership. It could have had and should have a million members but it stubbornly persists in pursuing a course that fails to capture either the imagination or the support of the wide masses of Negroes. Its structure which was basically bad in 1909 when it was founded, has not been changed. It is still doing something FOR Negroes rather than WITH them. It has been against all those things that any normal Aframerican is against, but it has construed "advancement" too narrowly. It has become known as a "protest" organization, almost always on the defensive, waiting for something to happen. What few offensives it has launched have been none too impressive.

• • •

The NAACP suffers the initial handicap as a mass organization of being run by a self-perpetuating oligarchy which the members have no means of swerving or influencing. Consequently it is not as responsive to the wishes of its members as it would be were it democratic. Effective opposition to any administrative policies is therefore impossible.

The Association is swathed heavily in the mantle of tradition and is still run as if we were back in the dear, dead days before and after World War I. It "slept" the great opportunity it had to represent the Negro workers of the country within the Labor Movement. It "slept" the great opportunity to foster and direct a campaign of consumer co-operative education and organization among Negroes. It failed, until recent years, to have any sort of youth movement, and now that it has one it has no program. Its educational program has been scarcely visible and extremely inefficient. Although half the Negroes are in agriculture, it has never had any program for them save to protest the broiling of some hapless oaf. Its campaign for educational equality has been a real bright spot, succeeding because it is positive and touches masses of people personally. With two million Negroes in domestic service, however, it has neither message nor machinery for them.

• • •

As a group we have been advancing two steps and slipping back three. Segregation is more nationwide than ever before. The "blood theory" is more rampant than ever. Social ostracism is the order of the day almost everywhere and racial pollution laws clutter our statutes. So far we have discovered no technique except to protest and plead, but now that we have been told that concessions are at an end and equality is "out," war or no war, what are we to do? Most prominent Negroes have embraced jim-crow for the duration although the masses seeth with unrest. Will either the March-On-Washington or the NAACP leaders now come forward and say "Give us all manhood citizenship rights and privileges or we shall refuse to co-operate?" Many embittered, bewildered black folk have awaited some such statement from Negro leadership. They have been let down, or at least they feel that way. If they lose hope and confidence, what then?

A GLOOMY REPORT.

The National Urban League, one of our most valuable organizations, has completed a survey covering developments since the President's order forbidding racial discrimination in defense employment and the organization of the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

While the Urban League report shows that there has been an increase in Negro employment, some ending of discrimination by both employers and certain labor unions, and a growing number of Negroes employed by the Navy and other departments, it also shows inadequate or non-existent defense training facilities in the South and the same or greater degree of unemployment of Negroes in most great urban areas.

This report will certainly not inspire optimism among those who expected so much from Executive Order 8802; and in view of its findings there is no wonder that the March-On-Washington group is talking about another march in the hope of bringing about the results which were claimed a year ago when the first march was threatened and called off.

Of course, it was not the intention of the Urban League to issue a report to comfort pessimists, but it had to state the facts, and they are not pleasant although not hopeless, either.

The Pittsburgh Courier

White And Colored New Yorkers March In Silent Protest Against Intolerence, Bigotry At Home

By ALFRED A. DUCKETT
Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK CITY, July 30.—Saturday under the banner of the March-On-Washington Movement, representatives of many organizations and committees took their crusade for democracy to the sidewalks of New York. In direct protest against the execution of Odell Walker, the poll tax, lynching and discrimination in all its ugly forms, 400 Negroes augmented by some 100 whites, marched 11 blocks in a silent procession through the streets of lower Manhattan.

In what was perhaps the strangest demonstration in New York's history, the marchers moved at snail pace to the background of the beat of muffled drums. Black armbands on their sleeves gave the march a funeral touch.

From the theatrical and amusement center in the "50's" through the garment and fur centers of the "30's" and on down to thronged Union Square, the procession moved, halting traffic in many spots and everywhere capturing the attention and curiosity of thousands of jaded New Yorkers who thronged hotel lobbies, department store doors and apartment house windows to "see what it was all about."

Your correspondent trudged the tiring trek abreast of the parade and heard and saw diverse and interesting evidences of reaction on the part of bystanders and spectators.

There was the stout, little Jewish proprietor of a fur shop who rushed back into her store and told her employees and customers:

"Wanna see something funny. A lot of colored people parading!"

There was the firm jawed gentleman who said with a steely glint in his eye:

"What are they doing here in the white section?"

Then of course, there were the sympathetically-approving spectators, white and colored, who seemed to feel that it was about time that a race of downtrodden people had become militant.

But whether sympathetic or not, thousands of New Yorkers Saturday found out that a race was on the march; on the march with posters that demanded, "Leave the Color Line off the Assembly Line," or "Let American Negroes Help America," or "Odell Waller Was Legally Lynched."

UNION SQUARE NONCHALANT

But, as interested as were the thronged streets along the line, Union Square, scene of many soapbox wars and mass meetings, was nonchalant before the drive of the marchers.

Colden Brown, opening the meeting held in the Square, first introduced to the audience, Morris Milburn of the Workers' Defense League. Milburn, the only white man allowed to attend the Waller rites, described the funeral to his audience and told his hearers:

"When I saw the body of Odell Waller stretched before my eyes in death, I was ashamed of the white race which had persecuted him. I was ashamed to be a white man."

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Senior Secretary of Colored Work for the Young Mens Christian Association, said the protest was "not in the interest of the Negro race, but in defense of the principles upon which this democratic nation was founded." Tobias blasted the anti-Negro statements made last week by Governors Talmadge and Dixon of Georgia and Alabama and said:

"It is a question of whether the United States will allow those in high authority in the Southern States to place their prejudices ahead of an edict of our President in a wartime era."

Anne Arnold Hedgeman, a Regional Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, told the audience that it is the responsibility of the Negro to "help America save its own soul."

Most rousing speech of the evening was made by Dr. Lawrence Erwin, president of the New York Division of March-On-Washington. Erwin made a [illegible] full-dress attack on Southern prejudice and issued the [illegible] challenge that:

"Negroes are determined to have a complete, full and perfect equality with all other men in this democracy. With this there can be no compromise."

A democracy which excludes any of its citizens is but a "hollow mockery," the speaker added. He counselled Negro America to follow "the undisputed race champion-ship of A. Philip Randolph."

Iona Morris, [illegible] youth leader's remarks, was received with great approval by the audience.

Robert [illegible], chairman of the Parade Committee, [illegible] excerpts from a letter [illegible] William Agar [illegible] to be present.

With characteristic forthright bluntness, the Agar speech talked over the theme that the war can-not be won anywhere unless it is won everywhere. Agar charged that those who stand with the Bourbons against you will someday side with Hitler against us."

THE CHICAGO [illegible]
August 1, 19[illegible]
THE [illegible]AGO

JAMAICA SITTING ON VOLCANO OF UNREST, DESPAIR

BY NAT A. BARROWS.
SPECIAL CABLE
To The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.
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Kingston, Jamaica, Aug. 1.—In face of increasingly serious food and fuel shortages throughout most of the Caribbean, this largest and most valuable island of the British West Indies sits uneasily on the edge of a volcano of native despair and unrest.

The colonial government frankly admits that the situation is grave and views apprehensively the coming weekend celebration of Emancipation Day when it is feared pentup emotions, engendered by many years of economic difficulties, may break loose in demonstrations similar to the riots of 1938. In the past months enough criminal violence and suspected arson has broken out here and in Spanish Town and Old Harbor to call for a supplementary police force of 1,300 white vigilantes who are on patrol nightly with clubs and pistols.

Act to Save Gas, Tires.

Along with the wave of sporadic outbreaks of violence by roving bands of hungry, unemployed natives, Jamaica has a serious gasoline and tire problem, which it is meeting locally by a drastic act. Last midnight, all motor vehicles in Jamaica, except those for which special permits were issued, ceased to operate.

The governor of Jamaica, Sir Arthur Frederick Richards, has taken a drastic step in an attempt to meet the lawless acts that flare up from the economic disruptions. Last Tuesday the colonial government here invoked wartime use of flogging for those convicted of acts of criminal violence.

The government this week also restricted [illegible]sene rationing to one-half [illegible] weekly for each household.

As for the food problem of Jamaica's 1,070,000 Negroes, the government is vigorously seeking to implement a back-to-the-land movement, to make the island more self-sufficient.

Refuse to Work on Farms.

At present many thousands of inland and mountain natives are still congregated on the outskirts of Kingston, unwilling to return to their farm labors after a taste of the relatively high wages paid by contractors on United States lend-lease bases at Portland Bight and Sandy Gully. The government is pondering compulsory measures to enforce an agricultural program and relieve the pressure upon food-relief kitchens.

In view of this [illegible] situation, yesterday's parade [illegible] Canadian and American soldiers may be interpreted as something more than a demonstration of an Allied ceremonial honoring the abolition by the British of slavery in Jamaica in 1834. Held a day ahead of time, this Emancipation Day parade was also a tacit warning that Jamaica has reserve backing for the police against concerted acts of criminal lawlessness.

Lurking Axis Influence.

The crime wave appears to be the emotional result of the long-standing economic crisis here but many observers find threads of Axis influence hidden in the pattern indirectly encouraging any act that tends to upset law and order. The British have worked relentlessly to stamp out every open form of Axis penetration.

The most important political organization in Jamaica is the Peoples' National Party, headed by Norman Washington Manley, K.C., the island's most prominent Negro lawyer, an Oxford graduate and a skillfully articulate advocate of home rule. His anti-government policy is based on a platform of nationalism—Jamaica for the Jamaicans—but he goes along with the governor in recognizing the urgency of an immediate agricultural program, differing only in the [illegible].

The problem of Jamaica and the entire British West Indies must not be treated casually. With all possible speed some plan must be activated to alleviate the food and fuel shortages intensified by the complete shortage of the lucrative tourist traffic.

A Militant Paper

The PEOPLE'S VOICE

AMERICA'S GREATEST NEGRO NEWSPAPER

Serving All People

VOL. 1, NO. 25 NEW YORK CITY, AUG. 1, 1942 10c A COPY

Denouncing Poll Tax, Lynching, Jimcro:

HUNDREDS JOIN PROTEST MARCH

A PORTION OF THE SILENT PARADE MOVES DOWN EIGHTH AVENUE IN PROTEST OF SOUTHERN MOB VIOLENCE

NEARLY five hundred Negroes in ominous, grim, silence marched to the faint throb of muffled drums with only the beat of their determined feet upon the street, in a non-violent demonstration in answer to violent mob acts of southerners.

The March On Washington Movement made its first actual march Saturday afternoon, through New York streets, from 56 and Eighth ave to Union Square, displaying banners denouncing lynching, jimcro and the poll tax. The most impressive of these was a large, streamer reading: "We solemnly pledge that these our dead shall not have died in vain."

In Union Square the speakers were forced to talk from ladders resting against trucks, since the organization could not afford the cost of constructing review stands and the police would not permit them the use of the concrete stands erected by the city for that purpose. Speakers referred to China, India and other colored races of the world and their problems. One placard called for colored representatives at the world peace conference.

After the march in which many other organizations joined, a truck load of youngsters drove through 125 st singing significant social songs and chanting verses of political meaning.

Among the many white people who joined sympathetically was a woman with a heart ailment. She insisted upon marching twenty blocks when she was forced to quit.

This was the first demonstration of its kind in New York.

The march was led by Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, local chairman; Perry Ferguson, organizer, and Aldrich Turner. The banners were done by Fred Perry.

The demonstration was observed in strict silence and the faces of the marchers were impressive. A policeman who persisted in talking was soon made to realize the nature of the march.

Saturday, August 1, 1942

Actual March Not Planned By Randolph

Pressure Is Purpose Of March-On-Washington; Whites Still Excluded

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the gigantic March-on-Washington Movement, has no immediate plans for urging his organization to engage in an actual physical demonstration or march.

This fact was revealed when Randolph told the recently-organized Los Angeles Division of the Movement on Saturday.

"The objective of this committee is not an actual physical march, but to organize pressure on the President for purposes of forcing the Government to make some drastic changes in the treatment of the Negro."

Touching on the oft-criticized angle of the Movement that it excludes whites who might be sympathetic to its program, Mr. Randolph explained that March-on-Washington is still restricted to Negroes because "white men, not the victims of race prejudice, cannot feel as strongly as Negroes

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, AUGUST 1, 1942

How Long Will the War Last?

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

[Excerpt from address prepared for March on Washington Mass Meeting in New York.]

Although this way may end with the victory of the United Nations, and we hope and pray and struggle for that objective, may we be not deceived, for wars will never end until the white man's supremacy is put down and all races and nations and peoples are treated as equals. But will the government grant racial equality to colored people in America? The answer is "NO." Colored people must win it, and you cannot win unless you are willing to fight for it, and you cannot effectively fight for it unless you have power, and you cannot have power unless you have organization.

A. P. Randolph

Trade unions were not granted equality in the law with the employers. The workers won it. They fought for it and took it. If colored people get racial equality in America, they will have to take it. Moreover, anything that is given you is not worth having.

Women Fought

Women had to fight men, their own husbands, fathers and sons and take the right of suffrage.

If white men have to fight other white men for decent wages, hours of work, the right to organize trade unions, freedom, justice and democracy, how can black men, whom nobody likes anyway, expect to get justice, freedom and democracy any differently?

The very tradition of America is a fighting tradition. American independence was won by fighting in the Revolutionary War. The Union was saved by fighting in the Civil War. If we save democracy in the world it will be done by fighting, and if colored people secure democracy at all it will be done through fighting.

Pressure Essential

The President and the people of this country are waiting and watching to see whether we have the spirit, will, determination and courage to fight for our citizenship rights.

If we have the spirit to fight, we will get our rights. If we don't have the spirit, we won't get them and we don't deserve them.

The President and government will only move when you move them, and you can only move them with mass power. They respond to pressure, mass pressure, and nothing else.

Period Acceleration

The belief that we who now live will never see the end of jim crow is a defeatist position. Changes take place within the period of a day, week, or month or year, that once took decades, scores and centuries to bring about.

This is a period of acceleration. The entire world is in motion. If colored people hope to win equality, justice and liberty, they must get into motion in great masses in world-shaking maneuvers and strategy.

LOS ANGELES
Tribune.A

Vol. 2—No. 24 Monday, August 3, 1942 20 cents per month

March on Washington flounders; regains feet, mass meet planned

Floundering badly early this week, following the departure of its dynamic creator, A. Philip Randolph, for the East, the local March on Washington committee got its feet shortly before press time this week to set a clear course toward [illegible] the organization.

Launched by Randolph at the [illegible] month, the pressure [illegible] organization almost [illegible] weeks for [illegible] and a [illegible] vital interest [illegible] Randolph's third [illegible] at the [illegible] Par-

(Continued on Page 6)

PUBLIC MEETING

Picturing the March on Washington committee as an attempt to "make articulate the inarticulate masses", the Rev. Kingsley persuaded the group to hold a public meeting here to acquaint the public with Randolph's idea, to "fire the public imagination with the thrilling purpose of the movement."

To effect that a committee which will stage the mass meeting, was set up. Chairman is TRIBUNE editor Almena Davis, to whom Randolph, before leaving, had given special instructions in the technique and aims of the organization. Headed by Oscar Soares, local secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood, an organization committee was also set up, which will work to secure the interest of more people in the body.

Writing from Denver this week, where he stopped enroute East, Randolph cautioned local members of the planning committee to use every care in selecting a chairman of the local March on Washington committee. "Be certain not to choose a man with ties which will make him afraid," the leader declared. Because the Communist Party, out of opposition to Randolph, is opposed to his program, the leader further cautioned that no one be placed in an executive position who is linked with that party, which he declared would have Negroes "submerge and forget their grievances and abandon their fight for democratic rights for a Second Front and the salvation of Soviet Russia."

Belief that the movement will give birth to its own leader was expressed by the group in attendance Friday night, which agreed to work under the leadership of temporary chairman, Oscar Soares until the proper leadership arises.

Scheduling the mass meeting tentatively for the latter part of August, the committee will nevertheless meet each Friday to report on progress of the organizational and program committees. Anyone wishing to attend may do so.

Conceived by Randolph in Mar[illegible] of 1941 as a means of imp[illegible] President Roosevelt [illegible] of Negroes for [illegible] defense forces [illegible] dustry, the [illegible]on Committee [illegible] instrument in se[illegible] award of E[illegible] 1942, which p[illegible] the way for the [illegible] Negroes into defense ind[illegible]

March on Wash.

(Continued from Page 1)

...ters' headquarters saved the day, however, and started the committee off on a definite program to enlist community membership in the movement.

The vital interjection came from the Rev. Harold M. Kingsley of Chicago, here temporarily in charge of the Lincoln Memorial Congregational church. Long time supporter of A. Philip Randolph's earliest organizational attempt, the Brotherhood, Mr. Kingsley is acquainted with the Chicago branch of the movement. Relating some of that group's technique in launching the movement, he set a blueprint for the local body's organizational efforts.

WAKE UP NEGRO AMERICA!!

LET US STOP HITLER IN EUROPE AND HITLERISM IN AME

Pack The City Auditorium Friday, August 14, At 7 p. m. S

Strong In Biggest Demonstration Of Negroes In Histo

TO CONDEMN

1. Beating of ROLAND HAYES and wife in Georgia.
2. Lynching in SIKESTON, MISSOURI and TEXARKANA, TEXAS.
3. Shooting and Killing of Negro Soldiers in Flagstaff, Arizona, Little Rock, Ark.; Fort Bragg, N. C.; Fort Dix, N. J., and
4. Insult from RED CROSS by segregation of Negro blood.
5. Refusal to serve NEGRO BOYS with WHITE BOYS in UNCLE SAM'S UNIFORM while traveling SOUTH to camps.
6. Discrimination in DEFENSE INDUSTRIES in ST. LOUIS.
7. Discrimination in [redacted] for DEFENSE JOBS.
8. Segregation in W. [redacted]
9. Segregation of NEGRO OFFICERS in NEGRO DIVISION at Huachuca, Arizona.

TO DEMAND

1. Right to WORK, LIVE, FIGHT, and DIE for our Country as Equals.
2. Abolition of DISCRIMINATION and SEGREGATION IN: Army, Navy, Air Corps, U.S. Marines, all Government Departments a

FIGHT OR BE SLAVES!

LET US BURY JIM-CROWISM IN THE SAME GRAVE WITH HITLER'S NAZISM, MUSSOLINI'S FASCISM AND HIROHIT

Buy Bonds And Fight To Break The Bonds Of Slavery At Home A

Hear Great Speakers -- See Stirring Drama -- Listen To Fine Singing

Remember "Winning Democracy For The Negro Is Winning The Wa

ADMISSION FREE---COME EARLY FOR SEATS

NEGRO AMERICA!!

N EUROPE AND HITLERISM IN AMERICA

m Friday, August 14, At 7 p. m. 50,000

Demonstration Of Negroes In History

O CONDEMN

NA, TEXAS.

, Arizona, Little Rock, Ark.; Fort Bragg, N. C.; Fort Dix, N. J., and Alexandria, La.

od.

UNCLE SAM'S UNIFORM while traveling SOUTH to camps.

UIS.

ON at Huachuca, Arizona.

TO DEMAND

ntry as Equals.

N: Army, Navy, Air Corps, U.S. Marines all Government Departments and Defense Jobs

OR BE SLAVES!

WITH HITLER'S NAZISM, MUSSOLINI'S FASCISM AND HIROHITO'S MILITARISM.

ak The Bonds Of Slavery At Home And Abroad

--See Stirring Drama--Listen To Fine Singing

or The Negro Is Winning The War For Democracy"

REE---COME EARLY FOR SEATS

FIGHT OR BE SLAVES!

LET US BURY JIM-CROWISM IN THE SAME GRAVE WITH HITLER'S NAZISM, MUSSOLINI'S FASCISM AND HIROHITO

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Remember "Winning Democracy For The Negro Is Winning The War For Democ

ADMISSION FREE---COME EARLY FOR SEATS

UNDER AUSPICES

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Headquarters: 11 N. Jefferson, Room 412, FRanklin 0033

T. D. McNEAL, Chairman. **JORDAN W. CHAMBERS, Treasurer** **THELMA GR**

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SAME GRAVE WITH HITLER'S NAZISM, MUSSOLINI'S FASCISM AND HIROHITO'S MILITARISM.

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UNDER AUSPICES

RCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

s: 11 N. Jefferson, Room 412, FRanklin 0033

JORDAN W. CHAMBERS, Treasurer

THELMA GRANT, Secretary

'STOP JIM-CROW NOW"--SEAMEN UNI

EW YORKERS JOIN HANDS IN APPEALFOR DEMOCRACY . . . HOLD PARADE

New Yorkers banded themselves together recently in an all-out fight for real Democracy and added thousands to their numbers as they paraded through the city streets with their bright banners and signs of appeal.

No. 1—A group of pickets step lively as they participated in the picketing for Democracy.

No. 2—Like the "Spirit of '76" these patriots beat the rhythm for the marching hundreds as they made their wants heard in orderly fashion.

No. 3—Viola Jones, Jean Wiley, Dolores Calvin and Shizu Asahi are prominent in this group of all races crying out for equality and democracy at home as well as abroad.

No. 4—Under the banner of the "March On Washington" Movement, white and colored citizens, young and old, marched in silent protest against the discriminations and prejudices in America which has kept Democracy from Negroes.

No. 5—Ida Lieberman, popular Chicago patriot, does her bit in the program.

No. 6 — Nine-year-old Yvonne Tunquest isn't going to let the big folks get ahead of her. She knows what Democracy should be.

No. 7—Prominent members of the parade were: Bessie Beardon and Emma S. Keith shown as the group moved down Eighth avenue out of 56th street.

FEPC Shift Is Called Insult; Protest Urged

CHICAGO—The sudden transfer of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to the supervision of the War Manpower Commission was called an "insult to the race," by A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March-on-Washington Movement.

Mr. Randolph said that he considers it "an indication of a shameful surrender of the Federal Government to arrogant, defiant and race-baiting, bloody-shirt-waving preachment of Governor Talmadge and Senator Cox of Georgia, Senator Rankin of Mississippi, Governor Dixon of Alabama and other fascist-minded, intolerant bigots of the South."

He styles this action of subordinating the FEPC, established by Executive Order, to the War Manpower Commission, which also was created by Executive Order, as an "insult to the race and an indication of the utter failure of the President to comprehend the true spirit and mind of the colored masses today."

Protest Urged

Pointing out that this step abolishes the only policy-making body in the government on which a colored person sits, Mr. Randolph said that colored people must resist this action with all of their might and vigorously demand that the President restore the FEPC to its independent status.

"Persons in all walks of life should wire and write the President their condemnation of this action and demand it be reversed in the interest of the elimination of racial discrimination in defense industries and the government," Mr. Randolph declared.

Victory for South

He cited the fact that because the FEPC is making progress it provoked the wrath of Governor Dixon of Alabama who hysterically blew off and refused to contract which had a clause requiring the employment of workers, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

"The pposition of this race-hater Dixon is sufficient reason alone why colored people should go down the line to keep the FEPC from being hamstrung and sabotaged," asserted Mr. Randolph, who was largely responsible for the Executive Order No. 8802 and the FEPC.

The March on Washington Movement, he said, would use every resource at its command to set FEPC free as an independent agency under which condition alone it will be able to function effectively.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1942.

MORE JOBS OPEN TO NEGROES HERE, SERVICE BOARD SAYS

Employment Bureau Reports to National Social Security Body 'Hopeful Change' in Local Attitude.

By a Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 7.—The St. Louis office of the United States Employment Service has reported to the Social Security Board that there has been "a hopeful change in the local attitudes" toward the employment of Negroes and that "as plants expand a more extensive use of Negroes is expected."

The St. Louis report appeared in the current monthly issue of the Employment Security Review of the board. It noted that St. Louis, on the Mason and Dixon line, was faced with a fairly complex problem in dealing with employers who discriminate against minority groups.

"The psychological and emotional background of its mixed and variegated population differs so vastly that where one employer will discriminate against a particular group another will have no feeling whatsoever against this same group," said the report.

No Trouble in Placing Jews.

"The St. Louis office experiences no difficulty in the referral of Jews, many of whom have been taken into war-effort industries," it continued. "Similarly, aliens and naturalized citizens—emigres from friendly and enemy countries—have been put to work upon approval of the plant protection office. In one instance governmental approval followed within 48 hours after a plant protection office agreed to the hiring of an alien.

"Our most difficult minority problem is that of discrimination and prejudice against the Negro worker. It is with the solution of this problem that we are chiefly concerned.

"Prejudice toward Negro workers is found in the employers themselves, in their employes, and in the public with whom the employers deal. Workers will lose their prejudice if members of a minority group prove efficient and adaptable on the job; the public can, we believe, be weaned away from its prejudices through education and satisfactory experience; but neither can become a reality until employers show a willingness to give minorities a chance to prove themselves.

Placing Negro Workers.

"That there is a definite trend on the part of employers to give the Negro worker a chance is indicated by the report of the supervisor of the St. Louis midcity (Negro) office. He revealed that during the last two weeks of April and the first two weeks of May, 19 firms in the St. Louis labor market area placed orders for Negroes for jobs which had previously been open only to whites.

"For example, a large St. Louis war industry has already in its employ hundreds of Negro men in labor and service jobs. Recently, 200 Negroes [illegible] were tested [illegible] Board tests) and [illegible] pany and [illegible] company doctors preliminary to setting up production lines for Negroes in their plant.

Hopes to Eliminate Friction.

"By setting up all-Negro production lines this company hopes to eliminate any possible friction which might result from prejudices of white fellow workers. In the past few weeks this same company has placed orders for Negro skilled workers of several classifications, including carpenters, electricians, plumbers, oilers, millwrights, and maintenance mechanics. This accomplishment resulted from a long effort on the part of the United States Employment Service working in close relationship with this employer.

"Another example is that of a large St. Louis aircraft manufacturer, now employing more than 100 Negroes in service jobs, which will soon add a Negro interviewer to its personnel department as the first step toward setting up production lines for Negroes.

"An important advance in war-industry referral procedure which will do much to overcome discrimination against Negroes came as a result of the discovery that many of the applicants referred were accepted by employers only to be released within a day or two because of their failure to pass blood tests. This not only delayed and inconvenienced the employers but also added greatly to the work of the Employment Service. A plan was devised for the voluntary taking of blood tests by applicants, both white and colored, before referral and the necessary arrangements with a local venereal disease clinic were made by the midcity office.

"Another special service by the St. Louis midcity office to facilitate referrals has been devised as a result of the difficulty experienced by applicants of all categories in filling out the lengthy and complicated application blanks required by companies producing war material.

A spokesman for the United States Cartridge Co., operators of the small arms ammunition plant, said that company now employed several hundred Negroes in various service and labor classifications and had started to train the first class of Negroes that has been hired for production work in the plant.

The New Leader - Aug. 8, 1942

By Dr. Warren Brown

IF the "four freedoms" are to have a meaning, then freedom must be defined now and in the future, in terms which spell liberty and equality for the Negro in America as well as for other races and peoples. The incongruous fact is that even during this critical period, with the threat of fascist military forces, we have pursued a policy of racial relations highly analagous to that of our Axis enemies. In addition to acts of prejudice and discrimination America is also guilty of denying the Negro opportunity to demonstrate his patriotism by equal participation in the defense industries and the armed forces of the nation. Such denial cannot but generate an atmosphere disruptive of loyalty, morale and confidence in the country. A recasting of racial policies is especially important and urgent in the light of prevailing sentiment which indicates that a substantial fraction of the Negro population feels it has little or nothing to lose by a fascist victory.

An investigation made in 1941 of racial policies of firms holding defense contracts in the area of Kansas Cty, Missouri, revealed a hostile attitude on the part of employers toward Negro labor. This survey, conducted by the Kansas City Urban League, disclosed that out of fifty-four employers, twenty-seven employed no Negroes and emphatically asserted that they had no intention of changing their policy to include them, notwithstanding the fact that there was a pressing need for additional labor. One firm, speaking for the group, declared: "We have never employed Negroes in twenty-five years and see no need of doing so now."

Only eight of the fifty-four firms went so far as to express a willingness to consider the hiring of Negro labor. The findings of the Kansas City study are undoubtedly characteristic of conditions in other sections of the United States. The arguments advanced by employers in many of the industries fall within the following four categories:

1. The white worker will not work with the Negro.
2. The Negro worker will not be happy working with the white.
3. Negroes are not members of trade unions with which companies have signed closed-shop agreements.
4. Auxiliary industries will not cooperate with firms employing Negroes.

* * *

COUNTS one and two have been disproved in numerous instances and are not categorically true though there are still areas in which white workers have refused to work alongside Negro workers. But it is true that a large number of trade unions by virtue of their discriminatory membership practices have contributed their share to barring Negro workers from employment. One specific illustration, cited by Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, is that of the AFL Shipbuilders' Union of Tampa, Florida.

"This union last fall succeeded in signing a closed-shop contract wth the Tampa shipyard building defense shipping. The union refused membership to 500 shipyard Negroes then employed and enforced its closed-shop agreement by throwing the Negroes out of work. We certainly cannot afford to forget that the International Machinists Association holds contracts with twelve aircraft manufacturing companies, and the machinists' union bars Negroes from membership by ritualistic oath."

* * *

CONTINUOUS rejection from employment for one reason or other filled the Negro masses throughout the country with bitter resentment, disillusionment and desperation. Conferences held with various representatives of the government yielded no concrete results. And so, in the summer of 1941, a group of Negro leaders met together at the call of A. Philip Randolph to plan a dynamic, constructive program of action. A national committee was established to mobilize a minimum of 100,000 Negroes to stage a protest march on Washington. This campaign immediately won the enthusiasm and wholehearted support of the Negro population all over the country. It gripped the imagination of people who had for years borne the brunt of the depression and were even then being denied defense employment opportunities.

Upon the intervention of President Roosevelt, an executive order was issued which directed the discontinuance of discrimination in industries holding defense contracts, in labor unions connected with those particular industries and in all departments and agencies of the government. And so the proposed march was called off. To enforce this order the President created, under the Office of Production Management, the Fair Employment Practice Committee, consisting of seven members, two of whom are Negroes—Earl B. Dickerson, Councilman of Chicago, and Milton Webster, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The Fair Employment Practice Committee has conducted investigations and hearings in various sections of the country and has issued statements and reports condemning offending firms. But its hands have been tied by the lack of legal power to enforce its findings. As of last January, ten industrial concerns holding millions of dollars in war contracts, were ordered to cease discriminatory practices. The

In the factory—Negroes are still fighting discrimination.

Industry Begins Hiring of Negroes But U.S. Still Lacks Power to Enforce Anti-Discrimination Orders

companies in the Chicago area included the Stewart-Warner Corporation, the Buick Aviation plant at Melrose, Illinois, a unit of General Motors, the Bearse Manufacturing Company, the Simpson Manufacturing Company and the Studebaker factory. Those in the Milwaukee area were the Nordberg Manufacturing Company, the A. O. Smith Corporation, the Heil Company, the Allis Chalmers Corporation and the Harnsichfeger Corporation. Each of these companies had instructed its personnel managers to accept "whites only." The extent to which the orders have been obeyed has not yet been ascertained, but it is hoped that the publicity accompanying the findings will lead to organized community pressure to enforce adherence.

Negro workers are now beginning to enter the munitions' field. They have been placed in large numbers in the iron and steel industries, but are in the unskilled categories and are poorly paid.

* * *

VERY little progress is being made in the machine tool industry because the International Association of Machinists, AFL, is persisting in its anti-Negro membership policy. Action of this nature, by trade unions and employers alike, in refusing to utilize available manpower where sorely needed, slows up the drive for victory and accelerates the growth of fascism.

In Pennsylvania, a shipbuilding company plans to use only colored workers, thus operating as a completely segregated Negro unit. Such a procedure is highly detrimental to the fight for equality and inter-racial cooperation.

Despite the shortage of trained workers and appeals to men to prepare themselves for openings in defense industries, the Negro has, by and large, found himself excluded from training courses. The Ford plant is the only one in the automobile industry which has to date provided opportunity for Negroes to acquire training for up-grade jobs with any assurance for employment. Excluding the Ford workers, there are fewer than 500 Negroes receiving in-service training. More distressing still is the fact that, upon completion of specialized courses, the skilled Negro worker has difficulty in securing placement. General Motors, for one, has not absorbed the Negro workers whom its union contract compelled it to train.

However, there are a few cases in which progress has been made, in which the Negro is wedging his way into defense employment. In the shipbuilding industry, the Federal Shipbuilding Company at Kearney, New Jersey, employs approximately 12,000 Negroes, a substantial increase above the 300 at work last May. Many of these men perform skilled work. The Fairchild Company of Baltimore has raised its number of Negro employees from 400 to 900. Approximately 5,000 Negroes are working at the Drydock Shipyards of Norfolk, Virginia. Higgins of New Orleans is planning to put into effect a program which calls for 40,000 workers with approximately forty per cent of the unskilled men to be Negroes. [The Higgins contract has been cancelled. Ed. Note.] In the aeronautical corporations, principally Glenn Martin (Missouri) and Curtis Wright (New Jersey), 48,000 Negroes are employed. A munition plant in Indiana has taken on about 4,000 Negroes and four Negro chemists.

The above figures represent a departure from previous personnel policies and are indicative of the current trend. They are but a beginning. They are by no means an adequate figure. The great reservoir of Negro labor has not been tapped. In view of the growing shortage of white male labor, it is vital that the potential skills of Negro labor, male and female, be harnessed to the American war machine so that the United States can truly become the arsenal of democracy.

In the Army—Negroes are finally getting a place.

DON'T FORGET TO MARCH ON ST. LOUIS

Friday the "March on Washington" committee is holding an important mass demonstration here in St. Louis at the municipal auditorium. A schedule of the flagrant grievances against our home front democracy will be faced and frayed by the speakers. And there is no more opportune time than now; as Wendell Willkie so ably pointed out, it is in the time of stress that a larger consideration will be given to the fair claims and demands of the minorities. And there can be no doubting the full loyalty of the 13 million Negro Americans, so their insistent protests against the undemocratic acts and practices here at home are in good order.

The spirit and purpose, and the guiding genius of A. Philip Randolph behind the "March on Washington" movement has this newspaper's support and approval. But we do wish to cast out this piece of plain talk for hometown and state consumption: IT BEHOOVES THOSE OF US WHO JOIN IN THIS PROTEST TO LOOK FOR THE BEAM IN OUR OWN LOCAL EYES; there are among us staunch supporters of the "March on Washington" who have failed to support the march against jim crow and segregation right here in St. Louis and Missouri; there are those who may sit up among the mighty on the Auditorium stage Friday night, yet who have given support and succor to that abominable Poro jim crow law school; there are those who shout against mobbings in Sikeston and down in Arkansas, but who never said a mumbling word against the U. S. Post Office jim crow in St. Louis; there are those who are willing to join in the big national band wagon of protest when it comes this way once a year, but who will not leave their soft seats when there is a local protest raised against jim crow and segregation. St. Louis is pock marked with little jim crows, yet seldom a preacher or editor or doctor or lawyer dares make public denouncement of this sinister skin disease on our body politic. Our Colored lawyers almost to a man have accepted the jim crow law school by their overt acts of felicity; and yet most of them are big fronters for the march to Washington.

With jim crow and segregation in a land made up of many peoples and founded on freedom and equality there simply can be no compromise. It will be interesting to watch and count the leaders and near-leaders in St. Louis who will be prominent in this important "March on Washington" meeting Friday night, who have been either passive or openly for the local jim crow law school. Consistency may not be a jewel, but courage right here at home is worth a jewel's price to the cause of honest democracy in the U. S. A.

SOUTHERN CONGRESS BLOC CAN REFUSE FUNDS UNDER MAN-POWER COMMISSION; NAACP

Walter White Wires Roosevelt To Restore Immediately FEPC's Independence; Criticizes Paul V. McNutt

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special) NAACP Bureau)—Most dire results of the abolition of the independent status of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice and its transtransfer to th Wa rManpower Commission, is the chance it gives the southern bloc in Congress to cut off funds for the future operation of the FEPC, the NAACP Washington Bureau reported this week.

The Bureau said the FEPC must now get its funds from th budgetary allotment of the War Manpower Commission which is already restricted because Congress granted it only a little more than one-tenth the amount requested. This would make it necessary for the War Manpower Commission to go to Congress for additional funds and the southern bloc will have an opportunity to see to it that no further money is provided for the FEPC. Previously the FEPC was responsible only to the President.

Reporting that Washington is buzzing with indignation over the action, the NAACP Bureau released a wire dispatched to President Roosevelt last Thursday by Walter White. The wire stated: "If all the good accomplished thus far by the Committee is not to be negated, and if reactionary southern politics are not to be considered paramount to the federal government and our entire war effort, then it is imperative that you take immediately such action as well restore the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to the independent status which it occupied previously." The NAACP Bureau said that the FE PC was neither consulted with nor notified of its coming change in status.

Only six weeks ago the President praised in glowing terms the work of the FEPC, but it now appears that the snatching away of its independence is due to the rantings of Talmadke of Georgia, Dixon and other Southern enemies of Negro advancement. There was bitter opposition from men of this ilk to the recent Birmingham, Ala., and proposed El Paso, Tex., hearings of the Committee.

As evidence that the move was planned some time ago, the Bureau stated that it is now believed that the speech of Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, before the Negro Labor Victory Committee in Harlem several weeks ago, was designed to establish with Negroes his fairness on their problems.

In the wire to the President, it was pointed out: "Despite recent favorable public utterances of Chairman McNutt, the United States Employment Service and the United States Office of Education, since being under McNutt's supervision, have not substantially changed their policies, by which tacit and active endorsement is given to discriminatory practices with respect to Negro placement and training which the FEPC seeks to eliminate."

The Washington Bureau has telegraphed branches in 34 of the largest cities throughout the country urging them to send telegrams and to get other organizations and individuals to wire President Roosevelt to restore the FEPC to independence.

Equality Christianity Opportunity Liberty

St. Louis American

AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER FOR AMERICANS

Vol. 21. ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1942 5 CENTS PER COPY EVERYWHERE

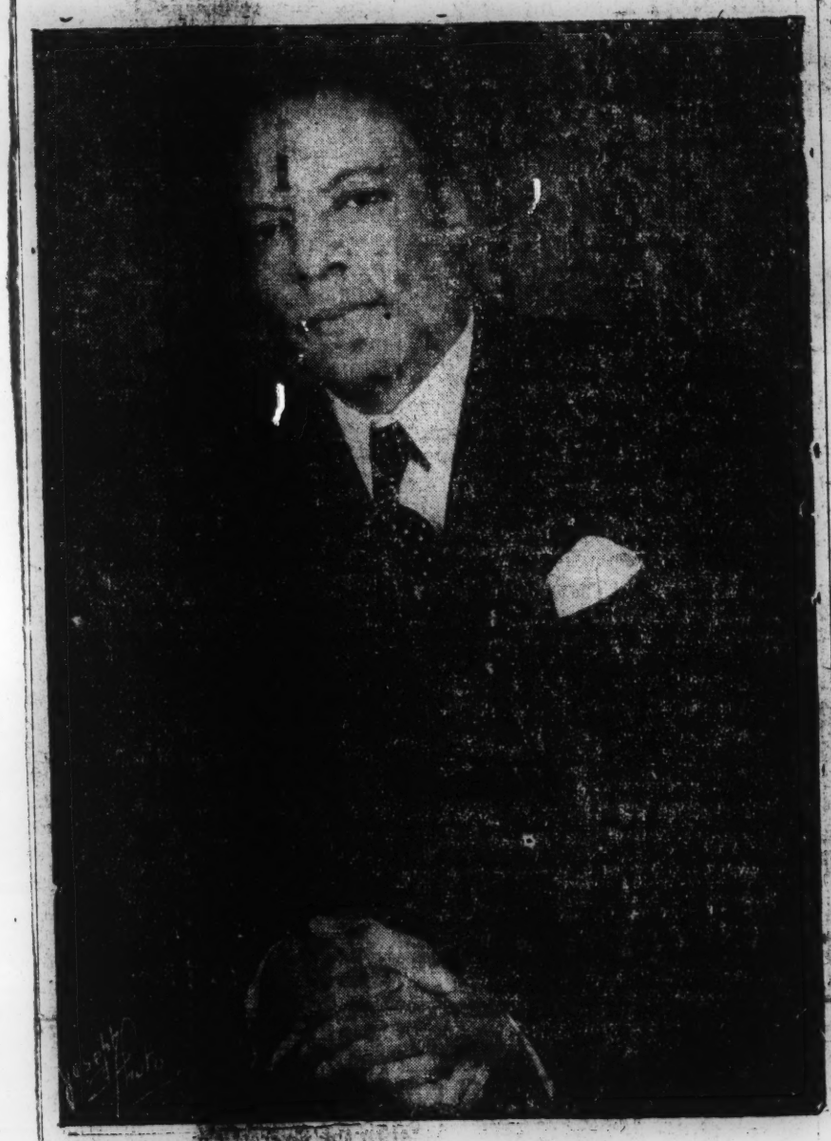
Missouri NAACP Protests FEPC Recent Order To President

The Missouri State NAACP organization, in a telegram Saturday, joined the nation-wide protest over the effort to emasculate the FEPC. The wire, sent by President Roosevelt by Attorney S. R. Redmond, the state president, said:

"The Missouri State Conference of National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples Branches views with alarm and trepidation your recent order abolishing the independent status of the Fair Employment Practice Committee by putting it under the jurisdiction of the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

"Discrimination against Negro employes in most industrial plants in our American Democracy and especially in those working on government war contracts, is so pernicious and flagrant that the powers of the Fair Employment Practice Committee should be increased We respectfully request you not only rescind the above order concerning the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which really emasculates it, but urgently ask you to increase the power of the Fair Employment Practice Committee which is tending to break down some of the racial prejudice against the employment of Negroes and in that way is contributing to the war effort."

"MARCH ON WASHINGTON"



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

International President of the International (A. F. of L.) Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and "Father" of the March on Washington Movement, of which he is currently the national leader, who is coming here from New York

THOUSANDS EXPECTED AT PROTEST MEETING

Thousands of St. Louis Ne... are expected to take part in the mammoth demonstration F... night, August 14, at the Mun... Auditorium as a dignified p... is made against conditions ... tend to prevent the Negro fro... ting fair play and a square d... such things as the right to ... his country, to live and w... democracy as well as to fi... it.

The doors of the auditorium ... open promptly at seven o'clo... between that time and eight ... when the meeting will be fo... opened with the singing ... "Star Spangled Banner" by ... lestial Choristers as a ... plays on "Old Glory" there ... a special entertainment ...

Helping make the pre... program pleasant, as the ... tors come in will be the ... of the Musicians' Equity ... of the American Federa... Musicians of which Geo... son is president. Four ... furnish music, including J... lars Club Plantation ... chosen to play on the Fitch ... Wagon Sunday evening; ... Hudson and his Sweet Swing... die Johnson and his Recordi... chestra and Dewey Jackson's ... ed band. There will also ... demonstration projected by ... crack Tom Powell Junior ... and Bugle Corps.

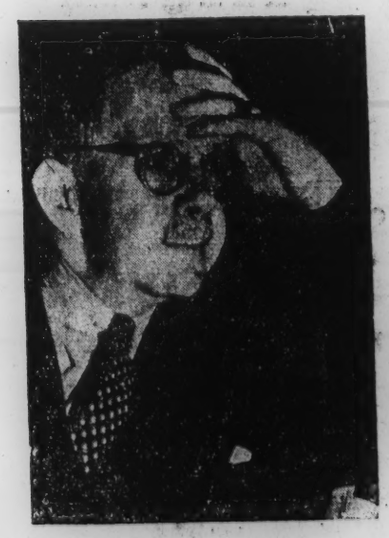
Following the singing of the ... tional Anthem and the invo... by Dr. J. M. Bracy, pastor of ... Baptist church and president ... Interdenominational Ministe... liance, Attorney David M. ... will deliver an address on "St... Negroes In The War Effort" ... in ... local race citizens are ... and ... ering to do and how ... do ... There will be a three ... ... by Mrs. Sallie Parham, ... worker.

Keen interest is centered on t... address by the next two speak... both of whom have won inter... tional recognition for the part ... have played in striving to bri... justice about for the members ... their racial group.

First will come Walter White ... New York, veteran executive se... retary of the National Asso...

chairman of the St. Louis branch of the March on Washington committee who will preside at the monster mass meeting at the Municipal Auditorium, Friday night.

HAS MESSAGE



WALTER WHITE

of New York, veteran militant executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who will deliver an important and vital message

...and the War Effort" at the Mass Meeting at the Municipal Auditorium Friday night.

F.E.P.C. MAN

MILTON P. WEBSTER

of Chicago, Illinois, a member of President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee who will be another key speaker at the March on Washington Committee's meeting at the Municipal Auditorium Friday night.

...hours after the actual occurrence. Author of a number of books as well as articles, he is an interesting and convincing speaker and knows "his America."

Next will be Milton P. Webster of Chicago, first international vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee which has done much investigation of cases wherein discrimination against Negroes in defense industries has been charged.

"Watchword is Forward" is the title of a skit by the noted writer Dick Campbell of New York, whose presentation created a sensation at the mammoth March on Washington Committee mass meeting in New York City. Enacting the stirring scenes will be members of the Aldridge Player augumented by a group of amateur actors and actresses.

Climaxing the meeting will be the principal address by A. Philip Randolph of New York, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and "Father" of the

(Continued on Page 6)

TO PRESIDE

FOR US

DAVID M. GRANT

A. P. Randolph and Webster Pay Twin Cities Brief Call

A. Phillip Randolph of New York City called by many America's leading Negro, paid a quick, quiet visit to the Twin Cities early this week. Accompanying him was Milton P. Webster, one of the two Negro members of the President's Fair Employment Practices committee.

Both men are officials of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph is president and Webster, vice-president in charge of the Western division.

Randolph had recently returned from Los Angeles where he received the annually awarded Spingarn medal. He is the motivating force behind the nation-wide "March On Washington" committee.

RANDOLPH AGAINST CHANGING FEPC STATUS

Mr. Randolph stated that he was shocked and surprised to learn that President Roosevelt by a recent order had submerged Fair Employment Practice committee in the Man Power Commission, which amounts to the complete emasculation and destruction of its usefulness.

Randolph said that he considers it "a grave warning to the Negro people of the revival and threatening growth of the sinister Ku Klux and lynch-rope spirit in the councils of the government and an indication of a shameful surrender of the federal government to arrogant, defiant and race-hating, bloody-shirt-waving preachments of Governor Talmadge and Senator Cox of Georgia, Senator Rankin of Mississippi, Governor Dixon of Alabama, and a host of other narrow, fascist-minded, intolerant bigots of the South."

Randolph styles this action of subordinating FEPC, established by executive order, to the Man Power Commission which also was created by executive order as "an insult to the race and an indication of the utter failure of the President to comprehend the true spirit and mind of the Negro masses today.

"This step abolishes the only policy-making body in the government on which Negroes sit. Negroes must resist this action with all of their might and vigorously demand that the President restore FEPC to its independent status, responsible to the President alone," Randolph added.

"The President responds to protests from labor, business and farmers when they consider their interests threatened and injured. He will respond to protest from an aroused Negro public," the March on Washington director continued.

"Negroes in all walks of life should wire and write the President their condemnation of this action and demand it be reversed in the interest of the elimination of discrimination in defense industries and the government," continued Randolph.

ST. LOUIS STAR-TIMES

STAR-TIMES BUILDING — 12th and DELMAR

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Published Daily Except Sunday

Star-Times Publishing Co.

ELZEY ROBERTS, President and Publisher.

JOHN C. ROBERTS, Vice-President. — RALPH M. BLAGDEN, Managing Editor.

ARTHUR E. KAYE, Business Manager. — L. J. HOFFMANN, Circulation Manager.

TELEPHONE CHestnut 6000 CHestnut

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1942.

Reconsider the Indian Problem

The tragedy of India for the United Nations does not lie in the riots in that country. It lies in the blunting of the invisible, but powerful sword of propaganda so essential in the arsenal of democracy.

The arrest of Gandhi and the subsequent use of the lash against people clamoring for immediate independence will make vastly more difficult the necessary job of organizing conquered peoples for revolution against the Fascist triplice—Germany, Italy and Japan.

One of the most effective weapons of the triplice's strategy of total global warfare has been propaganda by which ideas paved the way for conquest. Japan's "Asia for the Asiatics" was a powerful idea among the natives of Malaya and the Chinese who have supported the puppet Wang government. Germany's anti-Bolshevism tirades created ready and willing Quislings throughout most of the nations of Europe, while her attacks on democracy have converted thousands even in our own country.

With the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's "four freedoms" we hoped and still hope to impregnate with the revolutionary impulse the peoples of Korea, Morocco, North China, Burma, Indo-China, the Moslem world and all the places of Europe where the tyrant's heel now presses.

There can be no escaping the fact that as a result of the chaos of Indian-British relations, we have suffered a severe defeat on the ideological front. Realistic politics require that we plan armed invasion of enslaved countries to be met by welcoming hordes leaping to arms to join forces with their emancipators. The crack of the lash in India, however, has created a tough job for the salesmen of the four freedoms.

Because of the enormous hurdle that the situation in India places in the way of our ideological strategy, Britain should renew her efforts to fulfill the Cripps mission and bring peace to India, not by the sword but by active co-operation.

To be sure the Cripps formula seemed in general to be as fair a solution of the complicated Indian problem as it was practically possible for Britain to offer at this time. However, Britain could have set a definite time limit for the granting of full freedom after the war and she could have placed a guarantee of her offer with the United Nations, even through she could not see her way clear to grant India's demand for immediate freedom. While there remains one concession not made for the winning over of India, negotiations should continue.

It will not be enough for Britain to establish order among a rebellious and sullen 350,000,000 people. That may represent success on the military front, but it will be, at least, partial defeat on the ideological front. Let Britain, therefore, return to the quest for a formula that will convert India from a colossal embarrassment for the United Nations to a living symbol by means of which we can fire the masses of all enslaved countries to revolt against their [illegible]

PICKETING FOR VICTORY

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1942

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Director of the March-On-Washington committee led a contingent of Chicago followers Saturday in picketing a division of the United States Treasury department housed in the huge Merchandise Mart in Chicago in protest of the jim-crow pattern instituted there by W. S. Thompson, local treasury deputy. Late Monday representatives of the organization were still parading before the building's entrances.—Clynell photo.

Randolph Urges Fight To Save FEPC Status

A. Philip Randolph in Chicago this week stated that he was shocked and surprised to learn that President Roosevelt by a recent order had submerged Fair Employment Practice committee in the Man Power Commission, which amounts to the complete emasculation and destruction of its usefulness.

Randolph said that he considers it "a grave warning to the Negro people of the revival and threatening growth of the sinister Ku Klux and lynch-rope spirit in the councils of the government and an indication of a shameful surrender of the federal government to arrogant, defiant and race-baiting, bloody-shirt-waving preachments of Governor Talmadge and Senator Cox of Georgia, Senator Rankin of Mississippi, Governor Dixon of Alabama, and a host of other narrow, fascist-minded, intolerant bigots of the South."

Randolph styles this action of subordinating FEPC, established by executive order, to the Man Power Commission which also was created by executive order as "an insult to the race and an indication of the utter failure of the President to comprehend the true spirit and mind of the Negro masses today.

"This step abolishes the only policy-making body in the government on which Negroes sit. Negroes must resist this action with all of their might and militancy, demand the [illegible]

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1942

DES MOINES SUNDAY REGISTER

Fair Employment Committee Senses a Runaround

* * *

Washington Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson.

WASHINGTON: The president's committee on fair employment practice, appointed to handle the delicate problem of color and race discrimination, is complaining bitterly, backstage, that it has been given the run-around by the White House itself.

The committee faces one of the most difficult tasks of the war—trying to assure Negroes and other racial groups a fair break at war jobs. Chairman of the committee is Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, white, who is president of a Negro college, Hampton Institute. Other committee members include Roosevelt's close friend, David Sarnoff, head of the Radio Corporation of America; Mark Ethridge, manager of the Louisville Courier-Journal; William Green of the A.F.L.; Phil Murray of the C.I.O.; Milton P. Webster; and Earl Dickerson.

MAC LEAN.

About a month ago they began holding hearings in Birmingham, Ala., regarding complaints of discrimination against Negroes in war jobs. Witnesses were brought from Mobile, New Orleans, Savannah and Chattanooga, under a procedure adopted in other cities.

However, Alabama's Governor Dixon, seconded by Georgia's Gene Talmadge, launched a barrage against the committee, especially against the fact that its chairman is the president of a colored college—even though Dr. MacLean is white.

The protests began to spread. And when the committee announced hearings in El Paso, Tex. on discrimination against Spanish-American workers, Texas got as excited as Birmingham.

By this time a deluge of protests had been received at the White House. And very quietly, the president transferred the Fair Employment Practice committee from the WPB, where it was semi-independent, to the Manpower Commission. Under the new set-up, the committee will be directly under the thumb of Paul McNutt.

Inside the committee, this is interpreted as a move to throttle activity, make it mere window-dressing. As a result, some of the president's best friends, including David Sarnoff of the Radio Corporation, are sore, threaten to resign.

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1942

CONGRESS NOW HAS POWER TO DOMINATE MILITANT AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 13. (Special)—Flatly, members of the President's Committee on Fair Employment

ROOSEVELT UNFAMILIAR WITH FEPC TRANSFER

BULLETIN! WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 15—President Roosevelt indicated at his press conference on Friday that he may not have been thoroughly familiar with the contents of letters sent to Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, and to the Fair Employment Practice Committee, placing control of the FEPC under the WMC. The Chief Executive said that he doubted very much that one agency has been subjected to another.

Practice and its staff, felt that they had received a collective knockout blow in the stomach when they first got wind of the President's letter of July 30 to Paul V. McNutt trans-

later, the committee staff were still in suffering from the unexpected blow.

as to the future of to use a trite among the public and the leadership which has [illegible] but it is scarcely [illegible] as among the committee members themselves and the staff.

The committee members do not know where they are headed; neither does the staff. Nobody knows if the President's action, taken without warning, means the virtual repeal of Executive Order 8802.

Prior to the issuance of the President's letter of July 30, the committee is said to have been led to believe that the President thought it was doing a good job—the kind of job he wanted done.

WAS TO EXPAND FUNCTIONS

Insiders report that the President, himself, had suggested to the committee that it expand its functions to include more than employment discrimination.

Acting under what it deemed the highest authority, the committee had proceeded to [illegible] up a new Executive Order and a new outline of organization and [illegible]. It is said to have been encouraged to proceed under the new [illegible].

The hitch came when the committee attempted to get its new budget approved. The budget bu-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 2)

Congress Now Has

(Continued from Page 1)

reau, at the requested instance of Wayne Coy, political adviser to the President, and to McNutt, is said to have refused to approve the proposed budget without the authority of an Executive Order from the President.

When the President wrote his letter of July 30, FEPC members were waiting for this new order.

STARTED TO RESIGN

First reaction of the committee members was to submit resignations in a hurry.

Cooler minds prevailed, however. They finally agreed that they were all Presidential appointees and responsible to the President as such. They decided that, for the time being, they would proceed under instructions originally to them by the President. However, they recognized that the committee was set up at the behest of certain groups and they expected the reaction of these groups to help dictate line of action.

The committee thus proposes to carry on its work as it has been doing. It proposes to operate as though Executive Order 8802 had not been rescinded.

McNUTT ON THE SPOT

This strategy, it is learned, is designed to put the issue of the future status and functions of the committee up to McNutt. If there is any change or deviation in policy, the committee's present plans seem designed to let the blame or the credit fall on McNutt.

If, as some persons have said, Budget Bureau's Wayne Coy has grabbed off FEPC as a political instrument to be used for McNutt, the committee proposes to have no responsibility for that.

WHITE AND RANDOLPH PROTEST

Walter White, NAACP secretary, sent a scorching wire to the President Thursday, in which he accused the Chief Executive of going back on pledges made to him and A. Philip Randolph when the President agreed to set up the committee in 1941. White reminded the President that he had promised to keep the committee under his protective wing. White practically charged the President with having torpedoed the future usefulness of the committee. His wire had the effect of a demand on the President to recall his letter of July 30. With McNutt's recent pronouncement on race prejudice in mind, White reminded the President of discrimination in the U. S. Employment Service and the Office of Education, both under McNutt.

RANDOLPH SAID TO BE BITTER

A. Philip Randolph, to whose March on Washington committee the creation of FEPC was a forced concession, is understood to have expressed bitter private criticism of the President's action. He also wired the President.

Negroes in Government circles in Washington, although fearful that FEPC may have been rendered useless by the President, think that some of the committee and staff members may have made mistakes in the past which caused FEPC to become a problem which the President wished to erase.

SOUH ENTERS PICTURE

It was inevitable that there should be a tie-up between the President's action and recent happenings in the South; for example, the notoriety which came before and after the Birmingham hearing, the strong resistance to the prospective Ela Paso (Tex.) hearing from Texans and the State Department, the assaults against the committee by Governor Talmadge of Georgia, Governor Dixon of Alabama, and William Wilkinson, the Birmingham lawyer and politician.

There is also a chance, it is believed, that Senator Bankhead of Alabama, after writing Gen. George C. Marshall, chief of staff, to remove Negro soldiers from the South, may have carried the entire story of racial friction and agitation in the South to the President.

Those who hold these different points of view feel that the President quickly acted to kill his Frankenstein.

...when they consider their inter... threatened and injured. He will ...pond to protest from an aroused

Randolph—

(Continued from Page 1)

Negro public," the March on Washington director continued.

"Negroes in all walks of life should wire and write the President their condemnation of this action and demand it be reversed in the interest of the elimination of discriminations in defense industries and the government," continued Randolph.

"The Fair Employment Practice committee has done and is doing splendid work. It has a fine future if it has the support of Negro public opinion. It is because of the fact that it is making progress it provoked the wrath of Governor Dixon of Alabama who hysterically blew up and refused a contract which had a clause requiring the employment of workers, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

"The opposition of this race-hater Dixon is sufficient reason alone why Negroes should go down the line to keep FEPC from being hamstrung and sabotaged," asserted Randolph, who was largely responsible for the Executive Order No. 8802 and the FEPC.

Randolph concluded that the March on Washington Movement would use every resource at its command to set FEPC free as an independent agency.

TODAY'S TALK

BY A. N. FIELDS

RANDOLPH SAYS SUBMERGING OF FEPC AMOUNTS TO ITS COMPLETE DESTRUCTION

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, National Director of what was once the March-on-Washington Movement, pointed with critical finger to President Roosevelt's recent order, submerging the FEPC in "the Man-Power Commission, which," says Randolph, "amounts to complete emasculation and destruction of its usefulness." In delving into the subject further, Randolph intimates that this order came as a result of the continual growth and influence of such sinister institutions as Ku Klux Klan and other fascist-minded outfits of intolerance and bigotry in the South. The FEPC was established by Executive Order and was the first and only clear-channeled medium through which the voice of the Negro might be heard emanating from repersentatives of his own race.

A. N. Fields

RETURN PREVIOUS STATUS

The Man-Power Commission was also created by Executive order and its absorption of the FEPC indicates the utter failure of the advisors of the President to properly comprehend and interpret the true spirit and mind of the Negro masses today. "This step abolishes the only policy-making body in the government on which Negroes sit. Negroes must resist this action, forcibly and intelligently, with all their might and vigor, urging that the President restore it to its independent status, responsible to the President alone," observes Randolph.

IT IS further argued that the President has favorably responded to every protest from labor, business, and farmers, when they consider their business threatened and injured, and that Negroes in all walks of life should write and wire the President their condemnation of this action, showing him the neecssity of reversing the order, which is the only move made by the government for the elimination of discrimination in defense industries. It is honest to say that the Fair Employment Practice Committee has done and is doing a splendid job. It has a future, if not destroyed, and has the support of Negro public opinion.

FEPC PROVOKED THE SOUTH

It's forthright opposition to all forms of discrimination and intolerance so prevalent in industries throughout the country has, of course, provoked the wrath of certain vested interests which have always been opposed to the advancement of the economic life of Black America. However, it is in the South, where the hysteria of prejudice to Negro progress is the chief culture of those who direct political affairs, that it found such champions as Governor Dixon of Alabama, who refused to accept a contract for his State because it carried a clause requiring the employment of workers, regardless of race and color.

"FIRST FRONT" IS HOME FRONT

It is regrettable and a sad commentary on our "Four Freedoms" that 15,000,000 black American citizens, countless thousands of them facing the dangers of the Axis Powers on land and sea, that they may give their all in making the "Four Freedoms" a reality for other nations, find that they themselves at home cannot be a party to the fruits of the "Four Freedoms." It has been well said that the "First Front" is the home front, the daily life of the nation, where advances are being made which, in the long run would be greater in importance, than the advancement on foreign fronts.

THESE ADVANCES mean the rise of the economic power of the workers—all workers—regardless of their racial identity—the unity of the people in the interests of the success of their homelands, with their minds and hearts unparched and withered by indifference of their own government. This war must be fought and won by the united effort of a satisfied and sympathetic nation. It is not a Democratic nor a Republican war. It is a war in which all Americans, striving as best they can to preserve their homeland, and on the field of battle. Bullets do not discriminate between races.

March On Washington Mass Meeting To Be Held At Golden Gate

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, will be the principal speaker at the New York Division's second mass meeting in the city to be held Friday, September 11, at the Golden Gate Ballroom. On that occasion Mr. Randolph will deliver his "Undelivered Address" — the speech which he was to have delivered at the Madison Square Garden mass meeting but was prevented from doing because of lack of time.

With Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin as chairman of the meeting the program to be presented follows: singing "Star Spangled Banner," Muriel Rahn, soprano; invocation, Rev. S. T. Eldridge, president Baptist Ministers' Alliance of Greater New York and Vicinity; opening address, Dr. Ervin; address, Miss Bernice McMillan; dramatic playlet, "The Watchword Is Forward," presented by Dick Campbell, director of Rose McClendon Players; appeal, Rev. Thomas S. Harten, pastor, Holy Trinity Baptist Church, Brooklyn; address, A. Philip Randolph; singing of the Negro National Anthem, and benediction, Rev. William Lloyd Imes.

At the same time announcement of the meeting was made, the organization's finance committee through Eardlie John, chairman, made public its report on money received and expended in connection with the recent mass meeting at the Madison Square Garden.

Walter White To Speak At March On Washington Meet

When the March on Washington Movement meets in St. Louis on August 14 Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be among the principal speakers. Mr. White also addressed the New York and Chicago meetings of the group. He is expected to make further revelations about the action of the Southern Congressional bloc in [illegible] Negroes' program [illegible]

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
August 17, 1942

Roosevelt Sees Stronger Fight On Racial Bans

White House Statement Defends Transfer of Fair Employment Committee

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17 (AP).—Taking cognizance of protests from Negro and other organizations against the recent transfer of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice from an independent status to a subsidiary of the War Manpower Commission, the White House said today that the move was intended to strengthen the committee.

The committee now will be able, a White House statement said, to command the facilities of the commission to further its work of eliminating discrimination in employment against Negroes and members of other minority groups.

Stephen T. Early, Presidential secretary, said there had been "considerable misrepresentation and misunderstanding" of the transfer, and accordingly, the White House issued this statement:

"The President has read and considered the various communications regarding the transfer of his committee on fair employment practice to the War Manpower Commission.

"He regrets that this transfer and the reasons therefor have been so widely misunderstood.

"It is the intention to strengthen, not to submerge, the committee, and to reinvigorate, not to repeal, Executive Order 8,802.

"The committee will gain strength by operating directly within the War Manpower Commission to which essential and extraordinary powers for the mobilization and use of all available men and women in the war effort have been given.

"The committee will make full use of the various branches and agencies of the manpower commission to increase the effectiveness and the range of its activities. It will have the co-operation, service and assistance of the personnel of these branches and agencies. It will have the friendly supervision of the chairman of the commission, Mr. Paul V. McNutt, whose grasp of the whole problem of manpower utilization will be of great assistance to the committee on fair employment practice.

"At the same time, as the President said in his letter of transfer, issued July 30, 'the committee shall be preserved as an organizational entity.' It will carry on its receipt, investigation and redress of complaints of discrimination in employment in war industries, in training agencies, and in the departments of the Federal government in order to accelerate and reinforce the all-out effective use of our manpower potential without regard to race, creed, color and national origin of any man or woman.

"Moreover, the committee will continue to refer to the President all matters which, in its judgment, require his decision."

DEFENDS TRANSFER OF FAIR HIRING BODY

President Roosevelt Says the Shift to Manpower Agency Strengthens Committee

REPLY TO MANY PROTESTS

Negro Groups Are Told That Organizational Entity Will Be Kept Under McNutt

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17—President Roosevelt took cognizance today of a large number of complaints from Negro and other organizations against the transfer of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to the War Manpower Commission. He declared that the work of the committee would be strengthened by the change.

The White House statement read:

"The President has read and considered the various communications regarding the transfer of his committee on Fair Employment Practice to the War Manpower Commission.

"He regrets that this transfer and the reasons therefor have been so widely misunderstood.

"It is the intention to strengthen—not to submerge—the committee, and to reinvigorate—not to repeal—Executive Order 8802.

"The committee will gain strength by operating directly within the War Manpower Commission to which essential and extraordinary powers for the mobilization and use of all available men and women in the war effort have been given.

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"Moreover, the committee will continue to refer to the President all matters which, in its judgment, require his decision."

The committee had been set up originally as a separate agency.

August 19, 1942

DISPATCH
ST. LOUIS POST-D.

NEGROES PLAN MARCH ON PLANT BY 10,000

Handbills Set Job Parade to Carter Factory for 2:30 P. M. Tomorrow.

Handbills calling for 10,000 Negroes to join in a march at 2:30 p. m. tomorrow from Tandy Park, Cottage and Pendleton avenues, to the Carter Carburetor Co. plant, 2840 North Spring avenue, as a means of emphasizing Negroes' demands for jobs, were distributed in St. Louis today by the March on Washington Committee.

T. D. McNeal, St. Louis local chairman, said the plant is engaged in war work with a force of 2650 but does not employ Negroes.

"The plant has ignored our request for a conference," McNeal commented. "We tested the sentiment of St. Louis Negroes on the subject at a mass meeting in Municipal Auditorium Aug. 14 and found that we could figure on ample support for this undertaking."

Half a dozen executives of national organizations of Negroes addressed the mass meeting. All their speeches were pointed with the words "the Negro must fight for his rights now." Some speakers reported that Negro demonstrations at war industries plants had resulted in opening up employment opportunities for Negroes. Their principal complaints, however, were that Negroes were employed as porters and not given opportunities to learn mechanical trades, even though they did possess some mechanical ability.

McNeal said that national officers are developing plans for the proposed march on Washington by 100,000 Negroes. It will be conducted in the order of a demonstration to impress on the administration the insistence of Negroes for equal opportunities in industry and for full citizenship, and as a protest against segregation, McNeal asserted.

He expects final arrangements for the march on Washington to be made some time in September.

Hugh H. C. Weed, vice-president and general manager of the Carter plant, told a Post-Dispatch reporter today that the company is going through a retooling process, and has been forced to lay off workers rather than employ new ones.

"There are about 600 of our employes we are anxious to re-employ as soon as we can," Weed [illegible]

Walter White Charges South With Rebellion

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Aug. 20 — "Though even some of you may not realize it we have open rebellion bordering on treason in the United States today," declared Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the audience assembled at the Municipal auditorium here in a mass meeting sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, Friday night.

"The rebels," said White, "are Gene Talmadge of Georgia, Governor Dixon of Alabama, Congressman Rankin of Mississippi, the Ku Klux Klan, the National Workers League, and all of those who share their views."

TIRED OF EXPLOITATION

Taking as his theme a sentence from a new book by Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor, who said that the issue at stake in this war is the matter of the domination of one people by another, Mr. White declared: "We are here to let the world know that we Negroes are tired of being dominated and exploited and we want something done about it."

In a sharp address in which he charged that "sinister forces are deliberately trying to foment race riots in various parts of the country, particularly in the South," Mr. White said that the government and the people of the United States must decide "Who is going to rule the United States—the government of all the people or the reactionary fascist South?" Until [illegible] decision is made the speaker [illegible]

Interest High For "March On Washington" Meeting

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 20 — Preliminary demands for seats and reservations for the mammouth meeting which will be held at the Golden Gate Auditorium, Lenox avenue and 142nd street, under the auspices of the March-on-Washington movement, September 11, is tremendous, it was announced by Eardlie John, finance committee chairman.

Absorbing interest stems from the knowledge that A. Philip Randolph, the movement's national director, will deliver the address he was unable to make at the epochal meeting held recently at the Madison Square Garden, Mr. John said in a publicity letter to the press.

In addition, Dick Campbell will present a repeat performance of his dramatic playlet, "The Watchword Is Forward," which elicited tumultous applause at the Garden meet. Several new scenes have been added to bring the play up to date.

FAIR PLAY FOR THE NEGRO

Last Friday evening some 9,000 negroes met in a mass meeting at the Municipal Auditorium to protest various forms of race discrimination against the negro. That there was justification for some of their contentions is quite obvious. In some sections of this nation, the negro has received anything but fair treatment or enjoyed the rights of citizenship which the Constitution of this land extends to him.....

However, when the negroes protest that they are not given a decent proportion of the jobs in our war industries and are not taken in to our unions, we might point out that similar discrimination is extended to white workers, most of them skilled and qualified, who are residents of St. Louis and who are union members. Certain war plants have deliberately adopted a policy of giving job preference to out-of-town workers in order to maintain their open-shop, low-wage policies in the post war era. Union members particularly have been discriminated against, even more so than negroes.

On the whole, the negro has received much fairer treatment in St. Louis than in most metropolitan areas, although manifestly there is room for improvement. It should be remembered that while the white population of Greater St. Louis increased about 30 per cent since 1915, our negro population has increased about 500 per cent. Most of these negroes emigrated here from the South during the first world war when there was a labor scarcity. They kept on coming during the prosperous Twenties lured here by labor agencies seeking cheap labor to fight white or unionized labor. It was the old army game of playing one class of workers against the other.

Work cannot be pro-rated on a per capita basis along the lines of race, religion, social standing or other extraneous reasons. The one and only American standard for employment should be to give work to those best qualified by training, experience, character and diligence.

As Americans, organized labor most certainly demands fair treatment and political equality for all minorities including our negro fellow citizens, many of whom are AFL. members.

St. Louis Labor Tribune
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
In the Interest of Organized Labor
Vol. XI Wednesday, August 19, 1942 No. 26

A. P. Randolph Says Negroes Should Support India's Struggle For Freedom From Britain

CHICAGO, Ill.—"The March On Washington Movement," declared A. Philip Randolph, national director, at the Midwest Headquarters, YWCA, 16th street and South Parkway, "hails the militant noble and persistent struggle of the people of India for freedom and independence from the brutal tyranny of Great Britain.

"Negro people of America, the West Indies and Africa should support this grim determined and courageous battle for freedom of the Indian people under the gallant, wise and dauntless leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi for they constitute one of the greatest oppressed and exploited sections of the darker races of the world, seeking their liberation from ruthless British imperialism," says Mr. Randolph.

"The freedom of the people of India," continued Randolph, is intimately tied up with the freedom of the Negro people of America and the victory of the United Nations and the destruction of Axis slavery. So long as the people of India or any section of the human race, brown, yellow or white, are in chains, Negroes of America, the West Indies and Africa cannot become truly free" observed Mr. Randolph.

Urges Wide Protests

"As an evidence of the Negro people's condemnation of and portest against the horrible mass murder of the Indian people by the British guns and bombs, Negro organizations and individuals should write and telegraph President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to put an end to the shooting and killing of the Indian people and let their nationalist leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, out of jail, and convene Parliament to free India.

"Resolutions should be adopted in Negro meetings, labor, religious and fraternal, all over the country demanding the fredom of India. These resolutions should be sent to the press and the President. Sermons should be preached, editorials written and prayers offered up for the victory of India's fight for independence. Cablegrams should be sent to Prime Minister Churchill urging the independence of India in the interest of the cause of world democracy. Cablegrams should be sent also to Gandhi expressing the sympathy of the Negro people for the fight of India for liberty, since the denial of independence of India by Great Britain is utterly inconsistent with the fight of the United Nations for a free world," Mr. Randolph concluded.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1942

NOTABLES MEET AT BASEBALL CLASSIC

Notables from all parts of the nation gathered Sunday at the tenth annual East-West baseball classic. In the picture at the top can be seen A. Philip Randolph greeting Robert R. Church. At the microphone is Atty. James B. Cashin, member of the Chicago Board of Education, addressing the great crowd at the beginning of the game. In the lower picture are some of the girls provided by the Chicago Defender to solicit funds which will be used to provide visiting men of the armed forces entertainment when in Chicago.

. LOUIS AMERICAN

Governor Gets Strong Protest On New Sikeston Mob Effort; Results Of Failure To Act Cited

MARCH ON WA... COMMITTEE
St. Louis Unit.
David M. Grant,
Chairman Complaints Committee

...Thursday, August 27, 1942

The local March on Washington Committee is in receipt of a letter from Gov. Donnell assuring the group that an investigation into the Ross incident has been ordered.

The fruits of failure of state and federal grand juries to return indictments of the Cleo Wright lynching were cited by Attorney David M. Grant, chairman of the Complaints Committee of the St. Louis Unit of the March on Washington Committee, as a protest was made to Governor Donnell in connection with the attempt to lynch the Rev. J. B. Ross, Sikeston pastor, who was a key figure in the Wright case. The letter states in full:

"The attempted lynch-assault of today upon Rev. J. B. Ross, ittinerant minister of Sikeston, forcefully demonstrates the natural repercussions from fereical county grand jury investigations as well as those conducted by the government wherein the end result obtained is that the government shamefully confesses itself impotent before local mobs, in protecting the lives of its citizens.

"The charge against Ross, laid by the mob and sought to be prosecuted by them without benefit of trial, was that he, earlier in the day while at worship, had denounced the lynching of Cleo Wright at Sikeston on January 25, last. For this slur upon Scott county and upon the righteousness of the county's "pole-cat' 'editor who condoned the mob murder in print, these potential defenders of American democracy and world wide freedom for ALL men, charged forward to avenge the "honor of Sikeston," which "honor" had been impugned by this humble, fearsome Negro preacher. These would-be mobsters (if, perchance they missed participation in the January "party") were also fortified by the comforting knowledge that prosecuting attorney Blanton, son of the "pole-cat" editor and true son-of-a-father fashion, had singularly been unable to identify a single murderer, though he made a long speech to the mob before the killing.

"The MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE which attracted over 9,000 Negroes to the Auditorium last Friday night is against pole-cat editors of the Blant stripe, their towns, their people, their works and all of those who follow in their footsteps. We will continue to shout our protests to the world. In the words of sainted William Lloyd Garrison, "WE ARE IN DEAD EARNEST, WE WILL NOT RETREAT ONE SINGLE STEP AND WE WILL BE

N. Y. WORLD TELEGRAM
14 August 25, 1942

Roosevelt Weighs Super Board to Run War Program

New Supreme Group Would Control All But Military Strategy

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25.—President Roosevelt was reported today to have under consideration a proposal for the appointment of a super board of from five to nine members to fix policies and coordinate the far-flung activities of the war program.

Although there was no indication of the President's attitude, a proposal of this nature was said to have been submitted by Justice Samuel I. Rosenman of the New York Supreme Court, the President's trouble shooter.

One informed official, who asked to remain anonymous, said the Rosenman plan was reported to contemplate a board with authority to direct all phases of war activities except those involving military strategy.

Would Be Nerve Center.

It thus would become the nerve center of the whole civilian war effort, making policy decisions on production, transportation, priorities, civilian manufacture and countless other questions. The chief aim would be to free the President of much detail work.

Those familiar with the plan said that if such a board should be created, its membership might include such figures as Chairman Nelson of the War Production Board, Price Administrator Henderson, Vice President Wallace, Secretary of Commerce Jones and others.

There was some belief that Bernard M. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board in 1917, might be asked to serve, and it was considered likely that Harry Hopkins would be included.

New Curb on Materials.

Meanwhile, war plants and essential civilian industries are going on a strict diet of materials prescribed by WPB to balance their consumption of needed supplies.

Effective Sept. 1, the WPB program is designed to end the priorities system which occasionally has resulted in allocation of nonexistent materials.

The new procedure, the board announced last night, will require each manufacturer to file an estimate of material needs and a tentative schedule with his priority application.

At the same time Mr. Nelson was expected to take closer personal supervision of the flow of war materials soon by withdrawing some of the authority he has delegated to the armed services over priorities.

The Pittsburgh Courier

NEGROES SHOULD BACK INDIA SAYS RANDOLPH

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 19...

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 20—"The March on Washington Movement," states A. Philip Randolph, national director, at the mid-west headquarters, "hails the militant noble and persistent struggle of the people of India for freedom and independence from the brutal tyranny of Great Britain.

"Negro people of America, the West Indies and Africa should support this grim, determined and courageous battle for freedom of the Indian people under the gallant, wise and dauntless leadership of Mohandas K. Ghandi for they constitute one of the great oppressed and exploited sections of the darker races of the world, seeking their liberation from ruthless British imperialism," says Mr. Randolph.

"The freedom of the people of India," continued Randolph, is intimately tied up with the freedom of the Negro people of America and the victory of the United Nations and the destruction of Axis slavery. So long as the people of India or any section of the human race, brown, yellow or white, are in chains, Negroes of America, the West Indies and Africa cannot become truly free," observed Mr. Randolph.

THOUSANDS EXPECTED TO JOIN IN PROTESTS

The March-on-Washington Committee is calling on all Negroes who are interested in fighting for economic justice in the form of jobs for our people to join in the big demonstration to be staged at the plant of the Carter Carburetor Corporation on Saturday afternoon August 29th.

The march will be assembled at Tandy Park, Cottage and Pendleton avenues at 2:30 p. m. Saturday afternoon and will proceed from there to the Carter Carburetor plant on Spring avenue. The distance is less than a mile.

This demonstration is being held by the Negroes of St. Louis for the purpose of registering our condemnation of the vicious employment policy of the Carter Carburetor Corporation. At the present time this corporation employs about 3000 people, all of whom are working on war orders, but the corporation flatly refuses to employ a single Negro in any capacity. Even though the money for their payroll is being provided through bonds bought by both Negro and white citizens yet Carter Carburetor will not employ even a Negro janitor. It is the position of the March-on-Washington Committee that Negro citizens have as much right to any job in the plant as has any other American.

The Committee has sought a conference with the management of this plant for the purpose of discussing and working out plans for integrating Negroes. The management has ignored this request. Leaders of the Movement say that in ignoring the request of the Ne-

(Continued on Page 6)

THOUSANDS EXPECTED

(Continued from Page 1)

gro people to discuss this matter Carter Carburetor asked for a march.

In order that this demonstration may be effective and that the things we are fighting for may be secured it is necessary that large numbers of Negroes from all walks of life take part.

In commenting on plans for this demonstration Chairman McNeal of the March on Washington Committee said: "In this hour of crisis and struggle for the rights of our people, when the very economic existence of Negroes is being determined, all intelligent Negroes should drop everything and join this demonstration in order that those who are opposed to us securing our rights may know that the Negro people mean business. We must let these prejudiced plants know that the Negro people are in this fight to stay, and that there will be no let up until our rights as American citizens are recognized and fully granted.

The demonstration at Carter Carburetor plant will be of the same orderly and dignified type as the demonstration at the Small Arms plant in June which went so far toward getting results here.

At the Auditorium protest meeting August 14th, 10,000 Negroes promised that they would help when needed. The March on Washington Committee says: "Now is your chance to show that you want to do your part in fighting for your rights. Be at Tandy Park Saturday afternoon at 2:30 p. m. sharp." The Committee is working to furnish appropriate banners for the march.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1942.

300 NEGRO MEN, WOMEN IN MARCH TO CARTER PLANT

Demonstration in Support of Demand That Carburetor Company Employ Negroes.

About 300 Negro men and women marched to and around the war manufacturing plant of the Carter Carburetor Corporation, 2840 North Spring avenue, this afternoon, in support of a demand, thus far not met by the company, that it employ Negroes.

The single-file sidewalk procession started from Tandy Playground, Cottage and Pendleton avenues, at 2:45 o'clock and moved east with a police motorcycle escort. It was under the auspices of the March on Washington Committee, which is promoting demonstrations for employment of Negroes in war industries. Handbills had called for 10,000 to participate in the demonstration.

A large American flag was carried at the head of the line, and placards were borne by many of the marchers. There was no instrumental music, and the line was a quiet and orderly one at all stages of the march, particularly in passing the Carter plant. The officers and workers of the company gave no sign of recognizing the demonstration.

Some of the placards read:

"Fight the Axis—don't fight us."

Racial discrimination is sabotage."

"Let's practice democracy as we preach it."

"Barring Negroes from war industries makes Axis propaganda."

"We fight for the right to work as well as die for victory for the United Nations."

Approaching the Carter plant the line moved east on Dodier street to Spring avenue, and east on St. Louis to one of the entrances of the plant, then quietly turned and went south on Spring. The line disbanded at Spring and Prairie avenues at 3:40 o'clock.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, AUGUST 29, 1942

Randolph May Run for Congress

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

NEW YORK — (ANP) — A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington movement has been named a candidate for congressman-at-large from this State by the American Labor party.

The candidacy was made known Saturday afternoon along with the announcement that New York City's comptroller, Joseph D. McGoldrick, would head up the party's ticket.

ALP Strategy

In naming a full slate for the State elections, the ALP is apparently going through with the threat to upset the applecart of the Democrats, bring about the election of Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican standard-bearer, and place the blame on Chairman Farley. Both the left and right wings of the ALP are unalterably opposed to John J. Bennett and wholeheartedly for Senator James M. Mead whom the former defeated.

The nomination of Randolph is being viewed as a move to draw upon the strong prestige he holds among colored people throughout the city and State. In the event the ticket is actually entered the party expects to collect about a million votes, mostly at the expense of the Democrats.

Randolph Disagrees With FDR On FEPC

NEW YORK, N. Y., Aug. 27—A. Philip Randolph, National Director, "March on Washington" Movement, from his headquarters, stated that he "disagrees with the President's position and contends that the transfer of FEPC "was not misunderstood nor did it strengthen" the committee. "On the contrary", said Randolph, "the fact that the Fair Employment Practice Committee must get its money from the budget of Congress which is subject to the political manipulation of Southern Congressmen who are attacking the Fair Employment Practice Committee with violence and venonmous hatred, puts the Committee in the position where it is certain to be ham-strung, sabotaged, and probably ultimately destoryed."

SOUTHERNERS TRIED TO BLOCK FUNDS

The statement issued from the militant leader charged that the southerners tried to block any paln to get adequate funds for the continuation of the committee, because of the two Negroes on the committee, who cross-question labor leaders, and white employers, and establish ploicies that white citizens must respect. He pointed, as proof of this, to the actions of Governor Dixon of Alabama, who issued a tirade on FEPC following the hearing in Birmingham and rejected contracts.

He took to task the transferring in the Man Power Commission under Paul V. McNutt, because the United Employment Service allowed Bulletin C-45 to be issued which permits an employer to ask for "white Christians only" through USES.

BRANDS MOVE AS POLITICAL

According to Randolph, McNutt has presidential ambitions and as a Democrat the South must participate strongly in the nomination, which is a short method of [illegible] ing definitely against Negroes.

Mr. Randolph urged that Negroes continue sending telegrams and letters to the White House asking that adequate funds be given the committee to continue operating as before.

PITTSBURGH COURIER
AUGUST 29, 1942

Randolph Denies March On Washington Has Been Abandoned, Is Ready For Mass Action

"Because of a news report in the press of recent date to the effect that the march on Washington has been abandoned, I want to state that this is a misrepresentation and definitely untrue," A. Philip Randolph, national director, announced Thursday.

"The plan to march on Washington has not been abandoned; it was only postponed. Doubtless, this idea that the march was abandoned grew out of a statement which I made in Los Angeles, California, where we set up a division of the March On Washington Movement, to the the effect that a march on Washington was not our immediate program; that is, it would not take place today or the next day, but that it was our ultimate program unless Negroes secured their full constitutional, first class citizenship rights during the war.

"The giant meetings that are being staged by the March On Washington Movement serves the purpose of mobilizing the mind and spirit of the Negro people for [illegible] physical march on Washington when the time comes, when we are ready. These meetings awaken the consciousness of Negroes of their capacity for unity as well as warn white America that Negro people will not take a licking by jim-crow lying down, and that they want their democratic rights now.

"Naturally all sorts of misinterpretations will be made on all that happens in connection with the March on Washington Movement, but this movement knows what it wants and where it is going, and how it expects to get there," concluded Mr. Randolph.

h Courier SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1942

Discrimination At Carter Plant Arouses Citizens To Stage Second Protest Parade

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 27—The Mound City will witness its second mammoth March on Washington Protest Parade Demonstration Saturday afternoon, August 29, when a silent procession moves off to parade around the Carter Carburetor Plant, Dodier and St. Louis avenue, just a stone' throw from Sportman's Park, to let the public know that Negroes resent the fact that they are unable to work in that plant and thereby help in the defense of the country they are being called upon to defend.

The protest parade will form at Tandy Park at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon, according to announcements by T. D. McNeal, chairman of the St. Louis Unit of the "March-On-Washington" Committee and proceed to the plant.

According to the best available information, the Carter concern employs some 3,200 workers. However, it is reliably reported, not a single Negro is employed at this plant, which manufactures plane parts and other material vital to war needs. Yet, not a Negro is hired by Carter, not even a janitor!

Executives of the March on Washington Committee, which maintains offices in Room 412 of the People's Finance Building, 11 North Jefferson, have endeavored to arrange a conference with Carter officials, but, so far, have been unsuccessful.

The first demonstration was against the Small Arms Plant of the U. S. Cartridge company, where, out of more than 30,000 employees, not a single Negro had a skilled job. Now, a number are in training for actual production work.

TEACHERS WANTED
Negro Teachers are in immediate demand—for best opportunities register with the Bell Service NOW—for Colleges, Secondary, Elementary and Private Schools
Send for Information
BELL TEACHERS AGENCY
[illegible] AVENUE [illegible] N. Y.
URGENT NEED FOR

March On Washington Movement Still Opposes FEPC Transfer To War Manpower Commission

In the press recently President Roosevelt defended his transfer of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to the War Manpower Commission by claiming that the reasons for the transfer have been widely misunderstood, and that it will strengthen and not submerge the Committee.

"The March on Washington Movement," states A. Philip Randolph, national director, at its headquarters at the Hotel Theresa Building, New York City, disagree with the President's position and contends that the transfer was not misunderstood nor did it strengthen the FEPC. On the contrary, the fact that the Fair Employment Practice Committee must get its money from the budget of Congress which is subject to the political manipulation of Southern cracker Congressmen who are attacking the Fair Employment Practice Committee with violence and venomous hatred, puts the Committee in the position where it is certain to be hamstrung, sabotaged and, probably, ultimately destroyed," observed Mr. Randolph.

Every effort will be made by the Southern block to stymie any plan to provide adequate funds for the maintenance and extension of the machinery of the Fair Employment Practice Committee because it is a policy-making body on which two Negroes sit with the privilege of cross-questioning white employers and leaders of labor, together with the formulation of policies that white citizens must respect. To the white South this savors of the hateful bogey of social equality. This shown by the fact that Governor Dixon of Alabama vented his spleen against FEPC following its hearing in Birmingham, and rejected a contract because it carried a clause providing for the employment of workers without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin, commented Mr. Randolph.

The leader of the March On Washington Movement expresses further fear and misgivings about the submergence of FEPC into the Manpower Commission depite the President's assurance in his recent statement because Mr. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has under his control the United States Employment Service which recently issued Bulletin C-45 which allows an employer to ask for "white Christian only" on job order and have his request granted by USES. This amounts to a definite instruction to state directors to ignore Executive Order No. 8802, and is a plain violation of the order. Exception is made only in states where legislation outlaws discrimination in employment for war industry and there are only four such states.

"Besides, Paul V. McNutt has Presidential ambitions and as a Democrat must depend upon the South for nomination and election which is certain to cause him to cultivate the South by catering to them, which will operate against the interest of Negroes inasmuch as the South is definite in its demands that the price of its support to any political office seeker is the sacrifice of the rights of the Negro people," continued Mr. Randolph.

"Negro organizations and individuals should continue to send telegrams and letters to President Roosevelt urging him to provide unlimited funds from his contingent fund so that this agency which has done splendid work for the integration of Negroes into defense employment, may continue to function effectively."

Mr. Randolph concluded by stating that he could see no good reason for placing the FEPC under the War Manpower Commission for any purpose whatsoever since the seven men who were selected by the President as members of the Committee are able, responsible and respectable citizens

Conscientious Objector

Re-entered as second class matter Nov. 10, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. IV—No. 9 New York, September, 1942 Price Five Cents

400 Negroes in Protest Parade

March From Tandy Park to Plant of Carter Carburetor

Some 400 St. Louis Negro men and women yesterday afternoon paraded from Tandy Park to the Carter Carburetor Corporation plant at 2840 North Spring avenue in an orderly demonstration against alleged discriminatory labor policies of the war industry.

Occasional street corner groups watched without comment as the silent marchers walked in slow single file the long hot mile from the park to the big plant.

The marchers, who parade for the most part on the sidewalk, were led by a flag-bearer and T. D. McNeal, St. Louis chairman of the Negro March on Washington Committee. Behind the leaders sauntered the long procession of placard-bearing demonstrators.

MARCHERS CARRY SIGNS

Some of the placards read:

"Barring Negroes from war industries makes Axis propaganda."

Others declared:

"Carter employs 3000 people, not one Negro: Is that democracy?"

Still others asserted:

"Shut our mouths and stop our marches with jobs, democracy and freedom."

BYSTANDERS ORDERLY

A large crowd of staring but unopinionated spectators lined the sidewalks at St. Louis and Spring avenues, the southwest corner of the Carter plant. A detachmen of motorcycle patrolmen checked traffic as the marchers quietly circled the block-square factory.

After circling the Carter plant, the marchers paraded west on St. Louis avenue to Tandy Park where the procession disbanded.

Although McNeal had predicted about 10,000 Negroes would participate, he expressed himself satisfied with the mass protest.

"All we wish to do," he said, "is to keep our problem before the people of St. Louis. The conscience of the people will do the rest. The purpose of this demonstration was to dramatize the plight of the discriminated Negro, who only asks to be allowed a place in his country's war effort."

OTHERS TO FOLLOW

The demonstration at the Carter plant, McNeal said, would be followed by similar mass protests directed at other St. Louis plants which allegedly discriminate against Negro labor.

In addition, he said, a mass prayer meeting sponsored by the March on Washington Committee here will be held the afternoon of September 20 at Memorial Plaza.

"We intend to continue our protests and our demonstrations until Negroes are given an equal share in war work in St. Louis," he declared.

H. H. Weed, general manage of the Carter Corporation, asserted the plant had no established policy [illegible] race from em-

Indian Movement An Inspiration For Negro Aims in America

(The writer of this article is a Negro leader of The March On Washington movement, former vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and has recently been announced as the Socialist candidate for Congressional Representative at Large from New York.)

By Layle Lane

"The war has set the American Negro marching. Where he is going he is pretty sure of. How he will get there he hasn't quite made up his mind," so writes Stanley High in the July Readers Digest.

Apropos of methods, there is much truth in Mr. High's statement, for though the Negro press is justly militant and vocal about our grievences; though the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League have greatly increased their effectiveness in fighting for political and economic equality; though the March on Washington Movement is committed to mass demonstrations and protests, the American Negro has not yet hammered out a varied strategy which he can use on a nationwide scale.

The policy of non-cooperation and passive resistance of Gandhi and the All-India Congress offers lessons in technique which the Negro would do well to learn. There are two striking differences however which must be kept in mind—the Hindu millions make up the vast majority of the population of India while the American Negro is a minority; secondly the Hindus want to maintain their own culture pattern under their own rule, while the Negro wants his Americanism recognized and given equality.

Want Four Freedoms

Both groups are alike, however, in wanting the white race to put reality into its avowed principles of establishing the four freedoms without violence. This does not mean, as Secretary Hull would imply, a cowardice and an unwillingness to fight and die for freedom. Gandhi's whole life shows he is no coward. As he so nobly stated . . . "I cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing. But to him who has not this courage I advise that of killing and of

(Continued on page 7)

Indian Movement An Inspiration For Negro Aims in America

(Continued from page 1)

being killed, rather than of shamefully fleeing from danger."

It does mean infusing into a struggle for human freedom the same spiritual quality which one hopes to have universally established. It means ruling out completely the policy of hate which we see developing among many whites during this present conflict.

Romain Rolland in his poetic biography of Gandhi and C. F. Andrews in his more factual treatment both emphasize the religious quality back of non-violent direct action which gives it a power far transcending that of force. Writes Rolland of Gandhi . . . "This is the man who has stirred three hundred millions to revolt; who has shaken the foundations of the British Empire and who has introduced into human politics the strongest religious impulse of the last two thousand years."

Not Asking Civil Revolt

Lest there be any misunderstanding, this plea to learn of Gandhi is not a plea for civil revolt. This, we Negroes have neither the desire nor intention to carry on. We are in revolt, however, against a system of half-citizenship which we are determined to destroy without hate and we hope without violence. We trust that our fellow white Americans will make this possible by stopping the lawless among them.

If we can develop a mass movement such as Gandhi has, imbued with the spirit of overpowering discrimination with justice, a speedy and peaceful change in race relations will result. One element of Gandhi's strength is his mass organization. The March on Washington Movement, a little more than a year old, has caught the imagination of the Negro masses and has every possibility of growing into a great organization such as the All-India Congress.

Gandhi knew that this movement must have an economic base so he revived native industries, especially spinning. The Negro likewise must include an economic activity in his mass movement. The campaign for jobs is one type of such work but there must be another which will affect agriculture—the industry in which the Negro has his roots and in which the largest single number of workers are still employed.

While it is impossible and impractical to set up a Negro economy, it is not impractical for Negro farmers to be organized into cooperatives to supply organized consumers in urban and suburban areas. Every Negro school, every Negro church, every Negro hospital and every Negro restaurant, together spend enough on food each year to wipe out tenant farming entirely if the spending were channeled directly to the Negro farmer. Therefore there should be organized farm cooperatives to supply needed produce. The Negro farmer would have a steady market and direct contact with his customers who could assist him in many other ways besides buying his product.

With the strength that comes from mass organization and collective enterprise Negroes would be in a position to boycott all phases of the Jim Crow system Governor Talmadge says he will protect.

Then the walls of Jericho must come tumble down

Randolph Supports India

Comparing the struggle of the American Negro to achieve freedom with the attempts of the All-India National Congress to achieve independence, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national director of the March-on-Washington Movement condemned the "persecution of the British, who swept into jail Gandhi, Nehru and hundreds of other brave fighters for freedom," in an interview released by Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers Defense League. The interview was obtained in connection with the placing by President Roosevelt of the Fair Employment Practices Committee under the jurisdiction of Paul V. McNutt.

Mr. Randolph declared that Prime Minister Churchill's "professions about fighting to save democracy are empty and futile as long as he keeps the nationalist leaders of India, Gandhi and Nehru, behind prison bars."

EUGENE TALMADGE

Governor Talmadge said in his Dalton speech, Aug. 15, 1942, that when business incorporated it became necessary for labor to organize.

Governor Talmadge said, "I will protect their right to organize."

✦

Governor Talmadge said also:

Governor Talmadge said in his Dalton speech, Aug. 15, 1942, that when business incorporated it became necessary for labor to organize.

Governor Talmadge said, "I will protect their right to organize."

✦

Governor Talmadge said also:

"While I am Governor no Negro foreman will give orders to white men and white women in the mills of Georgia."

✦

Re-Elect EUGENE TALMADGE

In the Democratic White Primary, September 9th

Negroes Urged to Put Race Problems Aside For United War Effort

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

FLORENCE, Pa., Sept. 5.—Complete subordination of all racial problems to an all-out war effort by Negroes will be recommended to that group by the National Urban League, if the report of its executive secretary, Lester Granger, is adopted.

Granger, succeeding Eugene Kinkle Jones as head of the league, made that the central theme of his annual report tonight to the 1942 conference of his organization, which is meeting at nearby James Weldon Johnson Camp.

ACTIVITIES EXTENDED

Convening here Friday, the organization, which is second in national prestige only to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported delegations representing more than 50 of its largest branches and affiliates.

Founded with the aid of New York and Pennsylvania Quakers, the league has been active for more than 20 years in the adjustment of Negro migrants from the South into the industrial ways of the North and Middle West. Its activities also have been extended to the South, where approximately a score of branches and committee-affiliates are active in the field of inter-racial relations.

GREATER EFFORT SOUGHT

The organization's morning sessions today were given over to recommendations by a special commission for "broad changes in the unit's structural relations with communities," and suggestions that "in general, boards of directors of the league's local affiliates be studied" to promote possible greater effort.

While Granger's annual report stressed "complete co-operation" in the prosecution of the war effort, he also pointed out that the league "refuses to retreat one inch from any of the social or civic gains which the Negro has made during the last few years."

INTEGRATION SOUGHT

The new executive declared that his organization will press steadfastly for "complete integration of the Negro into all phases of the war effort, whether in industrial, military or civilian categories."

The league's industrial leaders are girding for a "showdown discussion" tomorrow with Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, consultant on minority affairs for the Social Security Board, on an official bulletin issued by the U. S. Employment Service, which leaders throughout the country contend will allow the by-passing of Negroes by the service as far as war industries are concerned.

RUTTENBERG TO SPEAK

Following discussion of Negro employment and a review of the housing problem facing Negro migratory workers throughout the country, the league will be addressed tomorrow by Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, a member of the Fair Practices Unit, and Harold Ruttenberg, research director of the United Steel Workers of America.

Adjournment has been set tentatively for Tuesday.

Youth Group Asks Britain to Grant Freedom to India

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 (U. P.).—The International Student Assembly today called for immediate reopening of negotiations between Great Britain and India aimed to free India and ally Indians in the war against the Axis.

The Assembly also advocated "an international organization of all peoples with delegations of sovereignty and enough power to make and enforce international decisions."

ASK FASCIST UPRISING

It asked the youth of Fascist nations to "throw off" their Fascist leaders and join in a common crusade for "a people's century."

These were the three main proposals in the Assembly's declaration of principles adopted in the closing business session of the four-day conference here. The declaration was prepared by the heads of 53 national delegates, including the United Nations, Latin American republics, governments-in-exile and anti-Nazi factions of Germans and Italians.

URGES RACIAL EQUALITY

In its declaration the Assembly paid tribute to the youth of nations receiving the brunt of Axis warfare, Russia, China, Britain and the conquered countries. It asserted readiness to back promises of United Nations leaders to open a second front in Europe to aid Russia, and affirmed its determination to fight for "complete rout" of Fascism. The group urged a doctrine of racial equality enabling peoples "regardless of race, creed or color to select their own political system."

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt attended the session.

N.Y. AMSTERDAM STAR NEWS
September 1942

Dr. Ervin Highlights 3rd Annual Citizenship Confab

Dr. Lawrence Ervin, chairman of the N. Y. Chapter of the March-On-Washington movement, urged boroughites to "stop pussyfooting and demand the things they justly deserve." Dr. Ervin was the principal speaker at the third annual "Citizenship Day" celebration staged at Alexander Hamilton High School, Bergen Street and Albany Avenue, on Sunday afternoon.

A parade under the direction of Scoutmaster Roland Williams, preceded the confab in the school. Crack soldiers in the 372nd Regiment participated and their fine marching was the highlight of the parade.

Brooklyn Elks under the leadership of Exalted Ruler Hubert Brown, led the parade. Others taking part included Stuyvesant Unit of the American Women's Volunteer Service, five Boy Scout Troops and a host of others.

Paul Stewart, Concord Baptist Church scoutmaster, was presented the trophy for winning the recent Star News "Mayor of Brooklyn" contest. Edward Sheafe, local realtor, made the presentation.

Larry Foster who terminated the race in second place, was given a trophy by Dr. Eugene Mirrell, Brooklyn dentist, and Charles Kerney of the N. Y. State War Council, made the presentation. Leonard Freeman was the third prize which was awarded by Ben Bergman of the [illegible] Theatre. The [illegible] B. M. Boots, Brownsville [illegible] civic worker, who completed [illegible] in fourth place, was interviewed [illegible] portion of the affair was [illegible] direction of Tommy Watson.

Other speakers for the [illegible] ended Mrs. Margaret [illegible] chairman; Attorney Norman [illegible] Mrs. Gerald Rubien, Pastor [illegible] and Mrs. Fannie Rose [illegible] Miller, new executive secretary [illegible] Carlton Y.M.C.A., was the main [illegible] ceremonies.

Father Campion told of the [illegible] Negro ballplayers [illegible] the American and [illegible] Leagues. An enlightening [illegible] how others are joining in [illegible] characterized his talk.

However, Dr. Ervin's talk was the highlight of the afternoon. His dynamic deliverance dominated the event. He told of the necessity using the power of the ballot demanding the things that are due the Negroes.

Others on the platform were Rev. T. Alcantara, W. Parker and Norman Robinson.

To Negro Race Leaders

NEW YORK, N. Y.—"If a people who are giving of their blood and treasure for the victory of the United Nations and whose loyalty to their country has never been questioned cannot sit down and have a heart to heart talk with the President, they are truly considered a second class people, which is wholly inconsistent with the expressed purpose of the United Nations," declared A. Philip Randolph in a statement issued from the "March on Washington" movement headquarters.

Randolph made his utterance after receiving a letter from Presidential Secretary M. H. McIntyre stating that the President "owing to extreme pressure" could not grant him and other representative Negro leaders a requested audience.

The leader of the "March on Washington Committee" had sent a communication to the White House earlier in the week asking for an appointment with President Roosevelt to discuss "deepening and threatening racial tensions of Negro-white relations."

Selected to accompany Randolph to the capitol were Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, national secretary, Colored Boys Work of the Y.M.C.A.; and J. Finley Wilson, exalted ruler of the Elks.

Others on the committee were Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, National Youth Administration; Bishop John E. Gregg, [illegible] church; and Lester B. Granger, National Urban League.

Randolph said he wished to talk to President Roosevelt on the wild, reckless, and brutal attacks upon Negro civilians and soldiers." He cited specifically the Odell Waller execution, the lynching of a Negro soldier at Flagstaff, Ariz., the lynching of men at Texarkana, Texas and Sikeston, Mo., and the vicious attack upon Roland Hayes at Rome, Ga.

Randolph said there were further complaints to be lodged with the Chief Executive against the continued "discriminations against Negroes in the armed forces the government and defense industry."

The President's refusal to meet with committee was termed by Randolph "an extraordinary and serious situation." He stated he doubted whether the President would fail to find time to talk to representatives of "the Jewish people, the Catholics, or any small foreign group" if a conference were requested.

N. Y. AMSTERDAM STAR NEWS
September 6, 1942

INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE
September 1942

"The freedom of the people of India," says A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, "is intimately tied up with the freedom of the Negro people of America and the victory of the United Nations and the destruction of Axis slavery. So long as the people of India or any section of the human race—brown, yellow or white—are in chains, Negroes of America, the West Indies and Africa cannot become truly free." (*Kansas City Call*, August 21.)

* * *

Randolph in Talk On 'Negro Tomorr

One of the guest speakers at the 1941 Williamstown Institute of Human Relations, A. Philip Randolph dealt with what he conceived to be the proper status of the Negro worker in the world of tomorrow and also discussed the general importance of economics as a factor in human relations.

Milton Moran Weston, national director of Negro work for the IWO, the only registered Negro delegate participated in many discussions giving the Negro's point of view. Dr. Rexford Tugwell and Roger Gordon also spoke on the program.

Pittsburgh Courier

PITTSBURGH, PA., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1942

WEBSTER NAMED TO HEAD PROBERS ON WORKERS' PROBLEMS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 3—A sub-committee has been set up by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and Milton P. Webster, first international vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has been appointed its chairman for the purpose of probing the problems of the Negro railroad workers including firemen, hostlers, brakemen, switchmen, shop crafts and other related railway vocations, on the question of discriminations practiced against Negroes by displacing them with younger white workers and denying them promotional rights.

ASK VICTIMS TO CONTACT WEBSTER

Chairman Webster is now having a nation-wide investigation of these discriminations conducted by competent and expert investigators, and FEPC plans to hold hearings on these discriminations where the officials of railroads and unions will be called for cross-examination and witnesses allowed to testify with respect to discriminatory practices in the railroad industry on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

All railroad workers who have been victims of any form of discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin should communicate with M. P. Webster, Chairman of the sub-committee or with the executive secretary, Mr. Lawrence Cramer, or the Chairman of FEPC, Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, and send in their case backed up with facts and evidence of a personal and documentary form.

* * *

The Spingarn Medal for the year's greatest achievement by a Negro was awarded to A. Philip Randolph at the same convention of the N.A.A.C.P. as more than 3,000 packed the Second Baptist Church, overflowed into the street, watched closely until the medal hung in its allotted place, then broke into thundering cheers. Both colored and white hung on his words as he said, "Our problem, now on the operating table, cannot be dealt with as an ordinary operation; a major operation is necessary . . . It is not undemocratic for the Negro to demand his rights because of the war. Granting the Negro his rights will be exemplifying democracy and speed up war work." (*Kansas City Call,* July 24.)

* * *

Randolph To Make His Famous "Madison Square Garden Speech"

Gigantic Mass Meeting Planned for September 11 at Golden Gate to Feature March-On-Washington Leader and Dick Campbell's Play.

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. [redacted]—The headquarters of the March on Washington Movement in the Hotel Theresa building is humming with activity as the great mass meeting which will be held at the Golden Gate, Friday evening, September 11th at 7 p. m. This meeting is the sequel to the colossal public protest gathering at the Madison Square Garden June 16th, where between 22,000 and 23,000 Negroes were assembled to protest discriminations in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, U. S. Marines, Coast Guard, defense industry and Government. This meeting will go down in the history of America and the Negro as the greatest manifestation of Negro mass power ever witnessed and one of the biggest demonstrations of public indignation against social injustices ever held in the history of America.

The follow up meeting in the Golden Gate under the auspices of the New York Division of the March on Washington Movement is planned so that the famous speech which was to have been delivered by A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the MOW can be heard by the people of New York. There was not sufficient time at the Madison Square Garden meeting to permit Mr. Randolph to make his prepared speech which will deal with the present problems of the Negro people in America and the world.

Many, many requests have been flowing into the headquarters of the March on Washington Movement for a return presentation of Dick Campbell's stirring playlet, "The Watchword Is Forward." To satisfy this city-wide demand, this playlet will be presented in all of its vitality and force on this occasion under the direction of Dick Campbell himself.

The committee in charge of the Golden Gate mass meeting is headed by Mr. Eardlie John, chairman of the finance committee of the New York Division of the March on Washington Movement. According to reports, tickets are being sold rapidly in all of the boroughs and prospects are that there will be an overflow. Therefore, everybody is urged to secure their tickets early and come early for seats. The only reason for an admission fee is to provide funds for the fight of the March on Washington Movements for Negro rights.

—VV—

Negroes Call Detroit Conference to Plan March on Washington

By ELIZABETH CHARNEY

Delegates of scores of Negro organizations will converge on Detroit Sept. 26 for the national convention of the March on Washington movement. The conference is being called because of the dissatisfaction of Negro leaders with the work—or rather lack of real work—on the part of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee created to eliminate discrimination in employment, poor showing in eliminating Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

Leader of the March on Washington is A. Philip Randolph, outstanding Negro spokesman and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters.

A proposed march last year was abandoned when the President signed his executive order promising an end to discrimination against the Negro in any type of war effort. Today, according to Randolph, the Negro is practically back where he started. The fact that a few companies holding government contracts now hire a small number of Negroes or that 34 pilots have been trained and commissioned at Tuskegee (a whole year's output), is but a drop in the bucket. Secretary of War Stimson has said that by the end of 1942 there will be 100,000 Negroes in the Army air forces. But the vast majority will not be pilots. They will comprise a corps of technical specialists, airdrome defense battalions, aviation squadrons for general work at air bases, quartermaster truck companies, etc. At present, Negroes are being trained as pilots of fast single seat fighter planes, but are not accepted for training as bomber pilots on multi-engined aircraft as bombardiers or navigators. In the Army, where their position is better than in other branches of the armed services, Negroes are assigned mainly to kitchen police and ditch-digging in the quartermaster and engineering corps.

The Navy has just begun accepting Negroes as seamen above deck. The South continues to object to the stationing in its army camps of northern Negroes, who have been brought up without being subjected to Jim Crow laws.

The F.E.P.C. notwithstanding, Negroes have not been getting anywhere near their share of jobs throughout the country. Even on war

HELP US TO MAKE IOWA
Postpone

LAST LONG

Division II Pastors' Seminar

[illegible] Rev. Wm. A. Fountain, Vice Senior Bishop
[illegible] Rev. Jno. A. Gregg, Presiding Bishop.
[illegible] for Joint Institute.

Division III History

[illegible] M. E. Church—Rev. Caryle F. Stewart, Rev. A. J. Irvine,
"The American Negro—Atty. S. Joe Brown.

11:30 Announcements.
12:00 Noon Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION

1:45 Worship Service led by Rev. H. J. Parker.
2:00 Election of Congress Officers.
2:30 District Meetings and Elections (S. S.; A. C. E. L. and Jr, Missionary.)
3:30 Unfinished Business.
4:45 Announcements (Adults—Young People, Soft Ball Game).
5:45 Dinner.

AILROAD ME

[illegible] Whitney told the board. "In 1[illegible] I became a brakeman.

"I worked for the North Western and, in 1893, had an accident and sold a couple of fingers to the general claim agent for $45.

"Returning to the service, I worked as a freight brakeman until 1901, when I was elected as chairman of the general grievance committee of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on the North Western.

"In 1905, I was elected a member of the board of trustees, and later vice president of the Trainmen. On February 1, 1928, I became secretary-treasurer, and on July 1, 1928, was elected to the office I now hold.

Responsibility Increased

Whitney declared that, despite the railroad lawyers' attempts to prove the contrary, "the duties and responsibilities of employes in train and yard service have greatly increased during the past 25 years.

[illegible]

Improvements Noted

Specific examples of improvements in hiring practices noted in her report, included the following:

1. In March, no Negroes were employed in the Western Electric Company's tube plant in New York City. When re-visited on July 13 to learn what employment, if any, had followed the committee's appeal, the company was found to be employing 20 Negroes.

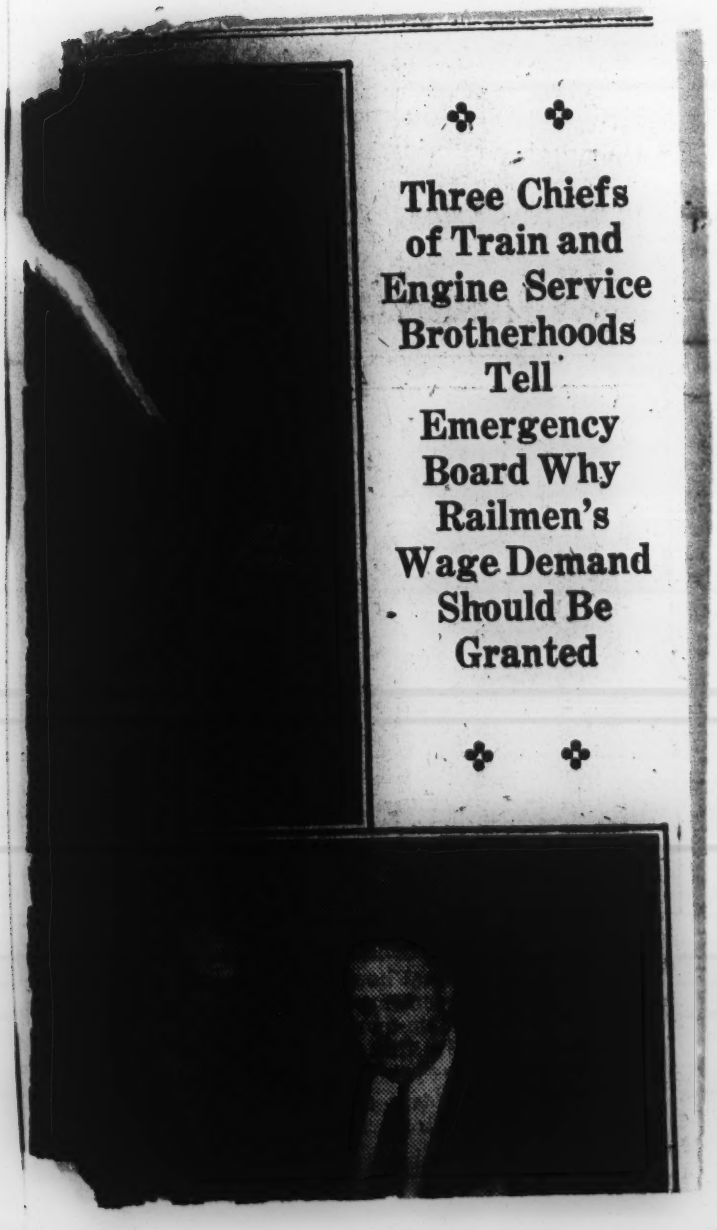
The personnel manager had just placed a Negro girl, a Virginia University graduate, in his office as a receptionist to assist him in interviewing applicants. The company is considering plans for inducting more Negroes and reports considerable success in their use at the Kearny (N. J.) plant.

2. When first visited by a committee field representative, Brooklyn Aircraft employed nine Negroes out of a total personnel of 900. Today, as a result of the committee's efforts, 80 Negroes are employed.

3. Following representations by the committee, Pepsi-Cola Company has upgraded six Negroes from porter jobs and has just taken on a salesman of that race at a good salary.

Liberalized Practices

4. Late in March, a committee investigator found 75 Negroes employed by the Ford Instrument



Three Chiefs of Train and Engine Service Brotherhoods Tell Emergency Board Why Railmen's Wage Demand Should Be Granted

...old C. Burton, a ... is Republican leader of ...ty-first Assembly District, ...ast, said that the conditions which have recently attracted public notice have been in existence for a long time, and blamed the inadequacy of home relief allowances as an important cause of the trouble.

"The home relief people do not understand that colored people have to eat the same as white people do," he exclaimed. "If you knew the budget home relief grants these people—whole families trying to live on $10 and $12 a week—you would know why young people commit crimes in order to get a few cents for themselves."

Mrs. Vivian C. Mason, a Negro, who is director of the field administration division of the Welfare Department, rose to the defense of the home relief authorities.

"It isn't the relief budget that is at fault," she said. "It is the fact that the living expenses of people in Harlem are out of all proportion to those of people elsewhere. In other parts of the city people on relief can get decent living accommodations for $25 a month, but in Harlem in order to get a place to live they must use not only the money that is budgeted for rent, but also part of the food budget."

Mrs. Mason asked why Negroes should be segregated in Harlem and a few districts in the city and intitmated her belief that large real estate interests were responsible for this condition.

E. H. Fernandez, who said he was a parishioner of St. Aloysius Church, declared that "white people who have no legitimate busi-

...ployment in ...
...cause of their ...
because they are ...

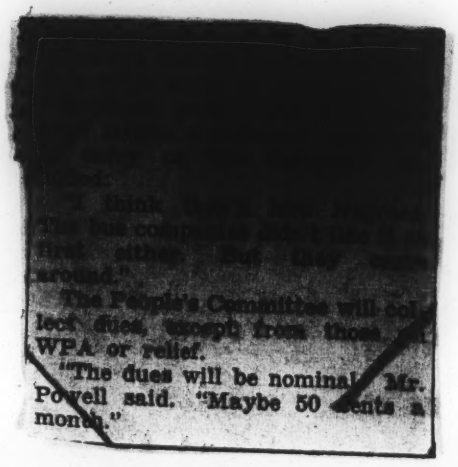
She added that ... recently announced ... ident for dealing ... lem would be ... but revealed ... with Attorney ... been requested ... ironing out dis...

Among her fel... are Charles B... the Brooklyn Urb... John Davis.

...guard ... to the Municipal Civil Service Commission ... having been the first Negro to ... to the rank of lieutenant in the police department, said that "the press has tried to indict this whole community" and that he resented that fact.

He declared that the whole problem could be straightened out only if job opportunities could be made available to the boys and girls of Harlem. He said he knew many of them who were eager for jobs but found the doors closed against them, and he spoke with bitterness of discrimination he said was practiced against Negroes in the aircraft industry.

The Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., Negro clergyman newly elected to the City Council, called on Mayor La Guardia yesterday to confer with him about the situation in Harlem and later visited Newbold Morris, president of the City Council. He advanced two recommendations: the stationing of Negro patrolmen and detectives in precincts on the fringes of Harlem, where he said most race trouble had occurred, and the interchange of Negro and white youth in settlement houses, libraries, churches, and similar institutions, which he said now serve only white youth for the most part.



...This ... committee ... first ... other ... But they ... arrested.

The People's Committee will collect dues, except from those on WPA or relief.

"The dues will be nominal," Mr. Powell said. "Maybe 50 cents a month."

Somers Official Denies Guilt

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y., Nov. 12—Supervisor George Turner of Somers Township, who was indicted Friday on charges of misappropriating town funds, pleaded not guilty today when arraigned befor County Judge Frank H. Coyne. His release on bail of $10,000 was continued pending trial.

[redacted] and plead, but now that we have been told that concessions are at an end and equality is "out," war or no war, what are we to do? Most prominent Negroes have embraced jim-crow for the duration although the masses seeth with unrest. Will either the March-On-Washington or the NAACP leaders [redacted] and say "Give us all manhood citizenship rights a[redacted] to co-operate?" Many embittered, bev[redacted] some such statement from Negro lea[redacted] or at least they feel that way. I[redacted] what then?

and efficient unions in America."

The workmen in the Tennessee Company are well-acquainted with Mr. Noel Beddow, director of the United Steelworkers' in the South, and his staff. Their sincere interest in the steel workers, regardless of their color, has long since been established.

To the Negro workmen in the TCI, we sincerely address this message for their own good, and for the good of the Nation: Vote in favor of the United Steelworkers' of America!

A GLOOMY REPORT

The National Urban League, one of our most valuable organizations, has completed a survey covering developments since the President's order forbidding racial discrimination in defense employment and the organization of the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

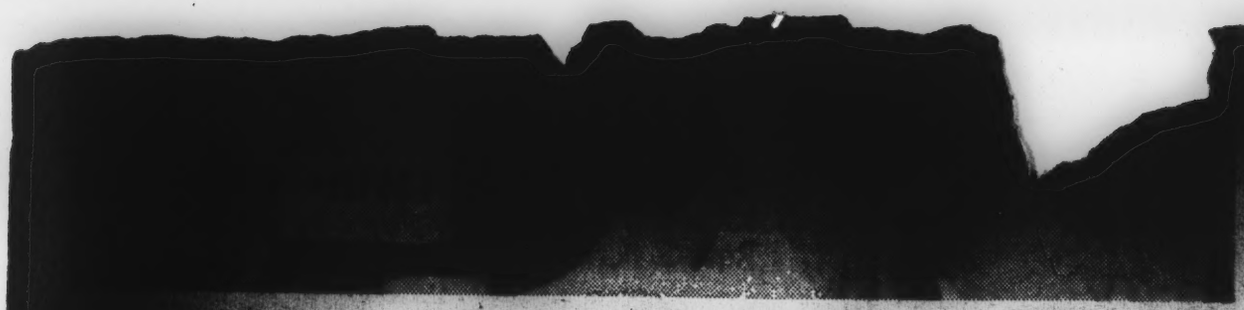
While the Urban League report shows that there has been an increase in Negro employment, some ending of discrimination by both employers and certain labor unions, and a growing number of Negroes employed by the Navy and other departments, it also shows inadequate or non-existent defense training facilities in the South and the same or greater degree of unemployment of Negroes in most great urban areas.

This report will certainly not inspire optimism among those who expected so much from Executive Order 8802; and in view of its findings there is no wonder that the March-On-Washington group is talking about another march in the hope of bringing about the results which were claimed a year ago when the first march was threatened and called off.

Of course, it was not the intention of the Urban League to issue a report to comfort pessimists, but it had to state the facts, and they are not pleasant although not hopeless, either.

[redacted] Randolph replied that the Irish and Jewish people have no grievances, while the Negroes do, and added that all other forms of protest have proven ineffective. When Mr. Roosevelt refused to address the group on the ground that he does not speak to such assemblages, he was reminded that he once spoke before the American Youth Congress, which booed him when he denounced the Communists. F. D. R. soon left the room after turning over chairmanship of the meeting to Secretary Stimson.

The practical Mayor LaGuardia then suggested issuance of a Presidential order against discrimination on defense jobs. Both Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman opposed this because so many other factors are involved in the defense program. Both agreed, however, to use their "influence" to insure the hiring of Negroes. Mr. Randolph and Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. replied that "education" and "persuasion" have been tried and failed. Then it was that the President agreed to issue his mandate.



RANDOLPH . . . whose remarks at Friday night's session of the National Association ... Advancement of Colored People's 33rd Conference, where he received the Spingarn Medal, ... purged of the demand for a March on Washington by Negro citizens. Fallacy of ... program was cited at Wednesday evening's unsuspectedly volcanic meeting by Mrs. ... A. Bass, EAGLE editor. Criticism of Randolph's policy appears on this page.

... by the whole host of ... and defeatists who ... the Negro's contri- ... victory because they ... victory as yesterday ... tomorrow.

... the Negro serve in ... against Fascism?

... as some critics have ... the fight for equal ... until after the conflict? ... develop a sort of pa- ... to things-as- ...

... would give such counsel ... of victory, a fool or ... both.

... the war is not a ... mind. It is not a solemn ... process which calm- ... the justice of our ... and then retires for the ...

... more, it is not a shewd ... to be established with ... government if and when the ... concedes to our de- ... for reform. There can be ... conditions upon our loyalty ... we are engaged in mortal ... with the hideous Fascist ... which threatens not only ... partial freedom but the ... and the dream of tomorrow.

This is a moment for plain speaking upon the issues which will decide the kind of lives we shall lead for centuries to come. This is a moment for a clear examination of our stand, the stand of those who bear the responsibility of our leadership. It is in this light that I fervently contest the position of a man whom we will honor with the Spingarn Medal Friday night.

A. Philip Randolph's service to the Negro as a pioneer in the labor movement is inestimable. Despite its arbitrary restriction to Negroes only, the original "March on Washington," which he led, during peace times, was an effective weapon of mass pressure. Randolph's position today, however, is dangerously incorrect.

As quoted by the Associated Negro Press, he has stated, "If the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish Jim-Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia, and all government departments, and the armed forces, Negroes are going to march and we don't give a damn what happens."

Mr. Randolph does not, in truth, "give a damn" whether the war is won or lost if in its midst he places conditions upon the Negro's participation. A "March on Washington" by Negro citizens today would take men and women from valuable service in war industries, clog roads needed for military transportation, and if conducted as the previous one, on a "strictly Negro" basis, could not fail to obstruct the development of national unity. Further, it shifts the main weight of emphasis from the urgencies of victory to the establishment of domestic reforms.

Mr. Randolph states, "Democracy cannot continue with a first class and a second class citizenship, with one section of the country free to vote and another section disfranchised by the poll tax and white primaries." He fails to add that democracy's utter destruction, even the hope of its establishment at any reasonable date, will be the inevitable result of a Fascist triumph: That, therefore, the prime task of all true progressives is a Fas-

... In the climax of an address at Chicago, Mr. Randolph said, "The Negro is not challenged to prove his loyalty to the government and democracy. The government is challenged to prove its loyalty to democracy and the Negro."

We are not challenged? How is this when Adolf Hitler calls us half-apes, when he ...ctures for us a destiny as chattel slaves, when his estimation of our freedom from that condition 70 years ago is that it was the greatest mistake in American history? I, for one, am challenged. I am challenged to the very core, for in these words I recognize a theory of government which would extend the worst aspects of Mississippi to the whole of America, to the whole of the world! And I believe Hitler. I believe he means to take the world. I believe he means to conduct that world just as he says. And I oppose such conduct of the world with my life, my liberties and my sacred honor.

I will smash every obstacle which bars my full service, my last ounce of devotion to such a crusade. I am aware that those who would restrict me in the common fight are the American friends of the enemy, and I will attack them with all my power.

Where is the restriction of the Negro's war effort greatest? In the South. What part of the country most closely resembles Hitler's Fascist realm? The South! Those who would en-

... would rather save Jim Crow ...

We are poised in this moment between past and future. There is in the world the dying travail of an outmoded way of life.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1942

SAYS RACE GE

amage Suit

the life of a working class com-
ple's children during the former's
ant in Harlem, where stringent
for disease, juvenile delinquency
substandard groups. One of the
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work, and with the possibility of
the defense program, Harlem's
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day nurseries which are held to
tots are the Samaritan Nursery

for Delegates
urists' Meeting

2,000 delegates expected to invade
11 for the five-day twenty-second
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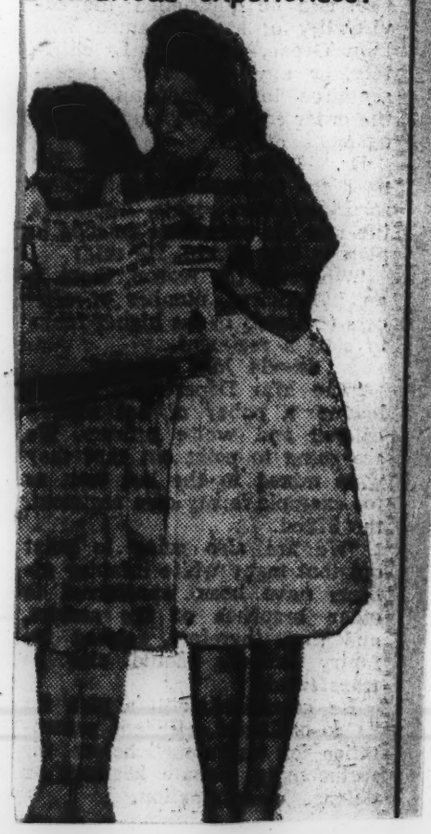
cial festivities have been planned

HOT!

family, besides yourself,
strip — it's clean, chock
d hilarious experiences!



SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1942

R DEMOCRACY

keeps us from working.

"In both instances we are as cruelly discriminated against as we would be if the Swastika were flying over the Glenn Martin plant at Middle River, Md., or at the head of the constitution of the International Machinists' Union."

Green Misplaced

Effectiveness of the order, Dr. Logan declared, will depend, in the final analysis, on the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and he questioned the advisability of having named William Green, A. F. of L. chieftain, or any other labor representative to membership, "since the order cracks down upon management only."

Dr. Logan emphasized the need for increasing vigil toward securing future rights, discussing the role his committee intends to play in this regard. He said:

"Whatever the reason, there is an insufficient number of officers (colored) in the higher ranks to staff a regiment.

Should Mix Officers

"The War Department is following a policy of not mixing colored and white officers. We are going to point out that they were mixed in the last war, as for example in my own regiment, the 372nd.

"We are also going to point out that many white infantry officers have been transferred to other branches of the service, and that, therefore, colored infantry officers should also be transferred."

He concluded with a plea for "a co-ordinated, efficient presentation of testimony" before the forthcoming Senate hearings on defense discrimination.

All in all, the quality of The Amsterdam Star-News has improved tremendously and I hope that its revenues are keeping pace.

HARLEMITE

200 West 125th Street.

Praises Randolph

Dear Sir:—There is little doubt in my mind that A. Philip Randolph possesses the ability, sincerity and honesty to lead our people. This belief leads me to congratulate you for your editorial in The Amsterdam Star-News of July 12.

There is only one reward that Mr. Randolph wants, and that is, the support of the majority of our people. Through this leader we can gain our desired ends only with the whole-hearted support of Negroes.

We are behind you and Mr. Randolph.

GEORGE RYAN
VERNON GREGORY
W. A. NAUDEN

424 West 163rd Street.

They searched the jail for a Negro prisoner whom rumor had said had been captured following rumors of a rape of a white woman.

Four boys, arrested for shooting dice, cowered in the jail as cries of "let's take them," were heard.

Daily papers report that the mob was set off by stories of rape. But responsible people point to the fact that it was well known that a riot had been planned by whites for some time. It was to have been set off on Juneteenth, the Negroes' traditional day for celebration of their "liberty."

Small arms and ammunition had been sold to whites in great quantities for some time. From reports emanating in other cities it seems as if there was a well organized move afoot in Texas to stage a riot in all cities where there was large Negro worker groups.

Juneteenth celebrations have been called off and Negroes warned to stick to themselves. Service businesses have been at a standstill for Negroes were employed in these industries. Laundries have

... that these would be no other ... coming but she would warn that if there is any more rioting the guard will take a firm hand.

Editor First To Warn of Impending Beaumont Riot

First warning of the then impending riot was sounded to the citizens of Beaumont by C. W. Rice, editor-publisher of The Negro Labor News.

In a statement to this reporter, Rice stated he had received rumors of the riot at his Houston office from several sources for the past several days. A former resident and businessman in the city, he immediately left for Beaumont to warn of the coming race riot.

His statement follows:

"I arrived in Beaumont about 10 a. m. and went immediately ... attacked the wife of a ship ... worker a few hours previous. I doubt whether the committee received the news of this attack before the mob broke out."

Editor Rice said it was reported that workers at the Pennsylvania Shipyard have been opposed to the increased number of Negroes being employed. The situation became worse after the War Labor Board ruled equal wages for whites and colored in war plants.

Atty M. P. McCoy Urges Friends To Hear Simmons

Martin P. McCoy, prominent Houston attorney, former legislator and former candidate for governor, who has known Col. Roscoe Conkling Simmons for a number of years, urges all his white friends to hear this outstanding orator when he comes to City Auditorium, Monday night,

phallic skulls and knock our Hottentot brains out.

Courier's Lacks

But happily, the inexorable law of diminishing returns will take care of the editorial struggles of the Courier to tear the March On Washington Movement limb from limb and give it the old run-out powders—even were we to refrain from saying "It ain't so." From M.O.W.M.'s diagnosis of the condition of the Courier, the conclusion is unavoidable that it is suffering from an acute masochistic complex. It feels sorry for itself and foes that we only claim to be the "little men" of the specie. Homo Sapiens, who humbly seek to play our part without hope of pomp or glory or thirty pieces of silver in making America a free land for black men.

Aims of March

Now why does this journalistic colussus thunder his wrath against M.O.W.M.? Only because the March On Washington Movement proposes to march on Washington against jim-crow.

Only because it proposes to hold a great "We Are Americans, Too" [illegible] they simply had not worked Negroes before, or that they were lazy or incompetent or were too slow, or wouldn't make time or that the white employees would strike if Negroes were taken on. It did not matter that Negro workers had a record for high productive ability in the First World War. It did not matter that Negroes had given and were giving satisfactory performance of skilled tasks in private peace time industry. Discrimination was riding the high winds of race hate.

Negroes Out of Picture

Meanwhile, billions of dollars of the taxpayers, of whom Negroes represent no inconsiderable section, were being appropriated by the Congress for war contracts. Powerful captains of industry, waving the flag and proclaiming their patriotism the while, set up exacting profit-making demands as the only condition under which they would agree to transform and gear their plants for war production to defeat the Axis powers. Albeit, they got what they wanted. Moreover, they put dollar-a-year men on OPM and WPB and other agencies to see to it that their contractual rights are protected.

Organized labor through the A. F. of L. and CIO denounced no-strike legislation for the duration but agreed to waive the right to strike if the government set up the War Labor Board with labor possessing equal representation with capital and the public to settle disputes over wages, working conditions and union recognition that arose in defense plants. Labor also demanded equal participation in all government defense agencies to help run the war. It has not won all of its demands but it has not surrendered. It is still fighting and it is winning step by step.

But what about the Negro? Negroes never got and do not now have any real representation in anything. They were thrown the sop of "advisers" and "aides" although nobody accepted their advice or aid either in or out of the government. Negroes were and [illegible] Movement, the voiceless and helpless "little men" became articulate. Though jobless, for the first time they experienced a thrill from a sense of their importance and worthwhileness. In meeting after meeting, the "forgotten black man" could rise and tell an eager and earnest crowd about jobs he sought but never got, about the business agent of the union giving him the brush-off, how he had gone to the gates of defense plants only to be kept out while white workers walked in, how he cooled his heels in an office and finally was told with a cold stare, "no more workers wanted" or how the government employment services would not permit him to enroll as a skilled worker but only as a porter or janitor or how he was denied entrance into certain government training courses for skilled defense jobs.

In very truth, in the March On Washington, little men can tell their story their own way.

— Next Week —

"Whither The Negro?"

aphical, economic,
While the Germans,
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parts of the Euro-
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ke friction and dif-
the Pan-Germans
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ns. In 1919 there
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ot even Germany

perfections of the
mall nations must
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of the Versailles
ometimes upheld
nd economic sov-
l a manner. They

cials finger down the paragraphs of the "Grapevine" as they breathlessly swing from word to word. India, Australia, England, and North Africa are some of the points from which friends on the fighting fronts have written in praise of or comment on what "Charley Cherokee" has to say. Once I had a ringside seat in a Brooklyn barbershop when a couple of customers tried to draw blood over something "Charley" said about Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and A. Philip Randolph. Over in Cincinnati several lawyer friends tried to pin me down on "Now just who is THIS 'Charley Cherokee,' anyhow." And you ought to witness the Government Period of Silence that breaks out over many a nook, privy stall, and ozited office when that Chicago Defender arrives at the OWI, Congressional halls, State Department, War Department, or other pro and anti-Defender agencies. All this golden Government Silence just to see what that "Charley Cherokee" has to say! It's something, chum — as "Charley" would

pping a zesty ingredient
issing from wholesome
ournalism because of the
expose. But I fear the
Dies Committee sleuths
bounding with high glee
Charley's" alley. Shame!
rguson, Washington, D.C.

**Note: We've read the
ite story and Charley's
d as far as we can see,
herokee is either Walter
slie Perry, Harry Mc-
red Smith or the sailor
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ut neither the story nor
n seems to indicate ex-
h one. Please, Mr. Fer-
n't you tell us who
really is? We're fretting
petion.**

**se for
Editorial**

mber of the faculty of
nstitute from 1911-1918,

Believe the only way to freedom
is by the segregated way
They wander across the desert
Usually doomed to disappointment
and death
They say they want a loaf of bread,
but often take what's left.

Some say that it is better to advance the discriminated way
Instead of a big one farther along,
they take a small one right away.
Other races think that we should
always take a position no matter
how small
Than to strive for equal rights or to
have no position at all.

Today has
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meetings held in every community which would be only too glad to have colored men and women attend and take part. Here we will often have an opportunity of putting our case before the people who may be able to help. In the North, our Negro physicians, ministers, teachers and other professionals are usually welcome at the meetings of the white group. We raise a mighty howl about segregation, but we fail to take advantage of the avenue that is open to us.

My contention is that we are losing valuable time and energy by

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[illegible] a lot of questions about the land of the free and the brave. When they learn the truth, they are going to get angry and one or two of them might put on a zoot suit and all the Uncle Toms will hang their heads in shame.

A gang of white urchins from Willow Lodge will seek some sport by daring the little colored boys to leave the confines of "nigger heaven." The kids will fight and the parents are going to take up where the children leave off and rioting will take place all over the landscape. Amos and Andy who run the projects will ask Charlie Edgecomb for some barbed wire to fence in the dark asylums and keep the races apart. Government officials will wring their hands over the terrible race problem. Finally a separate factory will have to be built for dark workers or perhaps they will be simply fired and put on relief.

John B. Blandford who started the whole mess by giving government sanction to Jim Crowism in housing will be feted by the National Association of Uncle Toms for providing dark war workers with nice Jim Crow housing. Then the Michigan Chronicle will be called radical or subversive for stating that Mr. Blandford is a stinking traitor to democracy and should be thrown out of Washington on his ear, to mention a respectable part of his anatomy. While we hope these dire events will not come to pass, we can make sure they won't by kicking Mr. Blandford and all of his stooges out of the government now and leaving those asylums out at Inkster and Ypsilanti to the gremlins.

A NATION DIVIDED

From one end of the nation to the other, reports are heard of lynchings, riots and wanton mob action, from army camps, from metropolitan cities and from the southern hinterland. These domestic wars are not confined to the traditionally violent South, but riotous behavior has been noted in areas where the standard of living is high and where the public peace is zealously promoted. Young and old, zoot-suiters and men in uniform, war workers and housewives have been caught up in the national sweep of mob action. These widespread, anti-social outbreaks

[illegible] peace.

The Negro sees in the March-On-Washington a concrete way to meet a concrete problem.

True, the redeeming feature of Mr. Scholtz' article is that he seemed aware that "The proposed March-On-Washington should not be necessary to awaken all interests involved. . . ." Upon this we may agree.

But since every group in America except the Negro has sufficient representation in the policy-forming branches of our government and a direct route to the presidents ear through which it can advance its interests in a more stylish manner, the hideous fact remains that the March-On-Washington is necessary and is very likely the best way for the Negro to attack the evils that beset him.

Thurs the Negro thanks God and A. Phillip Randolph for the March-On-Washington Plan.

J. Westbrook McPherson
1712 North 28th Street
Omaha, Nebraska.

Lid Restores Harlem Calm

(Full page of pictures in today's Pictorial Review.)

The watch over Harlem began to ease off today with the rioting ended and the work of counting the cost begun.

Although there were as many as 20 policemen on some corners and in single blocks, the tension was easing.

Police estimate as of noon put the dead at five, the injured at 201 civilians and 60 policemen, two of them captains, the arrested at 504 and broken store windows at 648.

Eight thousand members of the New York Guard, ordered mobilized in their armories by Gov. Dewey should death, rioting and looting erupt again, were demobilized at 7 a. m. on orders of Maj. Gen. William Ottman. It was not necessary to use them.

POLICE GET RESPITE.

For policemen and detectives—250 of the latter—a quiet night was followed by the first sleep they have had since Sunday at 8 p. m., when the looting mob began to roar after a policeman shot a Negro soldier in line of duty.

Mayor LaGuardia, himself without sleep save brief rests since then, arrived at City Hall at 10 a. m. today and announced:

"I am very well satisfied with the situation."

Harlem's curfew—no gathering of crowds, no vehicular traffic, no amusements, no liquor and no noise after 10:30 p m.—had been well observed during the night. There were a few minor fights and stabbings.

The curfew and no-liquor area extended from 100th to 170th st.

Continued on Page 5, Column 2

Journal-American
TUESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1943

Lid in Harlem Restores Peace

Militia Demobilized, Police Rest; Put Loss at 5 Million

Continued from First Page.

and from river to river. Adjacent territories seemed to be voluntarily co-operating, however.

FIVE-MILLION DAMAGE SEEN.

In Broadway, between 94th and 95th sts., two bars and one package liquor store were closed, with signs in their windows stating that they were co-operating with the Mayor's appeal.

What was the total cost of the wildest disorder the city has had in recent years will not be exactly determined for several days. It may run as high as $5,000,000, chiefly in damage to stores and the complete looting of hundreds of them.

Total cost of the wildest disorder the city has had in recent years has been estimated as high as $5,000,000, with the possibility that the city will have to pay for it.

Matthew J. Eder, executive secretary of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, said suits for damage may be filed against the city. He estimated the $5,000,000 loss as "conservative."

Looted pawnshops, he added, suffered the hihgest losses, that of one being estimated at $105,000. Eight others lost from $15,000 to $25,000, he added.

Hundreds of stores were completely looted.

Most of them were boarded up today, while those still gapingly open were guarded by police.

New York Journal-American reporters touring the district found almost every store boarded along 125th st., from St. Nicholas to Lenox ave., and the same true of Lenox, St. Nicholas, Seventh and Eighth aves., from 110th to 140th sts.

[illegible] CLEARED AWAY.

Most of the glass and debris [illegible] been hauled away by the Department of Sanitation. [illegible] the W. [illegible] of looting [illegible] Harlem [illegible]

lem's people face in resorting their belongings.

For it was a looting riot—not a racial one.

In the police station were enough musical instruments to outfit several orchestras. There were typewriters, radios, clothing, liquors, groceries, shoes, hats, fur coats, luggage, vacuum cleaners, fruit cakes—anything on which a looter could lay a hand.

CLAIM STOLEN ITEMS.

Into the station house came long lines of would-be claimants, many of them seeking "hocked" articles looted from pawnshops.

They had their tickets with them but were told they would have to await reopening of the shops.

Others made written claims of damage, in the event the city decides to pay for it. One woman claimed that $300 in cash had been stolen from her store. That claim was soon followed by several similar ones.

Also in the station house were piles of perishable foods, including meats, which became less attractive as the hot hours went by.

PUNISH WRONGDOERS.

Meanwhile the authorities continued questioning and punishing those arrested on charges of burglary, receiving stolen goods and assault.

In the line-up at Police Headquarters were 33 men and 18 women ,all Negroes. Two of the women wore lately-acquired fur coats. Found them on the street, they explained to Act. Capt. Samuel Mooney.

There also were Leon Lee, 42, of 2451 Eighth ave., and Frank Turner, 24 of 528 W. 146th st. They were arrested while pushing a cart piled high with clothing and other articles. Just gathering it up, they explained.

Others claimed that they had [illegible] articles in the subway [illegible] One said he [illegible]

This is Patrolman James Collins, who was attacked by Pvt. Robert Bandy, a Negro soldier. Patrolman Collins shot Bandy and rumors touched off the Harlem riot.

Associated Press Photo.

to be a case of gin, owner unknown.

It turned out to be a case of corks, he said. Police considered the story rather light.

ACCUSED OF HOMICIDE.

Also in the line-up was the one man charged with homicide in the five deaths during the rioting.

He was Justice Thornsberry, 39, of 211 W. 115th st. He was charged with homicide in the fatal shooting of Neil Lucas, address unknown, when the latter allegedly broke the window of a tavern at 2111 Eighth ave., where Thornsberry was employed.

In the Bronx Court Magistrate Orr held Jordan Levy, 38, of 301 W. 139th st., under $1,000 bail after the latter was found with seve nsuits of clothing ,six pairs in his car.

o ftrousers and two sports coats

OFFERS VAIN EXCUSE.

"Someone must have thrown them in there," he vainly explained.

Relatives, if any, of the dead may also seek damages.

Those killed in addition to Lucas were Vincent Randolph, address unknown; Sterling Stokes, 20, 50¢ Montgomery st., Savannah, Ga.; Frank Stoner, 40, address unknown, and Michael Young, 43, of 271 W. 113th st.

CREDIT POLICE WORK.

That the deaths, injuries and damage were all not greater was attributed to the prompt, efficient work o fthe police.

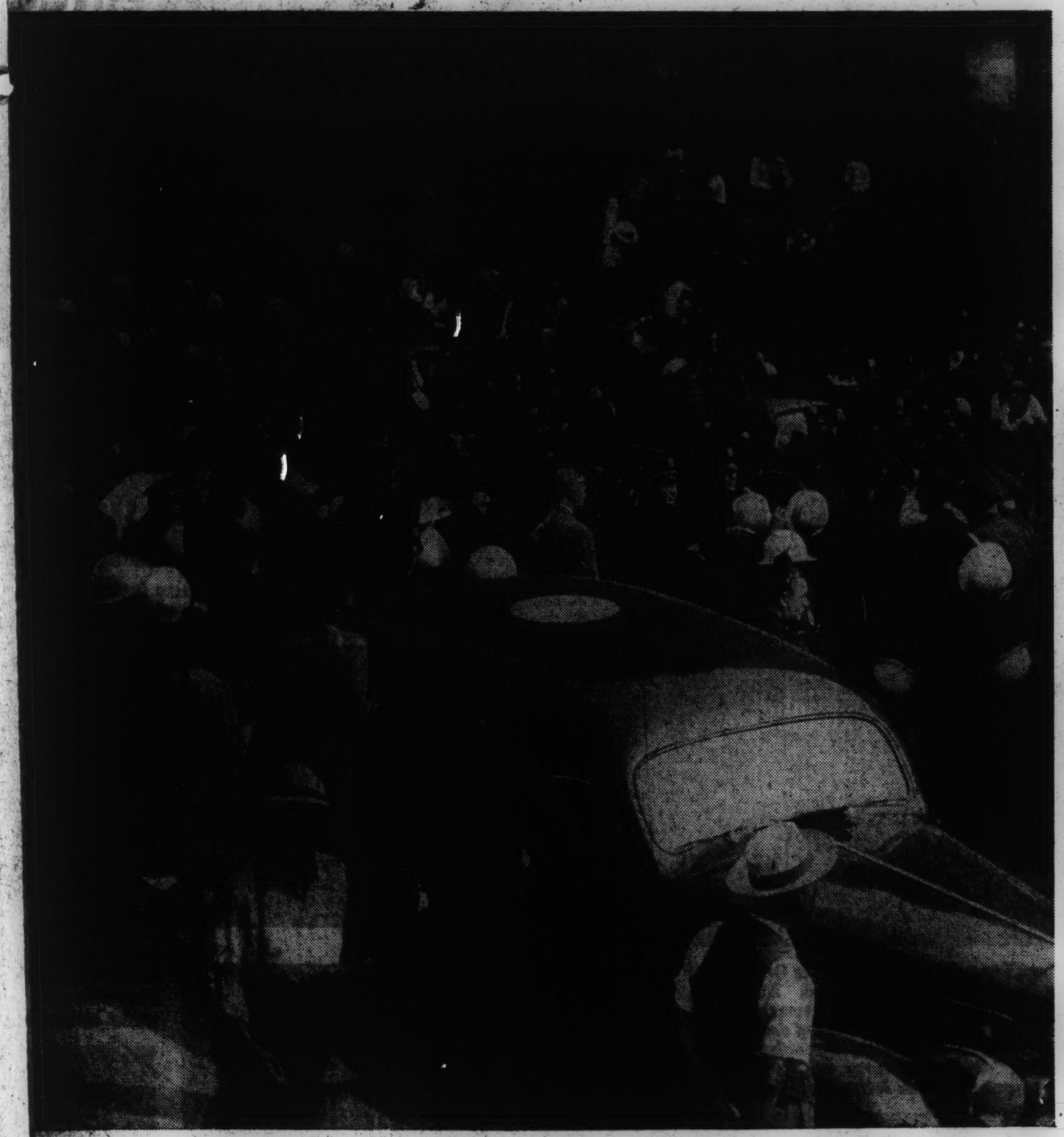
Although all city officials agree there was no race riot, Police Commissioner Valentine said today the sabotage squad was still investigating reports that Negro "hoodlums" have been sent to New York from Southern cities to cause "trouble."

"The Police Department did a good job," he said. "I'm proud of it. The situation is now quiet."

The rioting followed wild rumors arising from the shooting of Pvt. Robert Bandy, 26, of the 730th MP Battalion, in the Hotel Braddock. The soldier, who allegedly attempted to interfere in the arrest of Margie Polite, 33, by Patrolman James Collins, was only slightly wounded in the shoulder.

The confusion and screaming of women soon spread the rumors through the Harlem section.

...escended Upon Harlem



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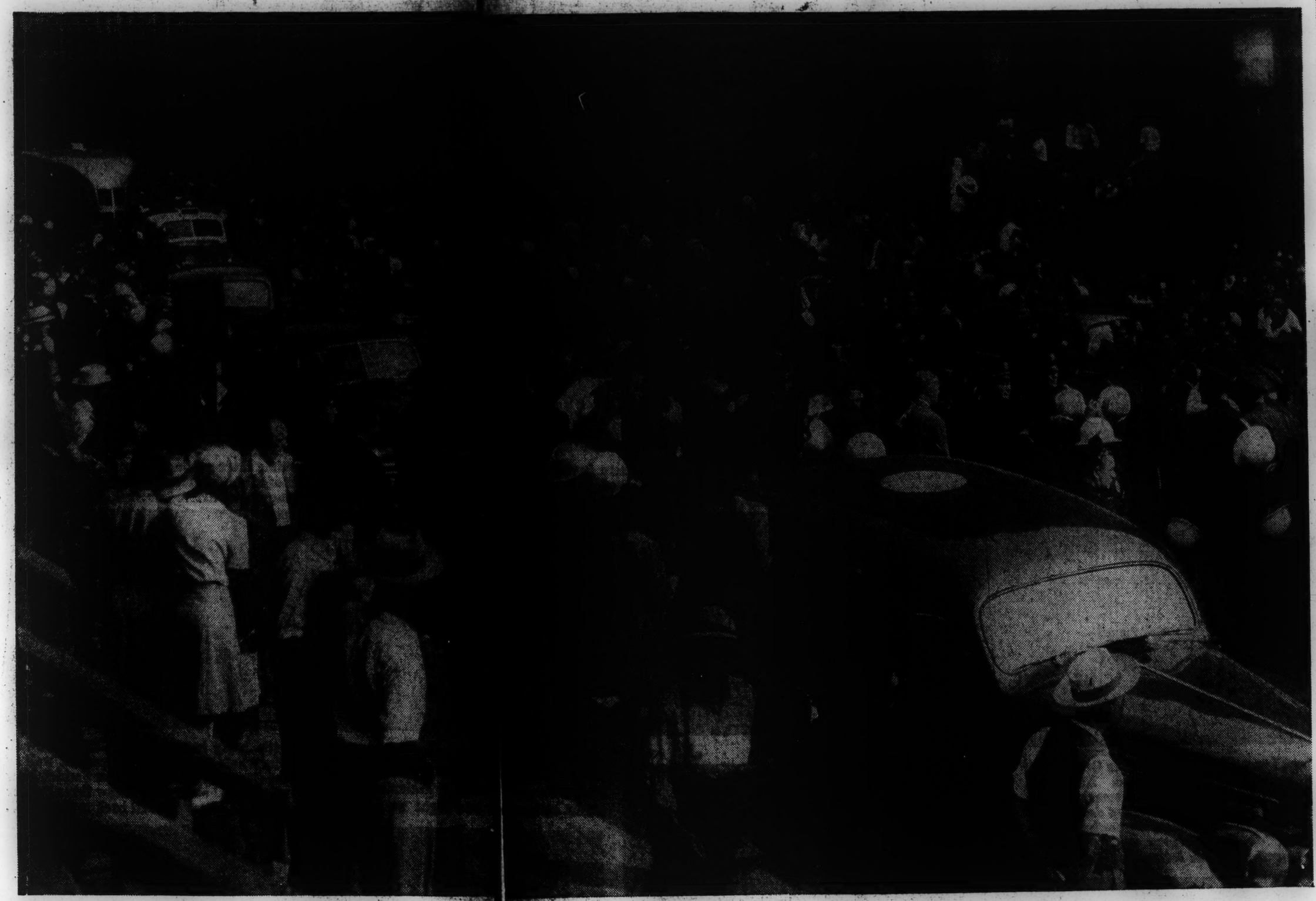
Journal-American Photo.

THE DIMOUT WAS lifted in the Har... riot area last night. Here a work... an extension ladder is removing the ... watt dimout bulb from a street lam... is replacing it with a 340-watt bright... to brighten up the area.

Help Bring Law, Order To Harlem

HARLEM'S business, profes... ...and civic leaders

As Curfew Descended Upon Harlem



THIS WAS THE SCENE in front of the W. 123rd st. Police Station last night as extra squads of policemen turned out for duty in the Harlem riot area. Residents of the area and police [illegible] The st[illegible] which [illegible] waiting here for the hour of curfew to descend. [illegible] passed without any recurrences of the disorders [illegible] estimated to have caused $5,000,000 worth of property damage and to have cost the lives of five persons. Today the situation appeared to be in the hands of the forces of order and Harlem seemed ready to return to normal.

Journal-American Photo.

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Help Bring Law, Order To Harlem

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"Violence and bloodshed is not the road to racial peace," said A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. "Violence begets violence, bloodshed begets bloodshed and always the minority groups are the chief victims.

URGES LAWFUL COURSE.

"Negroes must stand up and fight for their constitutional and economic rights with the ballot, constructive agitation, education through moral, religious, labor organizations and all means, lawful and orderly, of social protest.

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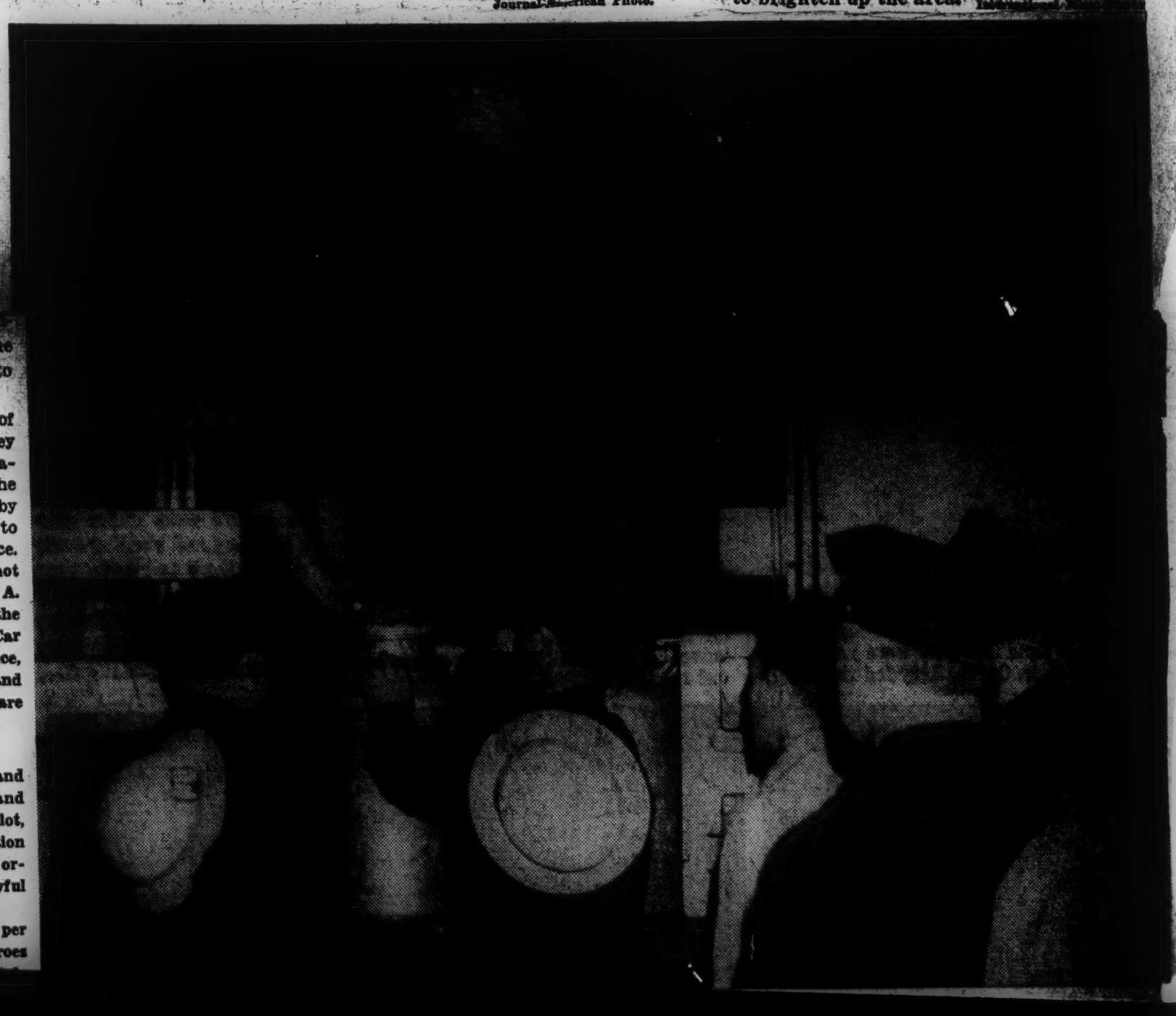

THESE POLICEMEN appear to be almost salaaming as the resplendent Negro youth, all decked out in silk topper and swallow-tailed coat, steps from the police car at headquarters. T[illegible] youth was rounded up in the Harl[illegible] looting and rioting along with hundr[illegible] of others not so resplendently dressed. [illegible]tional News Photo

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"I know I can speak for 99 per cent of the great mass of Negroes of Harlem that we are definitely and unqualifiedly opposed to all forms of hoodlumism, the destruction of property, the attack upon shopkeepers and any disregard for law enforcement."

The largest meeting of Negro leaders was a gathering of 250 at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 W. 138th st. where pleas were made to disregard all rumors that would tend to incite racial conflict.

WOULD AID ENEMY.

The group passed unanimously a resolution that said:

"Unlike Detroit and other centers where outbreaks have recently occurred, there have been no racial conflicts in this city. Any attempt to incite racial division will only present the opportunity to the agents of Fascism to interfere with the effective prosecution of the war."

The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of the church and member of the City Council, said the disturbances were the result of "blind, smouldering resentment against the things Negro people have suffered in the past."

He blamed "Jim Crowism in the armed forces," as the major cause of the disorder and said many families in Harlem with sons at Camp Stewart, Ga., had received letters telling of alleged discrimination there.

HARLEM 'SET BACK.'

Parole Commissioner Samuel Battle, veteran police officer, said the riot has set Harlem "back 25 years" and pleaded with the public to make "Harlem a better place to live."

The meeting appointed a committee of 12 to confer with the Mayor.

Many clergymen and laymen toured the Harlem sector in sound trucks addressing gatherings of Negroes, urging them to get off the streets and to behave in an orderly, law-abiding manner.

ALP HITS VIOLENCE.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, addressing a student assembly at Greenwich House, 27 Barrow st., asked for "an attitude of good will that we may preserve the right to go on working toward a real democracy."

The American Labor Party, in a message signed by Right Wing Leaders George S. Counts, Alex Rose and Andrew R. Armstrong, called on "citizens in Harlem to unite in rejecting violence as a cure for injustice.

"Those who stir violence in Harlem are doing the Negro the greatest possible disservice. Any action which interferes with the efficient conduct of the war which is being fought on two fronts, the battle front and the home front, endangers the future of democracy."

MILK FOR THE CHILDREN of Harlem is being unloaded from a Police Department truck by officers at a police station in the riot area early today. It is part of the food supplies which the Mayo[illegible] available to provide for the thousa[illegible] able citizens of Harlem.

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A joi[illegible] tional [illegible] York U[illegible] Brookly[illegible] Settle[illegible] pledged [illegible]

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Journal-American

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Endorsement of the [illegible] actions in the riot [illegible] for complete cooperation [illegible] tained in a telegram [illegible] Guardia by the Harlem [illegible] Association and the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild. The message was signed by Arthur A. Madison, president of the Harlem group, and by Samuel Rosenwein, executive secretary of the guild.

A joint committee of the National Urban League, the New York Urban League, and the Brooklyn Urban League—Lincoln Settlement Association also pledged cooperation to the Mayor.

Harlem Stores Open Under Heavy Guard

By MALCOLM LOGAN

Harlem still showed the ugly scars of a long night of rioting and looting today, but the Negro community began returning to normal.

For the first time since gangs smashed windows and pillaged stores, the shopkeepers who had anything left to sell began opening for business behind boarded-up windows.

Thousands who took a holiday yesterday and jammed the streets long after the destructive spree had ended went soberly to work today, and police reported that there was no tendency for crowds to gather.

Last night the pendulum swung from the extreme of violence to an almost unprecedented calm. The 4,000 police and 1,500 auxiliary police who patrolled the streets had less than an average night's trouble.

Police Still Tally Cost

At the W. 123d St. station, in the area which was the center of the riot, only six arrests were made aftermidnight today, far less than the average. On Sunday night and Monday morning in the same precinct there were four deaths, 175 persons injured and 221 arrests.

Police had not yet finishel compiling the unhappy statistics of the disorder, but the latest casualty list was five dead, 543 injured, 484 arrested and damage unofficially estimated at from $1,000,000 to $5,000,000.

The courts, however, still faced heavy dockets, and the city administration faced the possibility that storekeepers whose places were looted would sue the municipality for their losses.

The 8,000 State Guard members in the city and Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk counties who had been held in armories all night were sent home at 7 a. m. today.

Curfew Continued

But all restrictions imposed by Mayor LaGuardia yesterday were continued in effect. All motor traffic into Harlem, except food trucks, was still prohibited. Police were continued on a schedule of 8 hours on duty, 8 hours in reserve, 8 hours on duty, and then 8 hours off. The auxiliary police mustered into service yesterday still walked the streets. Bars and liquor stores remained shut, and the 10:30 p. m. amusement curfew continued.

Along the main thoroughfares like Lenox Av., Fifth Av. and 125th St., street cleaners and men from the Borough Works Dept. and the Dept. of Housing had pretty well cleaned up the debris today, after many had worked all night under floodlights.

Merchandise on sidewalks was carried back into stores or to police stations. Smashed plate glass windows were covered with white-painted boards.

Along side streets, there were still some piles of broken glass on sidewalks and in gutters.

Red Cross Sets Up Canteen

City officials encouraged food stores—most of which had been thoroughly sacked—to reopen as soon as possible, for there was a food shortage except in the homes of looters.

Last night the Red Cross set up a canteen for police and volunteer workers at the W. 135th St. station, and served doughnuts, sandwiches, coffee and lemonade.

Associated Press Photo

NIGHTSTICKS are handed out to steel-helmeted Negroes in the 125d St. police station after they volunteered for guard duty.

An Editorial

No Race Riots in New York!

The disturbance in Harlem was not at all what we think of, typically, as a race riot—with bands of white men roaming through Negro sections, beating colored men, setting fire to Negro homes, looting their stores.

But it was a civil disturbance along racial lines. It started when a Negro soldier beat a white policeman with his club and was shot in return. Within a few minutes some hysterical Harlemites had exaggerated this incident into an unprovoked attack by a white upon a Negro.

Before long, pent-up feeling had exploded and looters crashed into stores, carefully avoiding those they knew to be owned by Negroes.

There's no point in stopping right here and passing moral judgments, nor in trying to figure out who was right—the policeman or the soldier. The matter is much bigger than that.

What is important is that law and order broke down in Harlem Sunday night. And law and order broke down because Negro feelings have become tense.

* * *

The shocking failure of Detroit civic authorities to move swiftly to bring to justice the white hoodlums who murdered 25 Detroit Negroes, the continuation of racial discrimination in the Army and Navy which extends even to our overseas camps, the paradox of fighting fascism abroad while living under a poll tax, Jim Crow, lynch law system in some States here at home have goaded Negroes to the point where some of them are ready to strike out blindly.

We stand by the Negro people as they battle against indifference, against Jim Crow. But we also point out to them that Our Town, under Mayor LaGuardia, has become the most decent, least Jim Crow city in the nation.

Remember! No white mobs fought Negroes, or molested Negroes, or even appeared on the scene, during this entire disturbance. This was not Detroit, nor Mobile. There just were no white mobs. We call on Negroes to remember this, to remember also that they will gain no worthwhile objectives through violence.

The Negro case for better treatment is too good to be degraded by the looting of stores and by general disorder.

Race Board Asked in Riot

As Harlem returned to normal today, Mayor LaGuardia was asked by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to appoint a commission to study and cure the causes of the outbreak of lawlessness.

"No minority group can survive and go progressively forward where there is no law and order," Randolph said, condemning the rioters. "Violence and bloodshed is not the road to racial peace and co-operation and community advancement."

He asserted that the outbreak was "merely a symptom of a deep chronic disease of racial segregation, discrimination and injustice to the Negro people," and said the remedy was sound and constructive racial co-operation.

"I want to urge upon the Mayor the immediate appointment of a Commission on Race to study the causes of this social and racial explosion in the Harlem community and the basic causes of racial riots that are sweeping the country and threatening various communities," he said.

Riot Analysis Made By Walter White

Walter White, whose analysis of the causes of the Harlem riot is published below, is secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, in which capacity he investigated the Detroit race riots and other acts of violence or discrimination involving Negroes. This article was prepared especially for the New York Post.

By WALTER WHITE

It is close to 4 a. m. on Tuesday Aug. 3 as I write these words. I have just met an ebullient Mayor of New York and a Commissioner of Police who have had respectively one hour and 45 minutes of sleep since Saturday. A 10:30 semi-curfew is nearly five hours past and a peace of remarkable proportion has descended on an area which on Sunday night witnessed as hopeless and desperate a manifestation of futile lawlessness as the American continent has undergone since the U. S. came into being.

But a yardstick has been established which every American city must meet, north and south.

Where before city officials have cowered and cringed before the mob, New York's Mayor LaGuardia and its Police Commissioner, Lewis Valentine, moved in with celerity and courage on a riot which beggars description.

Negro Leaders Aid Mayor

But more important, the moral and mental resources of the affected area were utilized. The Mayor summoned as counselors every key Negro who was to be found. The U. S. Army, under genial Col. McNulty, was asked without difficulty or objection to send Negro as well as white m. p.'s to assist in patroling the neighborhood.

A faith was created by co-operation which was proved to be not ill-founded. As the rioting and looting were at their height, appeals were made by citizens of Harlem to repudiate false rumors and to stand by the authorities.

The task was neither easy nor free of danger. Sunday night and early Monday morning, bricks and bottles were thrown at Harlem citizens who advocated immediate stoppage of the riot. But by Monday evening these appeals were greeted by cheers instead of jeers. An unpredented calm descended on the troubled area.

Lessons to be Learned

But there is more for New Yorkers to do than applaud a courageous mayor and police commissioner. Lessons of importance to the city must be learned [illegible] Now is the time to Camp Stewart, Ga., where Southern whites and two German-born officers proceded to teach them their place—as inferiors.

Started By Murder Rumor

These men wrote their families and friends in Harlem. Newspapers told their story of mistreatment and bigotry. Deep resentment grew out of this and numerous other stories of segregation and discrimination.

Thus Sunday night's false rumor of the murder of a Negro soldier in Harlem fell like a torch into dry summer grass. Had the shooting victim been a Negro civilian it is almost certain no explosion would have resulted. But a Negro soldier! That was a different tale. And the looters were not at all slow to move in and reap the sordid profits of the whirlwind.

Will New York learn the lesson of this tragic tale? One wonders. In 1935 another though lesser precursor of Sunday night's nightmare broke out in Harlem when victims of the ghetto lashed back on an equally false rumor at those who penned them in.

A bi-racial committee held hearings and submitted findings which might have averted Sunday's bitter fruits. But the report was never published. Only a few of its findings were considered or acted upon.

New York Must Awaken

New York went back to sleep. It awoke only fitfully when newspapers created "crime waves" to boost circulation which died when other more profitable news burgeoned.

OPINION

Round-Up

The zoot-suit riots in Los Angeles are unique only in their sartorial feature. Otherwise they are part of the larger national pattern of racist feeling in a war context. Whether the riots occur in Los Angeles or in Harlem, in Newark or Mobile, they are an outcropping of the same soil-constituents: prejudice pitted against a rankling sense of injustice. The Mexican community in Los Angeles is, in a sense, the West Coast Harlem. Its juvenile gangs have been created by the poverty and indifference that we accord to the Mexicans. Now we add vigilantism.

* * *

The factor of the clothes is, however, a curious addition to the race riot pattern. There are numerous cases in history of intense resistance to fashion changes: I believe that there were riots over both the waltz and bloomers. And I seem to recall, when I was at college after World War I, that the New Haven townsmen didn't like our long bell-trousers a bit. Most such notions are the impact of novelty upon narrowness.

But to dislike a man's (or woman's) clothes doesn't generally impel us to rip them off, or else we should long ago have had a disquieting degree of public nudity. The Los Angeles incident involves subterranean race-hatreds which finally broke forth with volcanic strength, using the zoot-suit test only as channel and symbol.

* * *

The morals of the WAACs have, inevitably, become the center of controversy. Mrs. Roosevelt two days ago described the stories of pregnant WAACs as Nazi propaganda. And yesterday Mrs. Hobby denied the John O'Donnell story in the *News* about a decision to furnish the WAACs with prophylactics and contraceptives.

There are two phases to the question. There can be little doubt that it is worth several divisions to the Nazis to get the American people all inflamed about the sex-life of the WAACs, to the extent of cutting off their recruiting. And there is also little doubt, judging from the insinuations in the O'Donnell article, that the Patterson-McCormick axis would like to have Americans believe that the New Deal is responsible for spreading immorality among their daughters and sisters. The bearing of both Hitler's hope and Patterson's dream on this whole matter should be made clear to Americans.

* * *

The other phase has to do with a program, since to combat propaganda is not to solve a problem. Americans should be grown-up enough to know that among thousands of young women there are bound to be cases of sexual irregularity. The remedy is not to shut your eyes and pretend that we are Purity, Inc. The remedy is to take measures to minimize the cases while fully aware that they are part of our national life.

That is what the British did. They set competent authorities to work to make an investigation. The report showed that British women in service behaved exactly as the civilian women. The British set up a sensible system of controls. The flare-up died down. Are we as a people less mature than the British? Sometimes I think so.

* * *

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1943

Race Bias Board Named by Dewey

Albany, Aug. 4 (AP)—Asserting that racial and religious discrimination in employment is at an all-time [illegible] Gov. Dewey named today a new committee on discrimination to continue tackling the problem "vigorously."

The group is headed by Dr. Alvin Johnson, director of the New School of Social Research, New York City.

The members:

DOROTHY BELLANCA, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

FATHER RAYMOND J. CAMPION, St. Peter Claver Church, Brooklyn.

THE REV. WILBUR T. CLEMENS, secretary, State Council of Churches, Albany.

E. MARGUERITE GANE, executive secretary, Children's Aid Society, Buffalo.

LEWIS S. GANNETT, New York Herald Tribune.

DR. SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN, Free Synagogue, New York City.

LESTER B. GRANGER, secretary, National Urban League.

THE REV. MURRAY S. HOWLAND, First Presbyterian Church, Binghamton.

JOSEPH C. HYMAN, executive vice-chairman, Joint Distribution Committee, New York City.

PAUL KERN; ROBERT LANE, secretary, New York City Welfare Council.

THE REV. JOHN H. LATHROP, First Unitarian Church, Brooklyn.

MRS. SAM LEWISOHN, director of Public Education Association, New York City.

DR. MYRA LOGAN, New York [illegible]

THE VERY REV. MSGR. JOHN J. CLAFFERTY, Catholic Charities of New York City.

ALMERINDO PORTFOLIO, New York City Treasurer.

DR. C. B. POWELL, publisher of New York Amsterdam News.

WILLIAM O. RIORDAN, president of Stern Brothers, New York City.

CHARLES B. SEARS, Buffalo, retired jurist.

GEORGE SHUSTER, president of Hunter College.

MRS. LEOPOLD SIMON, vice-president of the Woman's City Club.

THE REV. GEORGE H. SIMS, Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City.

PROF. ARTHUR L. SWIFT, Union Theological Seminary.

CHANNING H. TOBIAS, National Council YMCA.

LOUIS WEISS, attorney, New York City.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Plan Big, 'Americans Too,' Chicago Conclave

NEW YORK — Miss E. Pauline Myers, executive director of the March on Washington Movement, left New York on June 1 to direct arrangements for the big "We Are Americans, Too," conference to be held in Chicago, June 30-July 4, at the Metropolitan Community church in Chicago.

A. Philip Randolph, director of the movement, declared this week that a large delegation of Eastern-ers, representing a complete cross-section of American life, is expected to attend the Chicago conclave.

The conference will debate basic questions involving strategy and the status of the Negro during the war and postwar period.

One of the main speakers at the Chicago sessions will be [illegible] Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks and officials and the general leader will be welcomed by numerous of fellow Negro members of the Elks and friends.

THE NEGRO LABOR NEWS

HOUSTON, TEXAS, SATURDAY, AUG. 7, 1943

2-Day Riot in NY's Harlem Causes $5,000,000 Damage

NEW YORK CITY—Harlem, known as the "Capital City" of Negro America, where more than 250,000 Negroes are congested in an area less than three miles square, suffered an estimated $5,000,000 damage this week when rioters ran rampant in the shopping center of the district for a day and a night, breaking up store windows, looting shops and doing untold damage to property.

Started early Sunday night in the Braddock Hotel, a hotel for the theatrical world, by the shooting of a Negro M. P. by a white police officer, the rioting soon spread to the whole district. White owned stores on 125th street became the targets of brickbats, stones, clubs and looters, leaving the street in a shambles within minutes after the start of the riot.

Some 6,000 police officers sent into the district to restore order had difficulty in maintaining it because of the size of the mob. Mayor LaGuardia, beloved by Negroes in Harlem, made a personal trip to the area to plead with the rioters to return to their homes and cease all violence. A curfew set for Monday night found few people on the streets of the most crowded thoroughfares in the world.

Over 600 persons were arrested and confined in the 123th street police station, the Negro National Guard armory and the 135th street station house. Negro auxiliary policemen were armed with nightsticks and patrolled the district, doing much to control and disperse mobs which gathered on every corner.

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, leader of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, with a congregation of some 11,000 people and also lone Negro council member, added his voice to those of city officials in beg-

(See N. Y. RIOT, Page 8)

N. Y. RIOT—

(Continued from Page 1)

in 1938 by the Coach Cleaners on the Texas & Pacific Railroad, testing the rights of the Railway Car Men of America to represent the Negro employees who were organized into a separate union with no vote or voice in the union's affairs.

As general organizer for the National Federation of Railroad Workers of America, and agent for the T. & P. Workers, Mr. Rice contended that the union should not be declared the sole bargaining agency because it barred workers of the same class from the same union.

Mr. Rice's attorneys, among other things, pointed out the danger of auxiliary unions whose membership had no voice or vote in the contract or policy making body, when they stated in their brief, "If white labor organizations can get together and make contracts for Negroes who are not permitted to belong to them they can be forbidden to work at their own trade by a majority of the white vote. If this is possible the prejudices which the war amendments were framed to defend the colored people tri-

Negro Migration Ban Asked to End Riots

Washington, Aug. 9—Attorney General Biddle, alarmed over recent racial disorders, has recommended to the White House that the government limit—and possibly prohibit, in some cases—the further migration of Negroes to overcrowded war production centers, it was reported authoritatively today.

Biddle was said to have recommended drastic action in Detroit, scene on June 22 of the worst racial disorders in a quarter of a century.

The Attorney General's recommendations resulted from a study made by agents from the civil liberties division of the Department of Justice, working with FBI agents.

Biddle was not immediately available for comment today.

Continued Unrest Watched

Labor and liberal circles and groups interested in civil liberties and the Negro problem have heard that the study made for Biddle took into account the continued tenseness and racial unrest in such production centers as Detroit, Baltimore, Mobile, Chicago and Los Angeles.

In connection with Detroit, where the riot toll stands at 34 dead and 850 injured, Biddle was represented as having urged the President to stop the movement of Negroes into that city entirely, possibly with the assistance of the War Manpower Commission. The WMC could accomplish that through its power over war jobs.

Biddle was reported to have advised the White House that he felt there was imperative need for action before the summer ends, because the favorable weather was crowding Negro and white workers together in recreational centers in cities which are woefully short of such facilities.

Riots Started on a Sunday

The Detroit riots began on a sweltering Sunday night when thousands of Negro and White families were returning from overcrowded Belle Isle Park.

The Justice Dept. investigators, it was said, satisfied themselves that much of the Detroit violence and property damage could have been averted if Federal troops had arrived earlier. Biddle, it was said, took this into account by urging a simplification of the method by which local officials can summon troops in the event of disorders.

Improved housing for Negroes and a suggestion that the President set up a committee to organize a national educational campaign to promote racial understanding were said to have been among Biddle's recommendations.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGROES ASKED

Episcopal Church Committee on Social Reconstruction Stresses Right to Work

SAYS U. S. MUST TAKE LEAD

Urges Post-War International Military and Economic Body Formed by United Nations

A plea for equal opportunity for Negroes is made in a report by the social reconstruction committee of the Episcopal Church. Made public yesterday by the National Council, 281 Fourth Avenue, the report calls for a post-war international military and economic governing body with the United Nations as a nucleus.

The report, which will be submitted to the church's General Convention in Cleveland Oct. 2, asserted the United States must accept leadership in the proposed international authority. The committee, headed by Bishop William Scarlett of Missouri, declared there must be equality among nations and that in America every person should be assured the right to work.

Asserting loyalty to the principle, "which stems from the Jewish-Christian tradition, that all mankind is one family in God," the committee advocated equal opportunities among nations to develop material resources and human capacities and recognition of "the right of every person without distinction because of race or color to equality of opportunity according to his capacities."

"The application of this principle," the report continued, "should begin at home in our dealings with other nations and races and in the treatment of our minority groups. Our own Negroes, to mention one flagrant example, are in many respects denied equality of opportunity.

"The Negro is not asking for charity or for special privilege, but he is asking for an equal opportunity in training and work and culture to prove his worth as a man and as a citizen. It is difficult to see how Christian democracy can offer less than this. The essence of the problem is that the Negro must be treated as a man and citizen, and not as a Negro."

The proposed international authority should deal with common world problems that are capable of no purely national or regional solution, while within such a world framework regional affairs could be left to regional groups, the report said.

The church's part in seeking a unified world and an international order consists in being itself a "world-wide fellowship under one Lord," by proclaiming that "no people can claim the right of a superior race to rule over subject people" and that the purpose of colonial administration must be to prepare the colonial peoples for self-government and "be helping to create respect for and protection of the rights of minorities, both at home and abroad."

In declaring that the "right to work is basic," the committee said "the whole people, acting through its Government, should assume responsibility for the elimination of unemployment." Where private enterprise cannot provide full employment, the Government should. Employes should be given the opportunity to escape from the monotonous routine of production and maintenance by participating in the affairs of management, the committee asserted. It recommended broad expansion of social services "to free this country of 'the scandal of want.'"

THE COLORADO STATESMAN

July 23, 1943

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT SPONSORS "WE ARE AMERICANS TOO" CONFERENCE AT CHICAGO

By Thelma S. Freeman, Delegate From the Denver Unit

CHICAGO, Ill., July 10.—The "We Are Americans Too" Conference, held June 30-July 4, 1943, in Chicago, Ill., sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, of which Mr. A. Philip Randolph is the Organizer and National Director, was a huge success. All business sessions, discussion groups and workshops were held in the Metropolitan Community Church, located on the corner of 41t St. and South Park Ave., Rev. oJseph T. Evans, pastor.

Prominent among the delegates from the Denver Unit, M.O.W.M., were: Mrs. Thelma S. Freeman, 2067 Ogden St., Secretary of the local unit, who was appointed to serve at the Conference as Secretary of the Committee on the Future and Outlook of the F.E.P.C., which will remain a permanent committee; Mr. Berry J. Slater, 3031 South Elati St., President of the local unit served on the Non-Violent Good Will Direct Action Committee; Mrs. Minnie Payne, 1804 East 25th Ave., served on the Finance Committee.

The Inter-Denominational Patriotic Service was held at 7:45 a.m. at the Negro Soldiers' Monument on Sunday morning, July 4. Rev. A. Wayman Ward, pastor of Greater Bethel Church, presided and gave the purpose of the meeting. Rev. E. Stanley Jones (white), outstanding missionary, arrived from Mexico City to participate in the mammoth mass meeting on Independence Day, Sunday, July 4, at 3 p.m., held at the Du Sable High School, which was crowded to standing room. Loud-speakers were erected for the benefit of the masses of people who crowded the sidewalks and streets around the entire four blocks. Hundreds of delegates attended the meetings.

Some of the brilliant speakers and discussion group leaders were: Mr. A. Philip Randoph, National Director; Miss E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary M.O.WM., former Y.W.C.A. Secretary; Mr. B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary M. O. W. M.; Dr. Charles Burton, Mid-Western Regional Director and President of the Chicago Unit M. O. W. M.; Attorney Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. Milton P. Webster, member of the F.E.P.C.; Miss Layle Lane, hCairman of Teachers Organizations, New York City; Rev. Geo. Edmond Haynes, Executive Secretary of the Federated Council of Churches; Rev. Archibald Carey, pastor of the Woodlawn A.M.E. Church, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Coralie Cargo, Johnson, National President of the Beauty Culturists League; Dr. Louis Wirth (white), Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago; Dr. Eric Williams, Associate Professor of Social and Political Science, Howard University; Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Dean of the School of Religion, Howard University; Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Curator, Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, New York Public Library, Lecturer-History, New York City College; Mr. Bayard Rustin, Field Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Mr. Jas. Farmer, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Rev. J. L. Horace, pastor of Monumental Baptist Church, Chicago, and President of the Illinois Baptist Ministers Alliance; Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Atlanta School of Social Work; John Holly, President of the Future Outook League, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. J. D. Roberts; Dr Lawrence Irwin, New York City; Attorney Harold Stevens, New York City; Attorney Thurman L. Dodson, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Lenora B. Lawson, Richmond, Va.; Carl Hansberry, President of the Hansberry Enterprises; Henry Johnson of the United Mine Workers; Roscoe C. Mitchell, Chairman of the Negro Ration Board, Richmond, Va.; Vincent Baker, Director National Modern Trend League. Music was furnished by the J. Wesley Jones Choir; Carol Brice, Concert Artist, New York City; Bayard Rustin and Mrs. Neeley of Tulsa, Okla.; Master Harold Glover, 7-year-old child prodigy, gave an oration, "I Am a Negro."

National officers elected for the next two years are: A. Philip Randolph, National Director; B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary; Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer, all of New York City. Three members from each of the five regions—North Atlantic, South Atlantic, Southern, Mid-Western and Pacific, with three members-at-large and three national officers, will compose the National Executive Board. Rev. Wendell T. Liggins of Denver was named a member of the National Executive Board for the Pacific Region. Mr. C. L. Dellums, Fourth International Vice President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of Oakland, Calif., is the Director of the Pa[illegible]

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1943

Housing, Transportation Blamed

Fair Practices Group Tackles Riots at Root

By United Press

The newly constituted Fair Employment Practices Committee was prepared today to eliminate hiring discriminations against the Negro and other minority groups but, in the words of its chairman, faces conditions which breed "shameful mob violence."

The Rev. Francis J. Haas, chairman of the committee which recently was revamped by President Roosevelt, told a press conference late yesterday that there is cause for "grave concern, but not for despair."

CITES CAUSES FOR RIOTS

Haas said, on the basis of personal observations, that the racial disorders in Detroit were not fanned by the Axis, the Ku Klux Klan or other un-American groups, but resulted from inadequate housing, recreation and transportation. Wherever such conditions exist, he said, such troubles are ever threatening.

His conference followed conclusion of a two-day organizational meeting of the new committee. He said it had accepted the responsibility of promoting fullest utilization of all available manpower by breaking down discriminatory hiring practices of employers so as to "further the prosecution of the war, worker morale, and national unity." He added:

"The committee is conscious that this sound objective must be pursued where wartime crowding in houses, buses, and recreation grounds have bred irritation among decent people, and have afforded irresponsible persons the opportunity for shameful mob violence."

4 DECISIONS REACHED

Decisions reached at the meeting were:

1. To open a three-day hearing Sept. 15 into charges of discriminations again Negro workers by railroads, particularly in the southeast, and certain unions.

2. To hold hearings in three unidentified Detroit cases and in the case of the Capital Transit Co., which serves the Nation's Capital, only if efforts to negotiate settlements fail.

3. To accept the settlement reached in the case of the Mobile (Ala.) Drydock & Shipbuilding Co., where troubles broke out last month between white and Negro workers, but to withhold approval of complete segregation of Negroes on four of the 12 ways of the firm.

4. To establish 12 regional offices to facilitate the work of the committee which will meet every two weeks.

Virginia Church Paper Calls for Study of Interracial Report

By the Associated Press.

RICHMOND Va., July 6. — The forthcoming issue of the Virginia Methodist Advocate calls on Virginians to follow the pathway "of justice, of reason, of sanity, of brotherhood" in solving the racial problem.

In an editorial the publication declared that the Negro in the South is uncertain whether Southern whites will support efforts at better race relations or whether he must team up with radical leadership in the North to get redress of grievances.

The paper said the recent meeting in Richmond, in which 33 white and 33 colored leaders of the South inaugurated a study of race relations, may prove to be "of epochal importance." It added that whatever recommendations come out of such studies, however, are of no value "unless the churches and schools and the various social and civic groups bend every effort to study these findings and to broadcast them to others."

The publication said that the riot in Detroit was not one conducted by white and colored leaders.

"It was the rank and file, and mostly young men in their late teens and early 20s," the paper said. "The Negro in the Southland * * * is trying to make up his mind whether Southern whites will give their support to such measures as will come from these interracial studies or whether the only redress the Negro has is to team up with radical leadership in the North and try the method of bloodshed and revolution."

The Advocate declared that what happened in Detroit can happen in Virginia, but that "if it does, both races will be the loser."

PUTS RACE RIOT BLAME ON NEW DEAL POLICIES

Negro Leader Advises Firm Protest.

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington movement, Negro organization protesting "Jim Crow" treatment of Negroes, yesterday laid the blame for race riots "at the door of the present national administration." He addressed about 5,000 persons in a mass meeting at Du Sable High school, 49th and State streets, closing the five day convention of the movement.

"Riots are the result of the government policy of segregation of and discrimination against Negroes," said Randolph, who is also international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Race Riots Will Continue.

"Race riots will continue long after Hitler is dead and forgotten, if our government does not stop the 'Jim Crow' treatment of Negro citizens and begin to integrate the Negroes into the government and war and peace time industry on a basis of equality."

He said that Negro committees should call on city and state governments to protest racial strife. The Negro, he said, is the only person subject to "Jim Crowism," and Negroes "must take the initiative to abolish it."

"This is not a war for freedom," he said. "It is a war to maintain the old imperialism. It is a war to continue white supremacy and the subjugation, domination, and exploitation of the peoples of color."

Randolph said that the March on Washington movement, altho it is an all-Negro movement, is not anti-white, anti-labor, anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic. "It is simply pro-Negro," he said.

"Welcome" FBI and Dies.

Dr. Charles W. Burton, regional director of the movement here, who as chairman of the meeting introduced Randolph, said that "we welcome the FBI to our midst and also Martin Dies, because we speak only the truth. We are entitled to our rights and we want them."

E. Stanley Jones, an evangelistic minister to India and only white speaker on the program, outlined a seven point program for solution of the Negro's racial problems thru "non-violence."

Former Gov. Clifford Townsend of Indiana told a meeting of 2,000 Negroes at Pilgrim Baptist church, 33d street and Indiana avenue that the Negro farmer "is doing a great job in food production."

Townsend was introduced by the Rev. J. C. Austin, pastor of the church.

He said that Negroes were furnishing a great amount of labor for food production and commended the Negro race on its loyalty. He said that Negroes thruout the south have increased their production of long-staple cotton and of foods necessary to the war.

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THE
Michigan Chronicle
A RELIABLE INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Published Every Thursday By
THE MICHIGAN CHRONICLE PUBLISHING COMPANY
MAIN OFFICE: 268 Eliot, Detroit, Mich. TEmple 1-8878
LOUIS EMANUEL MARTIN, Editor

Entered as second class matter May 1, 1940, at the Post Office at Detroit, Mich., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Terms of Subscription (payable in advance):
One Year, $3.00; Six Months, $1.75; Three Months, $1.00

IN THE CRYSTAL BALL

Outside of the city limits of Detroit, two extra special housing projects have been designed and built to accommodate war workers who have dark skins, one at Ypsilanti and the other at Inkster. In these two modern asylums the colored war workers will be herded together in order not to "contaminate" the white war workers with whom they work and eat side-by-side every day. These projects are owned and operated by the United States government under the general direction of a queer creature by the name of John B. Blandford, the National Housing Administrator.

Very soon, no doubt, some prominent Uncle Toms or some Aunt Toms will be called upon to dedicate these neat compact structure which, to use Mr. Van Vechten's phrase, may be looked upon as the smartest thing in "Nigger Heavens." Uncle Tom or Aunt Tom will tell the kind white folks in Washington that these two heavens are just the things for our dark war workers who just love to live together by themselves and preserve the glorious tradition of the fine old South where the white folks and colored folks get along so well in between lynchings.

These heavens will be run by Amos and Andy, and all sorts of wonderful things are in prospect for the tenants. They will be reminded that they can do a fine thing for the race by keeping the trash off the grass and behaving themselves which will show the white folks that they deserve the nice Jim Crow housing. Uncle Tom or Aunt Tom will say that these projects are so much better than the shacks from which they come that the tenants ought not to quibble over a little thing like Jim Crowism. After all, Uncle Tom will say, the government must follow the fascist pattern of the private builders even though tax money is used and there are no Jim Crow taxes. Aunt Tom will say you can't expect the government really to do the things the Constitution demands for that would be too radical. Uncle Tom will insist that we be realistic, you know.

When the children of the war workers go to school, they will very probably go to a neat little red schoolhouse designed exclusively for dark children. The kids will be told that they are free American citizens and they will read about the little white boy who was born in a log cabin and wound up in the White House. They will be taught that "all men are created equal" and the teacher will wince or get

which are moving the news of the Great War off the front pages of the American press have all centered around one theme and they have been generated by one controlling idea.

This theme and this idea may be summed up in the phrase "white supremacy." This business of "white supremacy" is the great illusion of our age and it is a great weapon which the enemies of democracy are using against America today. Is it not significant that just as our armed forces are about to knock on the doors of Berlin, the unity of our civilian population which must sustain our armed forces is being torn asunder? With victory almost in sight for our great military machine, the American people themselves are being whipped into a frenzy of mutual distrust and passionate h a t r e d for one another.

The voice of Berlin is echoed up and down the sidewalks of our cities and the white American is being told that his real enemy is not in Europe but in the slums of America and he is a man of color. This same voice would have all Negroes believe that white men must perish before Negroes will be free. Because racial prejudice has been nurtured and cultivated in America for centuries, the voice of Berlin sounds familiar and no one can detect the foreign accent.

It is our sincere conviction that the American people will destroy themselves if they do not destroy the illusion of "white supremacy" or fail to dig up the roots of racial prejudice. The existence of widespread racial intolerance in America has provided our enemies with a ready-made invisible weapon which in their skilled hands is now dividing this nation. And what Lincoln said about a house divided is as true today as it was the day he said it. It must be remembered that Hitler's objective is to destroy democracy and though we beat him to his knees, our internal disorders may lead to the destruction of our democracy and a triumph for Hitlerism just as surely as if we had fallen in bloody battle.

It is obvious therefore that the fascist movement on the home front is of primary concern to the United Nations' war effort. The Axis powers are laying seige to our country by the backdoor and action must be taken now to fortify ourselves against these attacks. The moment is at hand when our President must speak out and our governmental leadership, high and low, must take some affirmative measures to establish in the minds of the American people that racial discrimination is not merely un-American but that it is downright treason.

Widespread racial friction is increasing and this is no time for buck-passing or pussy-footing on an issue which is as real and menacing as a stick of dynamite. The morale of Americans on the production front and the unity of our people are vital elements of the war effort which may mean the difference between victory and defeat.

THE DENVER STAR

We Dedicate Our Journal to the Uplift of the Race, Morally, Socially and Intellectually

Established 1888 Denver, Colo., July 24 1943

The Color Line, War And The Organization To Meet A Crisis

ADVICE TO MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Even the most ardent adherents of the March on Washington Movement should find it very difficult to accept the organization's move in its recent Chicago convention to limit membership to Negroes. Critics of the organization had maintained frequently in the past that it was weak, falling apart, and going in the wrong direction. The Jim Crow solution—and it is nothing more than that—does more to support those forces against which the M. O. W. M. was originally pledged to fight than anything they themselves could do.

Dr. George E. Haynes, inter-racial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, uttered nothing but the simple truth when he took to the floor at the convention and denounced the resolution as one in opposition to all anti-Jim Crow principles. He was perfectly right when he said that its passage was a direct negation of the entire movement to abolish segregation.

Surely the leaders of the M. O. W. M. must be able to see how ridiculous they will appear on the one hand protesting against discrimination and segregation and at the same time, practicing it inside their own movement.

We cannot grant much weight to the argument of some M. O. W. M. leaders that the move to exclude whites from membership was based on a desire to prevent "Communist infiltration." It is true perhaps, that too many of the whites who align themselves with organizations fighting for the Negro do so with the purpose of increasing the Communist Party's influence. And it is also true that wherever the Communists have succeeded in gaining any control of such organizations, the organization has not gained in general public esteem by it.

But you can't overcome Communists, or any other undesirables, by attempting to shut yourself away from them. As a matter of fact, to bar all whites and feel that the Communists have thus been effectively barred is mere wishful thinking.

Is it a secret, unknown to the March on Washington leaders, that there are many Negro Communists? Surely they must be aware too, that some of the most loyal party adherents have never been allowed to be identified publicly with the party in order that their work may be more effective.

The only way for the March on Washington Movement—or any other movement—to successfully withstand attempts by undesirable factions or groups to take over control is to recruit into its ranks a sufficiently large membership to outvote or outmaneuver any such faction whenever necessary.

If the program of the organization is sound, and is ably presented, this should be no problem. If the program is not sound or those charged with the responsibility are unable to present it ably, then ultimate failure of the organization is inevitable.

To seek escape from this through erecting false membership barriers is to confess that weakness and hasten the downfall.

The March on Washington Movement would do well to remember, that there are some whites who are sincerely interested in the Negro's struggle for rights, and who are also barred by that incredible resolution. These sincere whites can be of real service in the fight—of more service, we venture to observe, than some Negroes whose sincerity, like their color, is only skin deep.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 18, 1943.

NEGROES BAN WHITES IN FIGHT ON RACE BIAS

Aim Is to Prevent Communist Infiltration, Randolph Says

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the "March on Washington" movement organized to combat alleged discrimination against Negroes in industry and the armed forces, explained yesterday that white persons were barred from the movement to avoid Communist infiltration.

"We do not want Communists in the organization for the reason that they penetrate such movements for the sole purpose of dominating them in the interests of Soviet Russia." Mr. Randolph said. "We cannot have the Negro fighting for his rights subject to the political climate that may exist in Russia. Communists come into these movements with a program mapped out by the Communist party and not motivated by any personal desire to advance the interests of the particular movement."

At his headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, 2084 Seventh Avenue, Mr. Randolph said his group is now formulating a number of projects, among them a program of nonviolent, good-will action designed to prevent race riots and bloodshed in solving the problems of his race. In this manner, he said, it is hoped to breakdown discriminatory practices.

He was also sharply critical regarding segregation of Negro troops in Army camps. Such segregation, he added, is distinctly prohibited under Section 4-A of the 1940 Selective Service Act, which stipulates that there "shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

July 6 - 1943

The Washington Post

Registered in U. S. Patent Office.

Restraint Is Needed

The decision of Negro leaders to defer a projected "march on Washington" is a tribute to their patriotism and self-discipline. Such an undertaking could serve no useful purpose. Its only effect, on the contrary, would be to exacerbate the already troubled relations between white and colored people in the United States.

This is not to say by any means that Negro leaders should cease to press vigorously for a redress of the grievances endured by their race. We should be complacent indeed if we did not recognize that Negroes, not only in the South, but in all parts of this country, have suffered from employment discrimination in war industries and from intolerable living conditions in our overcrowded production centers. It is well that Negro leadership should remind the Government of these facts, remind it that such conditions impede our war effort and are incompatible with the democracy for which we are fighting. Leadership which failed to do this would be unworthy of its following.

But the Negroes of this country, as a racial and cultural entity, customarily think of themselves more as Americans than as Negroes. They have preserved a loyalty to democratic ideals, even when they have seen these ideals flouted. They have had the understanding and patience to accept inequities for the sake of the opportunities which the democratic process is slowly, yet certainly, opening up to them. In consequence, as Dr. Frank Graham recently observed, "the Negro in America has compressed more progress in the shortest time than any race in human history."

That progress will be continued and accelerated, not through conflict against, through cooperation with all groups that struggling toward a fuller realization democratic ideals. Gradualism is the se of the democratic proces[s] Now, in

midst of a war to determine democratic process will survive, we utmost need for the kind of

Our Fellow Americans . . .

NEGROES are Americans too!

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

"ALL PERSONS BORN OR NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION THEREOF, ARE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE WHEREIN THEY RESIDE."—CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, 14th AMENDMENT.

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO!

On the basis of the principle of the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, whose birthday we celebrate today, we address this appeal to the people of America and to the conscience of the world.

Right here in our own country is one of the great moral issues of this war: SHALL WE HAVE DEMOCRACY FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE OR FOR SOME OF THE PEOPLE? An all-out war against facism cannot be fought on a half basis. Race prejudice is obstructing the nation's effort to win the war and plan a real peace.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE MET THIS ISSUE WITH IN DIFFERENCE, SUPPRESSION AND VIOLENCE. The riots in Los Angeles, Beaumont and Detroit are sufficient proof of this.

Negroes have shared in the building of our common country. From the Boston Massacre to the North Africa invasive, their blood has watered the sands of every war in defense of American democracy. Their labor, more than anyone else's, has built the South. Their music, folk tales and dreams have helped make American culture what it is. This is their country in which they were born, for which they and their fathers have toiled and bled, and which they stand ready to give the last full measure of devotion.

But how are these thirteen million Americans treated?

I. **NEGROES ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THE VERY ARMED FORCES WHICH SUMMON THEM TO SHED THEIR BLOOD FOR THEIR COUNTRY.** They are drafted in jim-crow quotas, trained in jim-crow regiments and separated from their white comrades in arms in the fighting units. All too often, they are herded into menial tasks and labor battalions.

II. **NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT.** They are discriminated against in training, placement, up-grading, and wages in war industry. Sometimes this is true when the Government itself is the employer. Moreover, thirty-three international labor unions bar Negroes from membership.

III. **NEGROES ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN MOST OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.** A combination of intimidation, poll taxes, "white primaries," and all manner of specious "tests," stand as barriers between the Negro and the ballot box.

IV. **NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY.** In most of the South the Negro child receives less than half of his share of the funds for public education, the Negro graduate student is denied the training of the tax supported state university and the Negro teacher is paid less for the same training and work as other teachers. Here again is the myth of "equal but separate." Even in the North and West Negro professors are barred from the faculties of practically all American universities.

V. **NEGROES ARE CARICATURED AND SLANDERED IN THE PRESS AND ON THE STAGE, SCREEN AND RADIO.** School textbooks paint the Negro as a happy slave, a buffoon and a corrupt citizen. Best-selling novels and million dollar movie plays repeat this lie of the history books. Newspapers play up Negro crime and play down the constructive achievements of Negroes.

VI. **NEGROES ARE DENIED PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICY-FORMING ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT.** Even when there are Negro "race relations" advisers to government agencies, these "advisers" are not permitted to determine policy, even in this special area, and nobody accepts their advice.

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IX. **NEGROES ARE LYNCHED AND MURDERED BY MOBS AND COWARDLY NIGHT-RAIDER BANDS.** Such treatment in a democracy is intolerable. Accordingly, we appeal to the American people to support us in the fight to wipe out these anti-democratic practices.

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SHINGTON, D. C., WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 19

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"Therefore, in the name of democracy, in the name of the common interests of humanity, in the name [illegible] of a real victory and a real peace, we call upon our fellow Americans to join with us in this struggle for human dignity [illegible] and equal justice for all. Moreover, the colored peoples of the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America will test the sin[illegible]cerity of our declaration about world democracy by what happens to the Negro right here in the United States. Let [illegible] us band together and make democracy a living truth."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A. Philip Randolph
Interracial Committee of Sponsors
2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, 27, N. Y.

I contribute $_____to the publication of "Negroes Are Americans Too" throughout the United States.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

SIGNATURES:

A. Philip Randolph *La[illegible]yle Lane*

E. Pauline Myers *C[illegible]rnelius Scott*

Aldrich Turner *D[illegible]r. L. D. Reddick*

Alfred Baker L[illegible]ewis

NOTE—The above statement was drawn up on the initiative of the March On Washington Movement and was formally unveiled as a scroll at an Inter[illegible] Faith, Inter-Denominational, Interracial R[illegible] Soldiers' Memorial Field, Chicago, Ill., July 4, 1943, in connection with the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE, called by the March On Washi[illegible]ton Movement.

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SIGNATURES:

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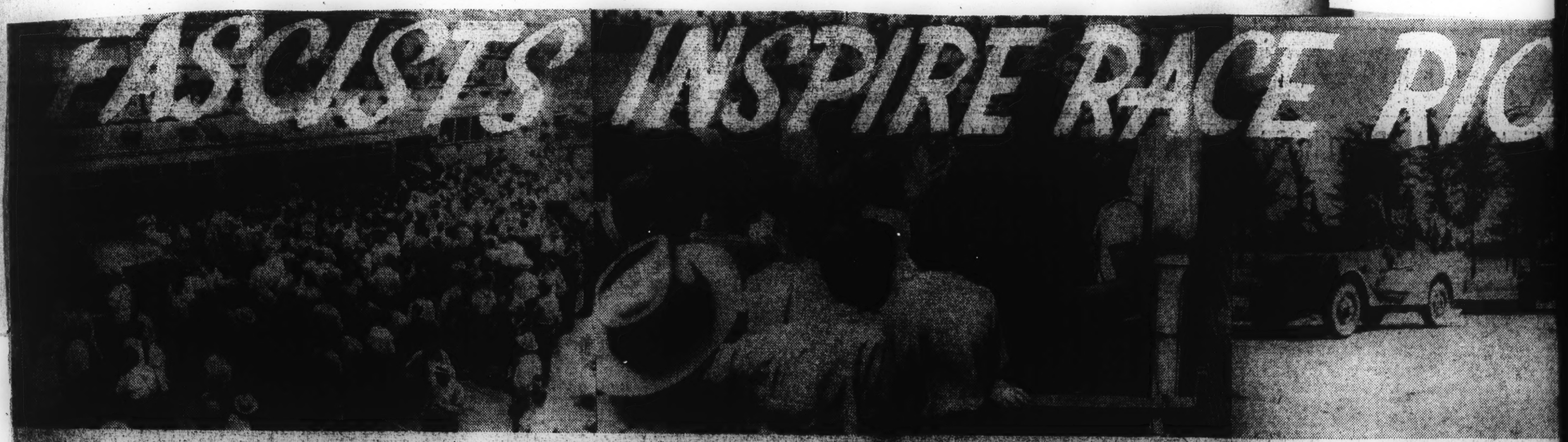
lyers *Cornelius Scott*

rner *Dr. L. D. Reddick*

Alfred Baker Lewis

as a scroll at an Inter-Faith, Inter-Denominational, Interracial Prayer Service, the March On Washington Movement.

26 DEAD IN DETROIT RIOTS



The above photos show typical scenes that were constantly repeated in the two-day race riot which swept Detroit. The rioting began from an isolated incident in a nearby Detroit resort, and was fanned by wild rumors, believed to be Axis inspired.

Left photo—Bands of raving white hoodlums stopped all street cars by pulling trolley poles and searching cars for Negroes. They are shown around one of the trolleys and a Negro passenger is being forced off the car while being beaten over the head with a club.—International News Soundphoto.

Center—Police are shown protecting a small colored lad from a mob of blood-thirsty whites. The Courier photographer, Langford James, was badly beaten when he took this shot, but he got his photo.

Right—Following Pre
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Center—Police are shown protecting a small colored lad from a mob of blood-thirsty whites. The Courier photographer, Langford James, was badly beaten when he took this shot, but he got his photo.

Right—Following President Roosevelt proclamation declaring a "State of Emergency" existed in Detroit, troops were ordered into the city to quell the rioting. This photo shows the first troops, from Fort Custer, to arrive on the scene of mob violence.

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1943

Randolph Tells Technique Of Civil Disobedience

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A major strategy which will be thoroughly explored at the "We Are Americans, Too" conference in Chicago will be what is generally known as non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation.

According to the program of the March On Washington Movement this same principle will be expressed through what we elect to designate as constitutional obedience or non-violent good will direct action.

But this strategy has been condemned and denounced by critics on the grounds that we are attempt to introduce as a method for solution of the Negro problem, a strategy which was born in a foreign and oriental situation.

Not Valid

However, this criticism is not valid. By the same token of reasoning one could condemn Christianity and reject it as a product of an oriental clime. Jesus Christ, like Gandhi was born in the eastern world.

But there are certain basic principles of human behavior that are well-nigh universal, one, is some form of religious worship, Christianity, Confucius, Buddhist, or pagan. It is practically a universal trait also for people everywhere constantly to seek to achieve freedom and relief from pain, physical and social, and the securing of pleasure and happiness, individual and collective.

The difference between non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation as advocated by Gandhi in India and non-violent goodwill direct action is set forth by the March On Washington Movement is that in India the objective is to effect a transition of governmental power from the hands of the British imperialists into the hands of the Indian people as represented by the all-India Congress. It practically amounts to the breaking down of British Civil government and the establishment of an Indian Civil government. Were this not so, the fight for Indian independence would have no point or meaning.

Purpose In America

But in America the March On Washington Movement does not seek to bring about any transition of governmental power from the hands of the white people to the Negro people. There is no desire to see the collapse of American civil government. Negroes are not seeking independence as a racial group. On the contrary we want to maintain American civil government because wherever it ceases to function, mob law reigns and Negroes are the victims.

It is not believed that the program of the March On Washington in advocating constitutional obedience will be provocative of violence, bloodshed and trouble. This allegation is doubtless based upon the theory that the March On Washington Movement will call upon Negroes in the armed forces and in the defense industries to refuse to obey orders and commands and stop work at a given time, because this method of action is comparable to that which is practiced in India during the non-violent civil disobedience campaign.

This construction of non-violent goodwill action as employed by the March On Washington Movement is entirely erroneous and misconceives it. The March On Washington will not call on the Negroes in the armed forces or defense industries to disobey commands or stop work at any time. These groups will not come within the category of Negroes who will be expected to comply with the program of non-violent goodwill direct action nor will the procedure and technique of behavior be of a piece with the Indian Nationalist pattern.

Based On Common Unity

Non-violent goodwill direct action in the first place is based upon the theory of the common unity of all peoples and the possible modification of behavior patterns by a process of reconditioning through the word and the deed, but fundamentally through the deed. While language plays an important role in the transformation of human action and human institutions, action, the deed is far more potent and in fact it is perhaps the human crucible through which the language forms are developed.

Now for a long time the Negro has relied rather completely on the processes of persuasion through the written word such as, petitions and statements and eloquent orations of condemnation to and of the white ruling class. But the Negro people as such have never been thrown into actual physical motion against jim-crow, discrimination and segregation in America. Because of this fact the word or statement and oratorical method of dealing with the question of Negroes has been quite ineffective because they could not be descriptive of any basic actual human struggle Negroes were waging to achieve the objectives, namely, freedom, justice and equality.

While the use of the word will still be of paramount importance, the word will play an entirely different role according to the program of the March On Washington Movement in as much as it will reflect and portray human effort that the social and physical movements of Negroes are carrying on to bring about the abolition of jim-crow in America today.

Outlines Procedure

For instance, when the March On Washington Movement projects constitutional obedience as an instrument to change the racial exclusion policy of a given restaurant, hotel or place of entertainment with respect to the Negro, it will proceed through the action technique, namely by having a group of Negroes visit the restaurant, hotel, or said place of entertainment preceded by a group of whites.

If the Negroes are refused, the whites who have been trained with the Negroes as to the procedure, will join with the Negroes and call upon the management for a reason for the racial exclusion policy. If it is not possible to change the policy through negotiation then a civil action suit will be planned with the white persons cooperating as witnesses.

When the negotiation period has ended and it is recognized as being impossible to change the position and policy of the enterprise, non-violent goodwill action calls for the next step which is possibly the staging of a **sitdown strike of white and colored citizens** who have been well trained with respect to technique of action and procedure.

The picketline may also be employed. When this is done and the law is invoked by the proprietor, the March On Washington's policy will be for the Negroes and whites to stand their ground in the said restaurant even to the point of being thrown out physically in which event action will not be taken for damages for physical injury but only for [illegible]

STARTED CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

MAHATMA GANDHI
Indian National Congress leader whose tactics are being studied by the March on Washington.

This is the third of a series of articles by A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington, in reply to a number of criticisms of the tactics of the movement. In publishing these articles, the Defender's editor in no way endorses the views expressed by Mr. Randolph but believes they are of sufficient public interest to merit the attention of our readers. At the conclusion of the series, the editors will comment on the articles and give the views of the Defender.

3 NEGROES IN DETROT RACE RIOT

Revolt Against John Lewis

Mr. A. P.
BSCP?
New Y 27

The Battle for Lives Against Whites

Beaumont is Quiet After 3-Day Race Riot

BEAUMONT, Texas — With comparative and deceptive quiet settling over this town following the three-day riot of last week, troops were withdrawn and an attempt to follow the even tenor of their ways is being made by the populace.

Of the many arrests which were

(Please Turn To Page Eight)

DETROIT, Mich. — In one of the bloodiest and most disastrous race riots of World War II, cops shot and killed 25 Negro participants, filled hospitals with hundreds who had been beaten with night sticks, and had other hundreds of Negroes arrested, while permitting white rioters to go free in most instances.

Starting early Monday with a fist fight at popular pleasure resort, Belle Isle, the rioting spread out Hastings street through "Paradise Valley", center of the Negro business district, and finally enveloped the whole city before arrival of U. S. troops, who took over control of the city, restored order.

Tension Is Very Grim

The downtown district in and around Cadillac Square, resembled war-torn Europe with battered and burned autos of Negroes scattered in all streets. Every window on Hastings street was broken for an area of 25 blocks. Numerous apartment houses housing Negro families suffered severely from tear gas fired from police guns as they attempted to dislodge Negro snipers. Adams, Beaubien and adjacent territory bore the brunt of the fighting with sporadic fighting extending city for the past two years, hightened by the influx of Southern workers who carried their racial animosity North with them.

Guns of the military were in grim comand of the fity following an order by President Roosevelt for the populace to desist from further fighting.

Many Are Arrested

Fierce fighting was carried on for a day and a night and police estimate that at least 700 were injured and over 2,000 arrested, 85 per cent of them Negroes. In addition to the 1100 federal troops, to all parts of the city.

Tension has been high in this there are other companies of state militia, state and city police patrolling the riot area.

Police arrest of Negroes whom they called serious offenders, led to filing of charges against them and 20 were given jail terms of 90 days.

Troops were brought to the city at the request of Gov. Harry Kelly. They patrolled the city in jeeps, and trucks with rifles and machine guns.

Looting of Negro homes and stores was extenive and many of the arrests were on theft charges. A curfew hour was established early in the battle, with all liquor sales being banned.

Various incidents were attributed as leading up to the rioting. Housing shortages, upgrading of Negro workers in the CIO controlled war plants, and even hints of Axis inspired propaganda were all said to have precipitated the riot.

The NAACP national office asked FDR to make a prompt appeal "to Americans to resist Axis and other propaganda."

Within the past few weeks outbreaks have occurred in Los Angeles; March Field Cal.; Beaumont; Mobile; Newark; El Paso; Philadelphia; Chester, Pa.; and other places, according to the NAACP.

THE NEGRO LABOR NEWS

HOUSTON, TEXAS, SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1943

A Militant Paper

The People's Voice

★ THE NEW PAPER FOR THE NEW NEGRO ★

Serving All People

Vol. II, No. 20 NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 26, 1943 10c A COPY

Arsenal of Democracy Becomes Caldron Of Hell As White Mobs and Police Aid Hitler in Mobbing Negroes

Story and another Photo on Page 3

AN EXCITED, MILLING MOB of whites stops a trolley car in downtown Detroit during the race riots that have resuted in at least 23 deaths and brought the list of injured to more than 700. A Negro passenger is being hit on the head with a club as he leaves from the front door of the car while a colored woman emerges fearfully from the center. (International Soundphoto)

WHITE RIOTERS BEAT A NEGRO whom they have just pulled off a street car during the height of the race rioting in Detroit. At least 1400 persons are being held for assault and disturbing the peace. (International Soundphoto)

RIOT, OR POLICE VICTIMS? WHICH?

THE DEAD

Billy Hardges, 27, Negro, shot by police who said he was looting.
Robert Davis, 29, Negro, shot by police.
Carl Singleton 19, Negro, shot by police.
Anderson Ford, 43, Negro, shot by police.
Ray James Jackson, Negro, shot by Police.
Samuel Johnson, 27, Negro, beld to death from cuts which police said he suffered while smashing a window.
J. W. Wright, Negro, shot by police.
Marvin Rich, 30, Negro, shot by police.
Ernest James, 24, Negro, shot by police.
Mrs. Carrie Hackworth, 29, Negro, killed by flying brick.
Fred Latheon, 24, shot.
Bishop Hass, 24, Negro shot by police.
Charles S. Grundy, Negro, shot by another Negro according to police report.
Mose Kissick, 58, Negro, shot by police.
Unidentified Negro, shot in gun fight with police.
Unidentified Negroes, shot by police.
Unidentified Negro, shot in rioting.
Unidentified Negro, found at rear of store, apparently killed by blow on the head.
Unidentified Negro, circumstances of death undetermined.
John Frailach, 43, white, found on street shot through the chest.
Dr. Joseph DeHoratiis, white, found fatally injured in his automobile in riot district.
John Bogan, 27, white, run down by hit-run car.

Felix Eboue — Black Leader of French Africa

By NAT GLICK

[illegible] FELIX SYLVESTRE EBOUE [illegible] unique and paradoxical position in [illegible] history. He is a leader of the Free [illegible] and the first colonial governor [illegible] out against Vichy. But some [illegible] believe he may be the potential leader [illegible] revolutionary, movement: the [illegible] natives from "white man's" [illegible] is not only a colonial admin- [illegible] also a Negro who is proud of [illegible]

[illegible] press here has taken this dis- [illegible] brother to its bosom. No [illegible] leader since Haile Selassie has [illegible] such publicity and adulation. To [illegible] look forward to a free and [illegible] Africa, the figure of Eboue [illegible] hope.

[illegible] background of this international [illegible] Whom does he really represent? [illegible] he be expected to play in an [illegible]

[illegible] was born some 55 years ago in [illegible] American colony of French Guinea. [illegible] family sent him to France to be [illegible] where he attended high school at [illegible] making a brilliant record. In 1909 [illegible] graduated from the School of Colonial [illegible] Paris and given his first assign- [illegible]

[illegible] arrived at Brazzaville, capital of [illegible] Congo, Eboue broke all precedents. In- [illegible] of living in the comfortable government [illegible], he traveled hundreds of miles into the [illegible]. He visited every village and kraal [illegible] administration. To become better [illegible] with the natives, he studied several [illegible] languages. Today he is one of France's [illegible] chnologists and the author of a [illegible] dictionary of Central African dia- [illegible]

[illegible] mained in Africa continually for 22 [illegible] would be difficult to find anyone [illegible] informed about the country and the [illegible]

[illegible] climbed steadily to the top of the ad- [illegible] hierarchy of the French Empire. [illegible] was appointed Secretary General of [illegible] in 1937 Governor of Guadaloupe. [illegible] months before the outbreak of World [illegible] II, he was made administrator of the Chad [illegible] in Central Africa.

Petain and Weygand capitulated to the Nazis. [illegible] June, 1940, General de Gaulle in London [illegible] on all Frenchmen to continue the fight [illegible] Germany. For two months the af- [illegible] French Africa remained uncertain.

Then from the heart of Africa came the first voice announcing a break with Vichy. On August 26, 1940, Eboue declared his support of de Gaulle's "Fighting French" forces.

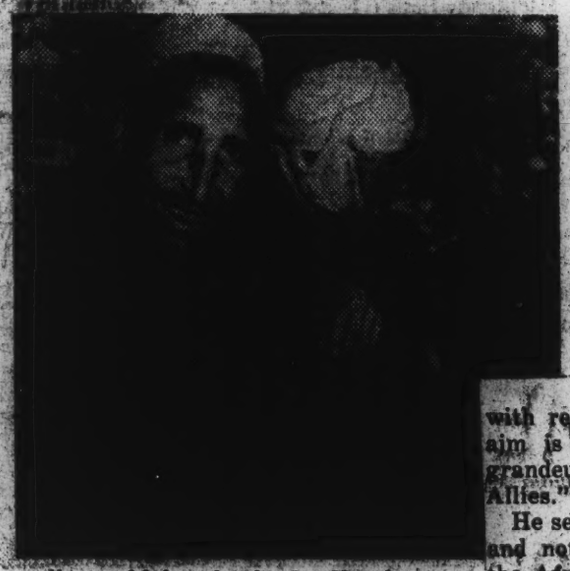
Within two days Chad was joined by three other Central Africa colonies, creating an impregnable territorial base for the anti-Fascist French. Through this area passed thousands of British planes and tens of thousands of troops to the Egyptian front.

When he visited Central Africa in September, 1940, de Gaulle rewarded Eboue's loyalty by appointing him Governor-General of all French Equatorial Africa. In this post, Eboue has been key man in Free French Africa.

* * *

THE most striking aspect of Eboue's career, to American and British eyes, is that a Negro could attain so high an office.

But France has never known the intense type of racial prejudice that flourishes so widely in the United States. The sight of a French girl and a black soldier walking arm in arm in the street or dancing together in a cafe was a common one in pre-war France. Exclusive private schools were open to white and black without discrimination. Intermarriage was frequent and many a famous Frenchman has had mixed blood. A Negro was Vice-President of the Chamber Deputies, another Under-Secretary of State. Eboue's present post is perhaps the most responsible held by a Negro in any European country.



"... Africa looks to the future."

This tradition of political and social equality, which Hitler attacked especially in "Mein Kampf" as the "Negrofying of France," explains in part the indifference of the average Frenchman to the racial propaganda of the Nazis.

But the rewards of the tradition extend only to the educated Negro who is a French citizen. The African natives under French rule have benefited little from the lack of racial prejudice. Economic exploitation is as oppressive in the French Empire as in other colonies. French colonization has been as brutal as the others in its destruction of native institutions. Communal property was abolished. The responsibility of the tribal leaders to the whole group was destroyed and in its place substituted responsibility to the new "civilized" administrators. Free French native troops are led by white officers.

How does Eboue fit into this colonial scheme?

From the imperial point of view, he is an able and efficient administrator. Portly and majestic in bearing, he is respected and liked by the natives as well as by his white subordinates. He has the knack of persuading tribal leaders to cooperate with the authorities. He is responsible for the transformation of Pointe Noire into a modern harbor. Under his rule, two trans-African roads were constructed, crossing 3,700 miles of forest, swamp and desert. The rubber output has trebled since 1938.

* * *

FROM the native point of view, Eboue is a liberal reformer. He has opposed recruiting natives for plantation and factory work. When native labor is necessary for mine work or government projects, whole families must be settled and established in the new communities.

In his study on "Native Policy in Equatorial Africa," which contains his basic view on colonial administration, Eboue wrote:

"The native must be considered as a human being, godchild of historical tradition, member of his family and of his tribe, capable of progress in the framework of his natural institutions, and probably lost if detached from this background. We must [illegible] his institutions and develop his

(Continued from Page Five)

with regard to the present war, that his "sole aim is to liberate and restore France in its grandeur and independence with the aid of our Allies."

He sees political self-determination as the last and not the first step in the emancipation of the African Negro. In the meantime, he wishes to advance "the spiritual and material life of the natives." He believes it is the moral duty of the white race to help spread higher standards of civilization and better material conditions.

His program for French Equatorial Africa includes government participation in the erection of native dwellings, building of highways, planning of schools and hospitals, installation of water, electric and hygienic facilities. New native schools have been established in collaboration with missionary societies which receive moral and financial support from the government.

The purpose of Eboue's policies is to establish a new middle class of educated natives. He would like to see the people ruled through the intermediary of their own leaders, not only tribal chiefs but the professional and business elements as well. After the war, he looks forward to "an influx of large amounts of capital which at present have no outlet."

In other words, Central Africa is to slowly undergo the development of China and India. The prospects of complete political independence is relegated to a hazy and distant future.

There is an important group of educated African Negroes who take an entirely different view of the colonial problem. For them, political self-determination comes first. They do not regard the natives as ignorant children who require outside guidance. They believe popular leaders will arise who truly reflect the aspirations of the natives. They question the motives of those who would impose European civilization on the people of Africa.

(Continued from Page Five)

on Italian cities, inhabited by men and women, children and old people, who were no more responsible for the policies of the Fascist dictatorship than were the bombed people of London or Coventry for those appeasement policies which led to the present world disaster.

The leaders of the United Nations would show greater wisdom and humanity—more becoming to the wisdom and humanity of the peoples—if they said: "We know that bombing cities is a most horrible means of warfare. We know that we are bringing untold suffering to innocent people. But we have no other means of destroying the Fascist dictatorship in Italy. It is the Fascist dictatorship which has forced this war upon us."

AS things go now, it is the Italian people who get the stick, that is the bombs, and it is the Fascist leaders who have been shown the carrot, that is they have been told that they might continue to rule Italy if only they dropped Mussolini and some of his more notorious associates. Only last week a first step in the right direction was taken by President Roosevelt, when in his press conference he stated that the Allies will "assure the Italian people an opportunity to choose the kind of government they wish after Fascism is put down."

Yet so long as juggling goes on with the Royal Family and Fascist marshals and Fascist politicians as Mussolini's acceptable successors, those words of President Roosevelt will remain ambiguous and people will be left guessing where precisely Fascism ends, and who are the Fascist leaders who have to go together with Mussolini and those who will be allowed to remain on President Roosevelt's lap.

Let us cease speculating and [illegible] Europeans what they should do to deserve [illegible] carrots after they have experienced [illegible] and the stick.

Only U. S. Action Can Protect Negroes in Army, Says Leader

Ex-Stimson Aide Calls on Administration To Halt Rising Tension in South

William H. Hastie is widely regarded as a leader of conservative Negro opinion. A graduate of Harvard Law School, he was the first Negro ever appointed to a Federal judgeship, serving in the Virgin Islands. In October, 1940, he was made a special assistant to the Secretary of War, acting as Henry L. Stimson's adviser on Negro problems. After he resigned last January, he accused the Army Air Forces Command of "reactionary policies and discriminatory practices" designed to curb Negro participation in that service. He is now dean of Howard University.

By Judge William H. Hastie

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PM WASHINGTON, June 14.—At Camp Stewart, Ga., Negro soldiers and military policemen engage in a fatal gun battle. In Centerville, Miss., a sheriff kills a Negro soldier. At Camp Shelby, Miss., two Negro soldiers lie in a hospital, wounded in an affray with highway patrolmen.

These are the headlines of the past week. No one of them is surprising. Since April military and civilian authorities have recognized Camp Stewart and the neighboring communities as powder kegs of racial tension. The Centerville violence is just one more chapter in the turbulent history of the 364th Infantry, a Negro regiment, embittered by incident after incident during a two-year period while the regiment has been shifted aimlessly from camp to camp without any prospective mission appropriate for combat troops during a war. The environs of Camp Shelby are more than familiar to the military authorities who have surveyed and studied that very area because of the acute problems of racial relations which confront the Army there.

Whites Take Precedence

A critical problem of American life in a time of war is revealing itself in a fashion which cannot be ignored. In communities throughout the South, the Negro soldier finds himself not only outside the protection of the law but even the object of lawless aggression by the officers of the law. It is only the sensational cases of shooting, killing and rioting which attract public attention. But day by day the Negro soldier faces abuse and humiliation.

He is forced to walk in the street so that white persons may use the sidewalk. He must wait for hours in bus terminals and railroad stations until all white travelers have been accommodated. He is even compelled to surrender the space he has obtained on the bus so that there may be room for additional white passengers. *Nigger* is the name by which he is usually addressed.

In such a climate resentments, hatreds and fears and misunderstandings mount until they erupt in sensational violence. Yet, both the Administration and the military authorities persist in trying to muddle through, without plan or program, hoping that somehow things will come out all right.

Army's Policy

The cautious "liberals" who advise the Administration on race relations are confronted by a situation which confounds and frightens them and leaves them impotent. Their moral equipment does not include the courage and forthrightness which this crisis demands. Their counsel must be counsel of inaction. And the Administration, convinced that it must appease and hold in political alignment the Congressional delegations from the South, is easily persuaded to a do-nothing policy in this field.

The Army, long wedded to the mores of the South and immune to the traditional [illegible] of course of

Formal investigation and report, an occasional court martial, the removal of some individual from his command and the shifting of a troublesome regiment to another station—these are the Army's customary and familiar devices. It sticks to them doggedly.

The events of the first week in June have served bloody notice that such attempts to muddle through cannot succeed. The Administration cannot ease racial tensions by working quietly behind the scenes. The Army cannot check the increasing wave of violence by ponderous investigation of each case as it occurs. The Government must take the issue to the people boldly, giving America a measure of understanding and of leadership which is now lacking.

The voices of the President and of ranking public officers which we hear over the radio urging miners to return to work, calling upon all of us to fight the black market and exhorting the purchase of war bonds must be heard on this matter of racial strife which is so seriously affecting the war effort.

What We Must Do

False fears must be allayed. At the same time Americans must be told plainly that public manifestations of race prejudice cannot and will not be permitted to impede the Nation's struggle for victory and a free world. Public opinion can be molded. Even where tensions are highest, there are many citizens, not bold enough to take the lead themselves, but decent and patriotic enough to follow those in authority who will assume the initiative.

The Army itself is busy with booklets, lectures and various devices of indoctrination, teaching our soldiers how to treat the peoples of India, the South Sea islanders, the Arabs, everyone but their fellow American soldiers. It is time, and past time, that similar effort and technique be employed in the business of building comradeship within our own Army and in relation to our own civilian communities.

Nor is it necessary to resort exclusively to such persuasion. Local military commanders have a powerful weapon in their authority to declare an entire community "out-of-bounds" or "off-limits" for all soldiers, white and black, until such time as local authorities shall take all responsible steps to protect all men in uniform against lawless violence and abuse.

The civilian community is vitally interested in the money which the soldier spends. When that source of income is cut off or even seriously threatened, action will be taken to [illegible] law enforcement

Dim-out Deadline Tonight . . . 9:32

NEW YORK

Mayor's Plea for Racial Understanding

Pledges He Will Protect Every Minority . . . Praises PM's Stand

Mayor La Guardia, in his weekly radio talk to the people, yesterday, gave a formula for community tranquillity. He paid tribute to PM for its editorial policy against racial strife, and praised A New Yorker's Pledge (see below), *with which PM readers have deluged City Hall. The Mayor said:*

Now I want to make an appeal to all my fellow New Yorkers that if there is one thing that makes our City great, the one thing that makes New York City outstanding among all cities of the world—oh, no, it's not our high buildings, oh no, it's not our great wealth. No, it's our understanding of the problems of the other fellow. It's our good neighborliness, the fact that people from every country of the world and every clime of the world are living here, or the descendants of these people from every country of the world are living here in peace and harmony. Races that in Europe are at each other's throats for centuries here live in the same apartment house peacefully, quietly. Their children go to school together, they play together, they learn together, then they marry. The children are good Americans, as they are. Let nothing happen in our City that will disturb our tranquillity. Let no snake agitator come here in New York seeking to start racial trouble.

We do not pretend that all exploitation has disappeared. We do not pretend that injustices do not any more exist. We do not pretend that equal opportunity extends to all as we would like to see it. But we do say that we are making an effort here in our City, as far as we can locally, to correct some of the conditions. We say we have made greater progress than any other city in our country. Oh, we realize the injustices that exist in some sections of our country, we know that there is exploitation here and there. We know that there is prejudice, we know that there is hatred. We don't want it to take hold in our city.

I want to appeal to all to be calm. I want to appeal to all to have understanding of his neighbor. How many times have I said in the last two years that I fear panic more than I fear enemy bombs! How many times have I attempted to explain how easy it is to start panic or disorder! How many times have I stated that a rumor, skilfully spread, might cause great consternation among groups of our people! We know that it is a technique of the Nazis. We know that it is the technique of the Fascist, but, unhappily, I must say that that technique sometimes is employed right here in our own country.

Before any rumor is believed, when you hear something exciting—pause, please pause to ascertain whether it is true or not.

At times when people are tense, when nerves are frayed from anxiety for dear ones in the armed forces which is bound to exist; when there is irritation, how easy it is to get people excited by the spreading of a false report—the spreading of a rumor that isn't true. How easy it is to get excited, to lose one's sense of balance and proportion, fighting with each other.

So if you are at the beach, if you are in the subway, or wherever you may be, consider the fact that we are all living here in this city. We're living happily, and if there is any individual dispute or some irritation, don't take it out on all of the people of one race. I will not permit, as long as I'm Mayor of this City, for any minor group to be abused by another group. I have stated that repeatedly. I will maintain law and order in this city and I will afford protection to anyone who is attacked as I will prosecute anyone who does the attacking or the provoking.

I want to take this opportunity of extending my congratulations to PM for an editorial in its issue of June 24 and spreading what they call "A New Yorker's Pledge." This sensational paper, which hasn't always been kind to the Mayor, has approached the subject in a constructive manner, much more so than some of the conservative papers have done, and I want to thank PM for its approach and also for devising the New Yorker's Pledge which so fits in with the program that I've sought to establish in this City.

Here in New York we have so much to be thankful for. We have more people better housed, I mean by percentage, than any other city in the world. We have more facilities, not as much as I would like, for our children's protection and welfare than any other city. In the development of the recreational and educational and housing facilities I have sought to give every section of the City equal consideration. Because every section, to me, is an important part of our City and all of the sections would make New York what it is, the greatest city in the world, the largest city in the world. No. The happiest city in the world, and please, help me to keep it happy.

Patience and Fortitude!

(Compare La Guardia's attitude with that of Detroit's Mayor, Page 8.)

Company Upheld In Racial Case

Warning that inciters of racial hatred impede the war effort, George J. Mintzer, an arbitrator, today upheld the action of Acme Baking Co., Brooklyn, in firing three union shop stewards who allegedly fomented a wildcat strike at the war plant on June 9 in protest against the employment of a Negro worker.

Mintzer, who was chosen by the company and Local 21 of the United Gas, Coke and Chemical workers of America, CIO, representing the employes, to arbitrate the dispute, also recommended that the three men be discharged from the union.

The stewards, all of Brooklyn, who have demanded reinstatement in their jobs, are Frank Fox, 804 Knickerbocker Ave.; Joe Gerace, 758 59th St. and Otto Chido, 14 E. 21st St.

Charging that the three men are unfit to participate in organized labor, Mintzer declared:

"No true American worker would ever try to deprive a fellow-worker of his job and his right to earn a living because of race, creed or color.

"A Negro has the same God-given right to live and to work as a white man. To deprive him of work because of his color is un-American—it is unfair and indecent. Incidents such as these frequently bring on riots and bloodshed. Then the very foundation of our democracy begins to shake. Real Americans are shocked and bow their heads in shame when they learn of these assaults upon our democratic institutions.

"It is as important for America to win the battle of production and preserve democracy on the home front as it is to win the battle of Tunisia or Guadalcanal."

If you overlooked "A New Yorker's Pledge" which we published last Thursday, here it is again today. Clip it out, sign your name and mail it to Mayor La Guardia at City Hall.

A New Yorker's Pledge

To Mayor La Guardia:

In this hour of danger, when every great city is threatened by race riots, I want to join you in doing my share to keep New York from being a house divided against itself.

I pledge you my aid, as a New Yorker and an American.

I will under no circumstance allow myself to be provoked to disorder.

I will denounce and discredit all rumors that seek to divide and confuse the people of New York.

I will resist every attempt to set me against my fellow-New Yorkers, no matter what their color, religion, or race.

To this task I pledge my energy and my honor.

Name .....

Address .....

THE NEGRO LABOR NEWS

HOUSTON, TEXAS, SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1943

VOL. 13—NO. 7 PRICE 5 CENTS

White Mobs Kill, Beat Negroes In Worst Race Riot in Years

Considerable Damage Is Done to Negro Property as Mob Fires Homes, Destroys Automobiles, Loot Houses and Women of Personal Property.

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED AS 2000 GUARDSMEN PATROL CITY

BEAUMONT.—Serious race rioting broke out here Tuesday, lasted for more than 16 hours and when dawn broke, two men, one colored and one white, were found to be killed, several score injured, an estimated $50,000 worth of damage done to Negro property, business places wrecked and looted before martial law was declared and some 2000 Texas Defense Guards patrolled the city with fixed bayonets.

For the first time in the history of the South, authorities protected Negroes during a major riot. Police, sheriffs, Texas Rangers and Guards rounded up several hundred white men bent on [illegible] placed them in jail. Many had guns and knives on them. Few Negroes have been arrested although they have inflicted injuries on some whites.

Beaumont seethed with mobs, all seemingly bent on having a holiday. They surged up and down streets in Negro neighborhoods, attacking every Negro they saw, whether they were adults or children. Autos were stopped, occupants hauled from them and beaten and their cars wrecked or burned. Police counted at least 10 Negro cars burned.

More than 3000 Negroes fled the city by foot and by auto when it became known that the riot was imminent. Some refused to run and fought the mob with whatever they could place their hands on. Shotguns and other lethal instruments were used.

One man who saw fires being set to Negro homes, said, "It was hell. I saw men set fire to homes and when firemen came to put them out, the mob would be blocks ahead setting other fires. Most of the Negroes had vanished but all could not go and when one would run out of a burning house, the mob would attack him or her. I would not be surprised if several more Negroes were found dead later," he concluded.

Police officials concurred in his statement and said they did not think hospital records reflected true numbers of the injured.

Mobs not only wrecked and burned Negro homes, but they [illegible] and wrecked white homes [illegible]

[illegible] curfew [illegible] service, restaurants and [illegible] handle Negro workers [illegible] boards have refused to go to [illegible]

Army [illegible] have not been brought [illegible] they will be if necessary [illegible] the city and its inhabitants [illegible] arms, officials said. Whites [illegible] guns of the mob.

Threats of [illegible] the war plants" were heard on all sides.

Travel to and from Beaumont is restricted to whites. Buses and automobiles were stopped and searched at the city entrances. Lieut. Col. Sidney C. Mason of Austin, has made the city out of bounds for all Army personnel.

Liquor stores and beer taverns have been closed and all public gathering places have been ordered shut. Not even playgrounds are open.

Texas Defense Guards, in their first test as to their efficiency are patrolling the city with fixed bayonets. Barbed wire has been strung around all public buildings and crowds are not permitted to loiter on the streets.

Chief of Police Dickey attributes the rioting to subversive elements among shipyard workers. "There have been numerous rumors concerning Fifth Column activities," he said. "We are checking on all the rumors—and incidentally there was not a Beaumont person in any of the mob which I saw. They were mostly shipyard workers from out of town."

There has been considerable resentment over the large number of Negroes employed in war plants in Beaumont. The recent decision of the War Labor Board wherein it was ruled that there must be equal pay for equal work is believed to be the spark which set off the riot. Local businessmen point to the fact that the mobs were composed of shipyard and war plant workers for the most part, the rest of the mob being [illegible]

into conference with some prominent white businessmen. I told them that I had heard the condition was serious and that white people were arming themselves for protection against a reported uprising of Negroes on June 19, when a mammoth celebration had been planned for the colored people.

"It was the concensus of opinion of the men to whom I talked that the rumor was false as far as the Negro was concerned. Law enforcement agencies had reported there was no evidence of Negroes planning any trouble. I

Baptist [illegible] their weekly meeting. I told them of the threatening danger of a serious race riot and asked that they appoint a committee to accompany me to the white group which had given me the information. Rev. E. H. Borden who had pastored in the city for 28 years took the position, "There is nothing to the statement, certainly, he said, 'if conditions were that bad the residents here would know it before Rice could get it in Houston.' He said he was opposed to the forming of such committee. The majority thought otherwise and appointed a committee, composed of Rev. E. H. Borden, J. T. Stewart and A. Q. Wilson.

"Two members of the committee, Rev. Borden and Wilson and myself, met at the Chamber of Commerce building, where the situation was discussed with the white members. It was agreed that the colored committee would name a survey committee. The committee was to report its findings Thursday morning at the conference where they should meet with the white members.

"A statement to the press was to be issued following Thursday's conference. References were frequently made to the amount of unrest at the Pennsylvania Shipyard.

"It had been reported some of the workers had quit their jobs [illegible]

Dim-out Deadline Tonight . . . 9:26

NEW YORK

Strikers Close War Plant When Negro Is Kept on Job

Stage Wildcat Walkout When Firm Refuses 'To Get That Guy Out of Here'

By Erwin van Swol

A wildcat strike broke out yesterday afternoon at the Acme Backing Corp., Meadow and Bogart Sts., Brooklyn, over employment of a Negro in the key department.

The plant, holder of Navy contracts which bar discrimination, was shut down at 1:55 p.m.

The Negro with whom the 100 strikers refused to work is Segundo Corchado, 51, of 246 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn.

No Child-Care

Corchado got back to the U. S. A. on Apr. 24, after a hitch that began Sept. 5, 1942, on a freighter which delivered ammunition, tanks and other war material at Oran for the invasion of North Africa.

He returned and found his wife too ill to care for his youngsters, the oldest 15. He wanted to go back to the job of helping carry supplies to our fighting forces, but found there were no adequate child-care facilities in the Bedford section.

He got the job at Acme Monday. The first day he ran an elevator, Tuesday he worked in the warehouse. Yesterday he was shifted to help out in the spreading room.

The shift was made at 12:30, after lunch. Corchado did not get much chance to show what he could do. When the 35 other workers had finished the jobs in front of them, three shop stewards went down to see Everett R. Jenkins, the factory superintendent. They told him:

"Get that guy (Corchado) out of the spreading room. If you don't, we'll quit."

Jenkins replied:

"That man is going to stay there. We have Navy contracts. He's needed. I'll give you 10 minutes to get back to work, or I'll fire you."

The three shop stewards left. At the end of the 10 minutes, all the men in the spreading room, and about 65 others in the plant, which employs a total of about 135 people, had filed out.

Corchado and three other Negro employes were sent home to avoid trouble. They were told their pay would not be docked and that they should report for work this morning.

The firm notified the union, Local 121, United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO. Its officials were shocked. The business agent, Leo Velardi, rushed over and pleaded with the men to go back. They refused.

The strikers held a mass meeting in a tavern near the plant.

Leaders Plead

Velardi brought them messages from Charles Schroeder, president of the local, and Martin Wagner, international president.

Schroeder said:

"This stoppage is not sanctioned by the union. It's a direct violation of the policy of the local and the constitution of the international union."

Wagner said the labor organization never before had had a discriminatory walkout. He urged the men to go back.

A merchant seaman told them how badly their work was needed.

The firm offered to take all the workers back and to put the cases of the stewards up for arbitration. The strikers rejected that unanimously. They sidestepped the issue of whether they would work with Corchado, but voted not to go back without the stewards. They said they would be waiting outside the plant this morning.

Schroeder promised that the local would take discriplinary action against the three stewards who called the stoppage.

He said he was amazed by the workers' action, since several hundred members of the local are Negroes and the union has several Negro officers. There never was trouble over a man's color before, he said.

"This union always has been in the forefront in protecting the rights of the Negro worker," he said. "The strikers should go back to work, not be parties to sabotaging the war effort."

Segundo Corchado, cause of a Brooklyn war plant strike, is shown here with four of his five youngsters: Maria Theresa, 2; Ethel, 6; Matthew, 10, and Patricia, 12. Julian, 15, was out playing. *Photo by Dan Keleher, PM*

New York Amsterdam News

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1943

On the New FEPC

The new Fair Employment Practice Committee set up by President Roosevelt on May 28, is, we hope, an indication of an honest effort by the Federal Government to make the committee really fair and effective. The fact that the President saw fit to issue another executive order to establish a second Fair Employment Practice Committee in less than two years proves two things:

(1) Job discrimination against American citizens because of race, religion and national origin is still so serious that it is impeding the nation's war effort.

(2) The scrapped FEPC failed miserably to cope successfully with the problem of job discrimination in the Federal Gov't. and in private industry.

Meantime, if the new FEPC is not to be a flop also, and do nothing to increase the effective use of critically needed man and woman power it must crack down impartially on any private business or Federal agency that violates the President's new executive order. For total war requires total use of total manpower to the best of its ability.

The new FEPC must also recognize that it is the responsibility of the Federal Gov't. to see that all citizens, regardless of race, religion or national origin, are afforded equal opportunities for employment in private industry, now supported practically entirely by the people, and, of course, in the Gov't.

Ever since the War of the Rebellion the Federal Gov't. has generally failed to protect the economic or any other kind of rights of many American citizens, especially Negroes. Now with the nation's back literally to the wall and democracy still little more than a mere dream at home and abroad, it is mandatory that our Gov't. itself prove to its own citizens and to hundreds of millions of people in other lands that it actually means to do its level best to establish freedom from want and fear, and freedom of religion and the press for all of the people. If this is not done it is doubtful if we and our allies can win the war or the peace.

But the war can be won and a real peace preserved if the so-called democracies begin now to establish true economic, civic and political democracy in their own lands. FEPC 2 will be, we hope, an honest and determined attempt by the U. S. Government to set up equal employment opportunities for all Americans. At least it is a step in the right direction.

But the record of FEPC1 and the do-nothing policy of the Government for 68 years or more in this regard are, unfortunately, too vivid at this time to cause us to be optimistic about WEPC 2. We do, however, wish it Godspeed, but with our fingers crossed tightly.

Parley Demands End to Race Bars

Abolishment of "Jim Crowism" in America and judgment of workers and citizens by character, and not by color, was the theme in the second session of the "We Are Americans, Too" conference at the Metropolitan Community Church, 4100 South Park Way.

The 500 delegates, called together by the March on Washington Movement, sent a resolution to majority and minority leaders in both houses of Congress and to five other senators and representatives.

The message read:

"We call upon you to sponsor legislation creating a national commission on race to study basis of recent riots, economic, social and political conditions, including housing, recreation, employment, education and law enforcement agencies in relation to the Negro, and the government's policy on racial segregation."

Today's conference will study "The Clash of Color and Post-War Reconstruction." Sessions will continue tomorrow and through Sunday.

NEGROES PLAN CONFERENCE ON POST-WAR ROLE

A subcommittee to draft plans for a conference of western hemisphere Negroes, possibly in New York next fall, was named yesterday by the executive committee of the March on Fashington movement. The conference had been proposed during a five day meeting of the movement which closed Sunday. At the proposed conference, the problems of Negroes would be discussed with a view to presenting a program for them at the peace table after the war.

The directors also named a subcommittee on "non-violent good will direct action," to study methods of obtaining Negroes' objectives without resort to violence. It is tentatively planned that the subcommittee establish an institute for this study at Howard university, Washington, D. C. A third subcommittee on marches was named to recommend where and when any demonstrations before local, state, or national governments should be staged.

The directors decided to act as a "committee of the whole" in cooperating with President Roosevelt's reorganized committee on fair employment practices, which meets today and tomorrow in Washington, D. C.

Appoint Them, Mr. Mayor

A week ago today Mayor Kelly announced that he intended to appoint a "Committee on Discrimination" to study racial issues in the city and work out a program to [illegible] them. That was an excellent decision, we said at the time. But there is no com[illegible]

The mayor knows that Chicago has been forewarned. There is reason to believe that less tension exists here than in Detroit, Los Angeles, Mobile and Beaumont on the eve of outbreaks that horrified America. But nothing is gained by pretense that serious danger does not obtain, here and now, in Chicago.

As the first step in its elimination it is the duty of Mayor Kelly to appoint the Committee on Discrimination, at once.

Some may doubt that a "mere committee" can be more than window dressing. Window dressing it certainly can be—but not if Mayor Kelly chooses the right kind of members and tells them to get down to fundamentals.

The mayor said a week ago that the committee would comprise both Negro and white citizens. It would include two members of the City Council, and representatives of industry, labor and the professions. That is as it should be—provided that Mr. Kelly sees and acts upon this reality:

It is not enough that the men and women selected be "representatives," however prominent, of the groups in question. Each should have a genuine contribution to offer. They must be prepared to devote time and serious study. All members of the committee need not be citizens who believe firmly in racial democracy. Some of them certainly ought to be experts in racial problems.

We assume that the mayor, in mentioning professions, did not exclude the clergy or university faculties. He does not need to be reminded that the religious and educational leadership of Chicago includes certain men known throughout America for their expert competence in promoting racial justice.

The task of the committee should be to discover what causes are now foremost in producing racial animosities, and how to make headway against those causes. Certainly it must examine Negro housing and seek to produce maximum wartime construction to relieve the shortage which makes much of the Negro section on the South Side an increasingly disgraceful ghetto. It must inquire closely into the plans of the police to prevent outbreaks. It must take whatever steps are required to increase grounds for confidence among Negroes that, from the police and all in authority, they can depend on the same fair treatment as white citizens. It must combat discrimination in industry. It must lead in counselling Negroes and whites to patience, good will and tolerance.

Why delay longer, Mr. Mayor? The responsibility is yours. Your duty is to act at once in the foremost problem that confronts you and your city.

THE NEW YORK TIMES — JUNE 5 1943

TWO NATIONS BACK WORLD POLICE UNIT

British and Americans Favor It by Identical Vote, Gallup Poll Finds

74% GIVE ENDORSEMENT

Attitude Strongly Rooted Here That We Cannot Be Isolationists

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 4—If a group of conscientious reporters were to travel around England gathering the views of the common people concerning an international police force, then cross the Atlantic and talk to a cross-section of the American people from Maine to California, they would find that exactly the same proportion in each country—seventy-four persons out of every 100—favor participation in a world police force after the war.

That is what public opinion surveys in the two countries found when they questioned the common people.

If there is as much agreement between the British and American publics on other post-war questions as there is on this one, many possible controversies involving the two countries will be avoided.

In Britain, the question put to voters by the British Institute of Public Opinion was this:

"After the war, would you like to see Britain joining with other countries to form an international police force?"

The vote is:

Yes	74%
No	10
Undecided	16

In the United States, the American Institute of Public Opinion put the question as follows:

"Should the countries fighting the Axis set up an international police force after the war is over to try to keep peace throughout the world?

The results are:

Yes	74%
No	14
Undecided	12

Here in the United States the attitude toward the international police force reveals public willingness to translate into action the belief that we can no longer afford to stay out of world affairs.

In a poll during March, more than three-quarters of those questioned across the country voted in favor of this country's taking an active part in world affairs after the present war is over.

Furthermore, nearly two-thirds questioned in another recent poll thought the government should take steps now to set up with our Allies a world organization to maintain the future peace of the world.

Randolph Urges Mass Attendance At MOWM's "We Are Americans Too" Confab In Chicago

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington Movement, has directed to be issued from his national headquarters in the Theresa Hotel Building, a call for all Negroes to attend the "We Are Americans Too" conference in Chicago from June 30th to July 4th. At this time, leaders of the MOWM will decide when it is necessary to march on Washington and if it is necessary at all.

Upwards of 14,000,00 Negroes are disturbed by the turn democracy has taken in this country and in the world, says "The Call," now being released throughout America. "Negroes are anxious lest the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms and the Constitution of the United States be destroyed by the fascist forces from within."

Struggled For Sixty-Eight Years

Randolph says that for sixty-eight years, the Negro has struggled for his full share in this democracy. He has made use of every parliamentary device to make known his grievances and demand redress. He has asked for full-fledged citizenship with all the rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereo. Alas, he has enjoyed second class citizenship with a black cabinet between him and his government. In the place of economic equality, the Negro has been given charity grants; for political equality, he has been given jim-crow and lynching; for religious equality, he has been given goodwill and a white God. The world is now going through a great revolution, testing whether this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated to double standards of citizenship and justice, can long endure. The pulse beat of the nation is quickened by this volcano that disturbs men's souls. The very universe is troubled and discomforted. People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. The need for mass organization is now. Negro Americans must awaken to the cause of their nation's freedom. Black men who have long cherished democracy from a far, must arise and take this sacred goddess for themselves.

Chicago Meeting Supported

The "We Are Americans Too" conference will be far reaching and the most dramatic meeting of its kind in the history of the Negro's search for freedom. Outstanding Negro leaders from all fields of endeavor are supporting the meeting and the program of the March on Washington Movement. Men from the sidewalks who feel the real sting of jim crow more than the more well-to-do, are flooding the national headquarters with requests for membership in the organization, anxious to get a chance to take a part in the fight for real democracy. Many of these average Americans are aroused because of the recent pamphlet, "The War's Greatest Scandal — Jim-Crow In Uniform," distributed and sold in large numbers by the MOWM in the interest of our boys who [illegible] suffering in the [illegible]

Saturday, June 5, 1943
NEW YORK AGE

Liberian President To Be Honored With Formal Dinner June 11 At Hotel Roosevelt

His Excellency, Edwin Barclay, President of the Republic of Liberia will be in New York City to attend a dinner in his honor at the Roosevelt Hotel, on June 11th, at 8:00 p.m. This dinner is being sponsored by an inter-racial committee of about 150 outstanding citizens. A few well-known persons on the Committee, are: Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Mr. and Mrs. Deaver P. Young, Max Yergan, William Wortham, Walter White, Henry K. Craft, Clifford L. Alexander, Mrs. Lester Walton, Judge and Mrs. James S. Watson, Ludlow Werner, Rev. Ben Richardson, Hon. Vito Marcantonio. Lester Granger and Rev. John H. Johnson.

Because of the diplomatic precedent set by Washington's acceptance and treatment of the Barclay retinue, great interest has been aroused by the public, and an overflow attendance is expected at the dinner.

A limited number of tickets will be available at the office of the Treasurer, A. A. Austin, 205 West 125th street Room 108 and at the Business Office of the Harlem Branch YMCA, 180 West 135th street. All other reservations to be mailed to the Committee Headquarters, Room 805, 247 Madison avenue. Reservations must be made by June 9th.

A few of those who have been asked to participate on the program are: Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Judge Hubert T. Delany, Walter White, Judge Jonah Goldstein, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, jr., A. Philip Randolph, Max Yergan, Rev. John H. Johnson, Lester Granger, and Anson Phelps Stokes.

W.L.B. Gives Negroes Equal Pay With Whites for Equal Work

By Nicholas P. Gregory

WASHINGTON, June 6.—The National War Labor Board abolished today the classification of "colored laborer" and "white laborer" and ordered the elimination of pay differentials between white and Negro workers performing equal work.

Under the board's unanimous opinion, the Southport Petroleum Company of Texas City, Tex., is ordered to grant wage increases to its Negro employees which would "place them on a basis of economic parity with the white workers in the same classification."

The company has accepted the board's decision "in good faith and spirit," the opinion discloses. The employees, members of the Oil Workers' International, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, will receive a wage increase of either 5 per cent or 5½ cents, whichever is higher.

Although only a small number of employees will be affected at the Southport company's facilities, the board's decision will affect virtually every Negro employed in war industries who has been subject to salary differentials with white workers.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, public member of the board and president of the University of North Carolina, who explained the decision on behalf of the N. W. L. B., pointed out that the increase will not bring the rates at the Southport field above the minimum of the wage bracket in the prevailing range of rates for other oil fields in the area.

The following is a text of Dr. Graham's opinion:

"In this small but significant case the National War Labor Board abolishes the classifications 'colored laborer' and 'white laborer' and reclassifies both simply as 'laborers' with the same rates of pay for all in that classification without discrimination on account of color. The Negro workers in this classification are hereby granted wage increases which place them on a basis of economic parity with the white workers in the same classification. This wage increase is made without regard to the 'Little Steel' formula, but with

(Continued on page 6, column 2)

W. L. B. Orders Parity in Pay For Negroes

(Continued from page one)

regard simply for the democratic formula of equal pay for work equal in quantity and quality in the same classification. This equalization of economic opportunity is not a violation of the sound American provision of differentials in pay for differences in skills. It is rather a bit of realization of the no less sound American principle of equal pay for equal work as one of those equal rights in the promise of American democracy regardless of color, race, sex, religion or national origin.

Accepted in Good Faith

"The unanimous decision is in line with the President's executive order 8802; with the general policy of the board; with the union's request; with the recommendation of the referee, Dr. Thomas J. Ragusa; with the unanimous recommendation of the review committee composed of representatives of labor, industry and the public; with prophetic Americanism; and with the cause of the United Nations. To the credit of the company this decision, along with other decisions in the case, is accepted by management in good faith and spirit.

"Economic and political discrimination on account of race or creed is in line with the Nazi program. America, in the days of its infant weakness the haven of heretics and the oppressed of all races, must not in the days of its power become the stronghold of bigots. The world has given America the vigor and variety of its differences. America should protect and enrich its differences for the sake of America and the world. Understanding religious and racial differences make for a better understanding of other differences and for an appreciation of the sacredness of human personality, as a basic step to human freedom. The American answer to differences in color and creed is not a concentration camp but co-operation. The answer to human error is not terror but light and liberty under the moral law. By this light and liberty, the Negro has made a contribution in work and faith, song and story, laughter and struggle which are an enduring part of the spiritual heritage of America.

The Negro Acclaimed

"There is no more loyal group of our fellow citizens than the American Negroes, North and South. In defense of America from attack from without, they spring to arms in the spirit of Dorie Miller of Texas, the Negro mess boy, who, when the machine gunner on the Arizona was killed, jumped to his unappointed place and fired the last rounds as the ship was sinking in Pearl Harbor.

"It is the acknowledged fact that in spite of all the handicaps of slavery and discrimination, the Negro in America has compressed more progress in the shortest time than any race in human history. Slavery gave the Negro his Christianity. Christianity gave the Negro his freedom. This freedom must give the Negro equal rights to home and health, education and citizenship, and an equal opportunity to work and fight for our common security.

"Whether [illegible] seen or for [illegible] opportunity to work and [illegible] The Negro is necessary for [illegible] ning the war, and, at the same time, is a test of our sincerity [illegible] the cause for which we are fighting. More hundreds of thousands of colored people are involved in the outcome of this war than the combined populations of the Axis powers. Under Hitler and his master race, their [illegible]

backward to slavery and despair. In America, the colored people have the freedom to struggle for freedom. With the victory of the democracies, the human destiny is toward freedom, hope, equality of opportunity and the gradual fulfillment for all peoples of the noblest aspirations of the brothers of men and the sons of God, without regard to color or creed, religion or race, in the world neighborhood of human brotherhood."

Meanwhile, the National Negro Council and other Negro groups at mass meetings at the Shiloh Baptist Church here urged the President to disband the fair employment practices committee, charging that it is "an unpardonable snare and a fraud to delude 13,000,000 patriotic and loyal Negro Americans and their just constitutional rights by building false hopes of equality and employment in the government services and the war industries."

PITTSBURGH, PA., SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1943 PRICE TEN CENTS

10.1% Payroll Deductions

Segregated Pattern In Industry Looms As Result Of FEPC Decision In Mobile Case

HAAS COMPROMISE BITTERLY SCORED

Opponents See Government Approval Of Segregation — Dr. Graham Issues WLB Ruling Outlawing Race Classifications

By JOHN P. DAVIS
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, June 10—A sharp struggle over the future of FEPC, which involves the question of the whole future status of Negro workers in industry, is developing at rapid pace this week. Before many weeks have passed it is likely that this battle will loom as one of the most bitter and significant actions on the home front.

Here in brief is the FEPC news this week: Monsignor Francis Joseph Haas, newly selected chairman of the FEPC, sworn in at the White House on May 31, last week, postponed again—this time indefinitely—the FEPC hearings on discrimination against Negro workers by the Capitol Transit company, which had already once before been postponed.

APPROVES MOBILE SOLUTION

Reasons given for this action were that the full six-man committee, created under the new executive order (Executive Order 9346 replacing Executive Order 8802) of President Roosevelt, had not been named and that hearings would not be held until the committee had been re-organized.

Next Monsignor Haas announced that a solution of the difficulties at the shipyard of the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding company had been approved by him, by the War Manpower Commission Chairman, Paul V. McNutt, by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Ralph Bard), by the chairman of the U.S. Maritime Commission (Rear Admiral Emory S. Land).

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

Canadian Mass Rally Sets Off Bias Fight

MONTREAL, Canada—At one of the largest Negro meetings ever held in Canada, demands to end discrimination based on color, race, religion or national origin were introduced at a meeting, June 6, at Union United Church.

An organizing committee was formed in the meeting, of which Rev. Charles Este, pastor of Union, was elected chairman and Velmer Coward, secretary.

The Committee will set up a permanent organization to fight discrimination and will set up branches throughout the Dominion of Canada. One of its chief objectives will be to secure the enactment of a Civil Rights Bill at Ottawa.

Principle speaker was A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who was here to make plans for union recognition for Sleeping Car Brotherhood of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Victor I. Coward was chairman of the meeting.

The Neglected' Virgin Islands

Editor's Note: This is the fourth in a series of articles on the Virgin Islands by Ashly L. Totten, president, Virgin Islands Civic Association.

Speaking of Governor Pearson's administration, many people argued that he had a top-heavy Cabinet and had created too many jobs for his friends on the mainland.

Mr. Totten

Admitting that he secured scholarships for natives at various Southern Negro colleges, it was alleged that placements made for these graduates meant nothing because they had no experience.

In the meantime a vast army of hungry, job-seeking politically minded opportunists took advantage of the situation to organize certain native agitators and a movement started to run Pearson out of the islands.

The most vicious of these agitators was a man named Morris Davis, a venal minded dangerous ignoramus of the first order who up to the time of his death carried on a reign of terror and abuse against everyone who refused to be bullied by him.

Despite his many convictions and criminal record, Pearson never molested him. When Davis led the mob to the Government mansion and dared Pearson to come out, the gray haired Quaker appeared quietly and faced them. Nothing happened because Davis was the only one paid to stage this demonstration.

Those who criticized him unjustly have since admitted that he made a contribution to the Virgin Islands that will ever remain a monument to his memory. It is interesting to note how some Virgin Islanders react to the veiled deception of certain whites from the mainland.

Former Federal Judge Wilson, a white Mississippian, was considered an idol by many to whom he preached the gospel of Christ simultaneously with his campaign to destroy the usefulness of Pearson. On the mainland, most colored Americans would be rather inclined to view with grave suspicion any references to Christianity from a white Mississippian.

Wilson was a bitter opponent of Pearson. Whether he was justified or as some believe he wanted the Governor's job this writer has been unable to find out.

Numerous natives representing the Pearson faction argue that it was bad policy on the part of a Federal judge to openly attack the Governor indicating to the agitators and their followers that the judiciary was on their side.

This feud came to a sudden end when President Roosevelt removed both Pearson and Wilson from office by accepting their resignations in other words the prisoners condemned to die saved their lives by dying in prison.

[illegible] the islands everywhere [illegible] sense of human understanding. William H. Hastie, first Negro Federal judge was admired and respected by everyone. The same is true of Herman Moore, present incumbent. Lawrence W. Cramer a white liberal was in a class by himself and Robert M. Lovett, Government secretary is, as many in the United States believed he would be, considered a real friend of the people.

By the same line of reasoning, any executive who refuses to be influenced by the Bourbons and uppercrust Negroes will have to answer to the Interior Department is the popular belief.

If a Bourbon wants to be appointed to a high post even though he is reputed to have wealth and cannot pass a Civil Service examination, he is likely to get it. The story is told of a white native at St. Croix who held three jobs at one time. This is unbelievable in that he is a rich plantation owner of nine estates with a vast acreage.

[illegible] or not. As a matter of fact you would be considered quite impolite if you are not prepared to acknowledge every salute or greeting when walking in the streets.

Virgin Islanders have been asked would they want a Negro Governor? The answer is they are not opposed to any Governor because of race. They are unalterably opposed to an executive who fails to administer to the needs of the underprivileged classes.

Any executive black or white will endear himself in the hearts of the natives if he has a high

Text Of New Roosevelt Order On Fair Employment Practic

WASHINGTON— The White House this week issued the text of the new executive order establishing a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

The full text of the new order defines the powers and duties of the committee as follows:

"In order to establish a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices, Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, as amended by Executive Order No. 8823 of July 18, 1941, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

WHEREAS the successful prosecution of the war demands the maximum employment of all available workers regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin; and

"WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the war effort by all persons in the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Evidence of Bias

"WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in war production solely by reason of their race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of the prosecution of the war, the workers' morale, and national unity:

"NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of all employers, including the several federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this order, to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Nine-Point Order

"It is hereby ordered as follows:

"1. All contracting agencies of the government of the United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

"2. All departments and agencies of the government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"3. There is hereby established in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, hereinafter referred to as the committee, which shall consist of a chairman and not more than six other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the President not exceeding $10,000 per year. The other members of the committee shall receive necessary traveling expenses and, unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed by the President, a per diem allowance not exceeding $25 per day and subsistence expenses on such days as they are actually engaged in the performance of duties pursuant to this order.

Tells Powers

"4. The committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various federal departments and agencies and to the President which it deems necessary and proper to make effective the provisions of this order. The committee shall also recommend to the chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, color, or national origin. The committee shall receive and

crimination forbidden by this order. It may conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

"6. Upon the appointment of the committee and the designation of its chairman, the Fair Employment Practice committee established by Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, hereinafter referred to as the old committee, shall cease to exist. All records and property of the old committee and such unexpended balances of allocations or other funds available for its use as the director of the bureau of the budget shall determine shall be transferred to the committee. The committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matters pending before the old committee and shall conduct such investigations and hearings as may be necessary in the performance of its duties under this order.

Provides For Funds

"7. Within the limits of the funds which may be made available for that purpose, the chairman shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel and make such provision for such supplies, facilities, and services as may be necessary to carry out this order. The committee may utilize the services and facilities of other federal departments and agencies and such voluntary and uncompensated services as may from time to time be needed. The committee may accept the services of state and local authorities and officials, and may perform its functions and duties and exercise its powers conferred upon it by this order through such officials, agencies and in such manner as it may determine.

"8. The committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this order.

"9. The provisions of any other pertinent executive order inconsistent with this order are hereby superseded."

Most Jetailed Greatest Scandal Story It Tells

'Jimcro in Uniform' Tells Story of Negro Soldiers

A new work done in masterly style is **The War's Greatest Scandal,** or in plain words the story of **Jimcro in Uniform,** was released this week. It comes from the pen of Dwight McDonald, brilliant writer, with the research being done just as superbly by Nancy McDonald. The new pamphlet presents the true picture of jimcroism in the armed forces and is intended to enlist the mind and will of all Americans regardless of race or creed. It is purposed to deal with all persons concerned with the democracy under which we live and breathe. American people today are disturbed by the existence of an American army for whites, another for colored; one navy for colored and another for whites. There are millions of those who feel that this is not the time to have jimcro armies, navies, marine corps, or what have you. It is time for the American people to know that there is oppression, exploitation and many indignities heaped upon the heads of the American be he in or out of the armed services, particularly to the latter.

Without stopping to ask permission, we reprint excerpts from the recently published pamphlet, "Jim Crow in Uniform." Along with other sections of the Negro press, the Express attempts to encourage national morale and unity among colored people for the war effort. Believing, however, in the freedom of the press, and that all sides to any question should be aired, we present herewith Express news ed Leroy Washington's condemnation of the pamphlet. We offer no editorial opinion, one way or the other—The Editor.

Executive Secretary of The March on Washington Movement, E. Pauline Myers, in her foreword on "The War's Greatest Scandal," tells in her militant way that organization's struggle for complete equality for all men regardless of race, religion or national origin, and of her group's upward fight in the struggle to preserve and extend democracy in this country, especially to Negro Americans in the army and navy, marines and other services, now fighting for the very things that white Americans are denying them on these shores.

In the fearlessly written booklet excerpts are published, being taken from newspapers, magazines and from other authentic news-gathering sources. One tells of the hanging of a Negro private, Felix Hall, who was found hanging from a tree, arms and legs bound, near Fort Benning, Ga., where he was serving his country. Another comes from Fayetteville, NC, where Private Need Turman, Negro engineer, was killed with other Negro soldiers. Still another comes from Prescott, Ark., where 43 Negro soldiers were violently persecuted and brutally beaten by whites, cops and civilians.

Injustices and brutalities in Alexandria, La., Savannah, Ga., Beaumont, Tex., Vallejo, Calif., all army and navy locations, were also aired in the new booklet. These things have happened in an army said to be fighting for democracy. These told are still happening each day of the year, and sometimes more than once a day in various sections where Negro soldiers, sailors and marines are stationed. These mentioned could be multiplied a hundredfold and still more.

It is mere good luck that this undeclared war against part of our own armed forces has not broken out into large-scale rioting, bloodshed and lynching. The pattern is always the same: brutal and humiliating treatment of Negroes wearing the uniform of their country, and complete failure of the higher authorities to protect those wearing that uniform. It may be remembered that near this state (Ohio) within recent weeks, that a white commanding officer shot a Negro serviceman coldbloodedly. His only punishment was a transfer to a higher position in another camp. There is a fantastic situation in the armed services supposedly dedicated to the wiping out of Nazi racialism. But how can the race expect anything else when the race sees those in command adopting as their official policy the very doctrine of Hitler.

"MASTER RACE" VS. "WHITE SUPREMACY"

Half a million Negroes are now bearing arms in the service of their country. Great numbers are volunteers although many

teers for the army in 1940-41 were Negroes, according to the Office of War Information. In return for their patriotism, the Negroes of America have been jimcroed into segregated regiments and used largely as servants and laborers. Although there is a shortage of army nurses, at last reports considerably fewer than 200 Negro nurses had been accepted—for an army nurse is a commissioned officer, and the army doesn't want too many Negroes with commissions! Radio technicians are badly needed. No Negroes need apply. The air corps desperately needs weather officers. Negroes are not eligible—their duties might take them to all-white airfields. Registered pharmacists are in great demand—that is, if their skins are white. From every battlefront the cry goes up: More pilots! And not one Negro flyer has yet seen combat. The outstanding hero of Pearl Harbor was Dorie Miller, who singlehanded worked a machine-gun against Jap planes until his hands and arms were blistered and scarred. Yet Dorie Miller, who got the highest medals for bravery in action, was only a messman, barred by regulations from rising to combat status. For Dorie Miller's skin was black.

If you are interested in winning the war, this is a criminal waste of human resources. If you are interested in democracy, it means spreading the poison of legalized, official jimcro from the deep South, throughout our entire national life and even overseas. For various reasons, the army and navy have always had an unusually high proportion of Southerners in their officers' corps. A man doesn't lose his prejudices when he puts on a uniform. And so a doctrine of "White Supremacy" which is simply Hitler's "Nordic Supremacy" in Cracker lingo has become the official policy of the American armed forces. Racialism is monstrous in Nazi Germany but OK in the USArmy.

There is, of course, no more scientific basis for American jimcro than there is for Hitler's anti-Semitism, which is to say there is no basis at all. Other nations don't feel this way about the Negro. In the last war, the French were shocked and bewildered by the treatment of colored troops in the AEF. In this war, it is the turn of the British to be shocked. The jimcro policies which American officers have tried to enforce among our troops in England have aroused the greatest indignation in Parliament. "That is the last thing the British Parliament would tolerate," recently declared Viscount Simon, Lord Chancellor of England. His sentiments were echoed by the humble pubkeeper who tacked up a sign at the entrance to his bar: FOR THE USE OF THE BRITISH AND COLORED AMERICANS ONLY.

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

"Negroes are too cowardly and shiftless to make fighting troops, they are fit only for labor gangs, they must have white officers because their own race doesn't produce officer material, it would be demoralizing to mix them with white troops, etc, etc." These are the kind of slanders that are circulated, privately, to justify the humiliations put upon the Negro in the armed forces today. All right, let's have a look at the record:

- the first American to give his life in the Revolutionary cause was Crispus Attucks, a Negro, who fell at the first volley of the Boston Massacre. More than 6,000 colored soldiers fought with Washington (and were rewarded after the war by being told by their Commander-in-Chief: "Return to your masters like good n . . . s) An outstanding Revolutionary naval hero was Mark Starlin, a former slave, who commanded the warship, **Patriot.**
- in the War of 1912, Andrew Jackson had high praise for the conduct of his Negro troops in the Battle of New Orleans, and Commodore Perry said of his Negro sailors: "While America has such tars, she has little to fear from tyrants of the ocean."
- over 200,000 Negroes fought in the Union ranks in the Civil War (and were rewarded by getting lower pay than white [illegible] colored [illegible] Infantry [illegible]

Our Unconstitutional Armies Are Inexcusable

Excerpt from "The War's Greatest Scandal," the most recent story of jimcro in uniform:

Jimcro in the army is all the more inexcusable because there is a specific clause forbidding it in the 1940 Draft Act. Few people are aware of the existence of this clause, Section (a) which reads as follows:

In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.

The military authorities are thus violating the spirit if not the letter of the very law which permits them to draft civilians into the army. Yet neither Congress, which passed the law, nor President Roosevelt, who signed it, have raised the slightest protest. How is this possible?

New FEPC Head Has Fine Record as Conciliator

By MARGARET LEWIS

WASHINGTON

In response to the question, "Who is Father Haas?", new chairman of the FEPC, Msgr. Francis J. Haas on Tuesday, through his secretary, Miss Judith Barrett, refused to grant the press an interview, "until the executive order goes through."

But there is a record on the new FEPC chairman, and the record says:

The clergyman was born in Racine, Wis., March 18, 1889, son of Peter F. and Mary L. Haas, placing his age at 54.

He attended St. Francis Seminary from 1904-1913, graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1921, received his Ph.D. from Catholic U. in 1922, and his doctor of laws from Wisconsin in 1936.

A Friend of the Worker

From that point on the life of the black-haired, thin-lipped, Irish-nosed priest is a series of holding high positions and participating in labor fights and investigations — on the side of the worker.

The worker has a right to use equipment and machinery to produce goods and services needed, he told the Catholic Social Action Congress in Cleveland on June 12, 1939.

Stressing the right of the laborer and his family to security, the clergyman insisted, "he has the right to freedom, the right to industrial peace and just standards of business morality.

"Our forefathers of the eighteenth century abolished political slavery. Our fathers of the nineteenth century rooted out social slavery. That was their right and duty. And this is ours: that we shall destroy the economic slavery that is the latest fetter that holds back man from his God-given destiny of freedom."

Fighting for Labor Since 1921

His fight for labor rights began back in 1921 when he was a member of the group which made a survey of the arbitration system in the men's clothing industry in Chicago, New York, Rochester and Baltimore.

He has been a member of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America since 1929, served on the Labor Advisory Board, NRA, 1933-35; National Labor Board, '33-34, and the Labor Policies Board, WPA, '35-39.

He was a member of the National Resources Planning Board and Puerto Rico Wage Committee, Wage and Hour Division, 1940; has held office in the American Association for Labor Legislation; was one of the founders of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, is a member of the Sociology Society, League of Nations Association and Carnegie Peace Union.

FEPC, Urban League Men Help Settle Shipyard Clash

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT

MOBILE, Ala. — Three of the best trouble shooters in the country on the race question were here to handle the outbreak at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company.

Representing the Fair Employment Practice Committee was Clarence M. Mitchell, principal examiner, of Baltimore, who arrived here by plane Wednesday with a white colleague, E. G. Trimble.

Franklin O. Nichols, field secretary of the National Urban League, who is currently in charge of the Southern Division, represented his organization.

James E. Jackson, one of the founders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, was here for his group.

Old Hands on Job

Mitchell and Nichols are old hands in this kind of work and have been together previously in similar situations. The former, called by the local press a Roosevelt aide, was formerly in charge of field service with the War Manpower Commission, before being assigned to the FEPC.

Nichols has been working in this field since the first World War when he was a member of the AEF University in Europe.

Jackson helped organize the Youth Congress in 1937. Since that time both he and the Congress have been very vocal on race problems, particularly in the deep South. He is a graduate of Va. Union and Howard Universities.

CIO Man Here

Also here was Elijah Jackson, national organizer of the International Shipbuilders and Marine Workers of America, CIO, who has sat in on all important conferences concerning the crisis.

He has also had previous experience in racial disturbances. Several weeks ago he was injured in a row at a Savannah, Ga., shipyard.

June 5, 1943

THE EXPRESS

FEPC Reorganized Under New Chief

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—The long-awaited [illegible] the reorganization of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice came through Friday afternoon, and a press conference was immediately called by Msgr. Francis J. Haas, the newly appointed chairman, to explain and discuss its contents. Fr. Haas declined to explain how the order would be implemented, pending the appointment of the other members of the committee. He would give no indication when appointments would be made, but did not believe them likely before June 2, the date to which the hearing into the Capital Transit co had been postponed. Here are the basic elements contained in the new order, which was dated May 27:

● it carries a preamble of four paragraphs in which the emphasis of the committee's work is placed upon "successful prosecution of the war," and requiring "the several Federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations . . . to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment or union membership,

● nine sections follow which define organization, methods and procedures, and powers. The word "employe" has been substituted for the word "worker" as carried in the original Executive Order 8802, and specific reference is made to discrimination against "any employe or applicant for employment,

● "All contracts" and not just war contracts must carry the clause obligating the contractor not to discriminate and inclusion of this clause in sub-contracts is for the [illegible] made

of the executive office of the President. OEM is [illegible] service and supply [illegible] does the "housekeeping" for various war agencies.

● the order calls for a chairman whose salary shall be fixed by the President, shall not exceed $10,000. other members, to be appointed by the President, will receive no salary, but shall be entitled to "necessary traveling expenses" and, unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed, a per diem allowance not exceeding $25 per day and subsistence expenses" will be paid on a per diem when they are actually employed in the performance of their duties.

The committee is still a fact-finding agency, being empowered to "make recommendations to the various Federal departments and agencies and to the President as to make effective the provisions of the order. While the War Manpower Commission can assist in bringing about a program of education and training of workers in and for war production, FEPC may make recommendations to the chairman of

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1943

By GEORGE McCRAY

The Case of Randolph

ELSEWHERE in the columns of the Defender, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, makes a defense of his ill-fated and misnamed March-on-Washington Movement. The editors of the Defender intend to publish an extensive evaluation of Mr. Randolph's views after the MOW leader has stated his case.

This piece is based on several incidents whose discussion simply can't wait. It does not necessarily reflect the views of the editors of the Chicago Defender.

These incidents reveal what is fundamentally wrong with that whole March On Washington crowd. As Randolph and Milton Webster approach old age, it seems they have become so embittered over their rebuffs, frustrations and defeats both as labor leaders and as Negroes that they are beginning to find joy in just plain mischief making. Many of their actions remind one of some of those strong, fighting, death-defying white labor leaders who were "heroes" around steel towns a few years ago. The main driving force of these "strong" leaders was a desire to wreak revenge upon an abusive employer. Later events proved many of them to be poorly equipped emotionally and psychologically to develop constructive and cooperative union management relations.

Fortunately unions learn early that desires for vengeance and a mischief-making leadership are not the best foundations upon which to build a permanent and constructive organization.

Similarly, Negro leaders who allow their f[illegible] to the prin[illegible] terracial la[illegible] are a menace [illegible] the progress of [illegible] population. This [illegible] main point I want to make about the MOW leadership. Certainly there are not many people in this country who believe Randolph and Webster are actually trying to improve interracial relations in the labor movement or anywhere else.

They want to smash something, but I doubt if it is race prejudice. This is made clear by the experience which Negro CIO leaders from Detroit and Chicago had with Randolph at the Chicago headquarters of the Brotherhood.

Carey Meeting

THESE NEGRO CIO leaders after chasing Randolph all over the East finally caught up with him in Chicago. They reported they would like to support MOW if Randolph and Webster would "go along" with a program to build better interracial labor relations. These CIO leaders also reported that in several instances in Detroit Negro followers of MOW had become so unreasonable and troublesome that race relations were being seriously endangered; that prejudice was being intensified; and that the whole fight of the union to uproot job discrimination is being jeopardized.

These leaders got absolutely no place with the chief of the MOW. He gave them a long lecture, commented on the extent of his knowledge of radicalism and dismissed the whole matter.

If this seems strange, the following incident is amazing. A few days ago James B. Carey visited Chicago, came out on the South Side to work out with Willard S. Town[illegible] and Chairman [illegible] with the work of the CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination. Carey who is secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations is also chairman of the CIO's committee to abolish racial discrimination. Townsend is secretary of the committee and is president of the United Transport Service Employees union.

Now the South Side of Chicago is an excellent place for a white man to see us Negroes at our best and at our worst. Certainly if a man like Carey is to go out battling discrimination in the name of the CIO he should at least have a first-hand acquaintance with the victims of discrimination.

Eventually Carey and Townsend wound up at the Palm Tavern to have lunch and a few drinks. As they seated themelves they noticed Randolph and Webster having lunch at an adjoining table.

Townsend, being one of the best mixers in the country, took Carey over to meet Randolph and Webster. Do you think this turned out to be a fortuitious meeting, or one of those lucky accidents that often spell success in a cause? Do you think the boys said, "Here, all four of us are fighting racial discrimination in the labor movement, let's compare notes while we have lunch."?

Nothing of the sort happened. In fact it would have been far better if Townsend had ignored the presence of Randolph and Webster. Mr. Randolph was stiff and cordial, and Mr. Webster — well, perhaps he wasn't hostile — but he made Townsend want to sock him for the manner in which he acknowledged the introduction. Later James Carey [illegible] The man was positively [illegible]

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1943

Commends Naming Of Haas To FEPC

NEW YORK, June 3—In a forthright statement during his regular broadcast here last night over WMCA, the nation's leading independent station, Dr. Frank Kingdon, radio commentator, congratulated President Roosevelt on his appointment of Mons. Francis J. Haas, dean, school of social science, Catholic University of America, to the chairmanship of the reorganized Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

Former pastor, lecturer, college president and president of the Union for Democratic Action, Dr. Kingdon's remarks caused approving New Yorkers to flood the radio station's switchboard with telephone calls.

COMMITTEE FAILED UNDER McNUTT

Pointing out that under the jurisdiction of Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, the committee failed in its duty to tackle the problem of discrimination against workers because of their color or creed, Dr. Kingdon declared:

"The Negroes have suffered from such discrimination without relief, in spite of the Presidential directive that all our citizens must be treated equally by industries in the war production program.

"The Negro is the supreme test of our democracy. He puts up to us politically and economically, the whole issue of whether we really believe in human fraternity and liberty, or not.

DENIAL OF WAR AIMS

"He has been the first to become the victim of unemployment; the chief sufferer from poor economic conditions; the last to be hired and the first to be fired in any business cycles . . . and the only citizens actively disenfranchised in certain sections of our country. We have educated him poorly and made him live under the worst conditions, and then we have called him a problem!

"All the time, the problem is not the Negro, but ourselves, and our refusal to practice the democracy we confess."

Dr. Kingdon insisted that "it is a denial of everything for which we are fighting this war, that in either production or the armed services, there should be any discrimination against the Negro on account of the color of his skin."

RACE OFFICER IN NEW GUINEA MADE CAPTAIN

By "SCOOP" JONES
ANP War Correspondent

WITH AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES IN NEW GUINEA—(ANP)—A special order has just elevated Lt. Edward H. Lowe to the rank of captain. Only recently Capt. Lowe was transferred from the U. S. Army's Special Service division (where he made a brilliant record) to become commanding officer of a quartermaster company (an independent unit). This move established the outfit as the first all-colored organization in the U. S. armed forces in this area.

Capt. Lowe in his short period of command has shown wonderful improvements in the organizational activities of his outfit. As the time of his assuming command, he was the organization's only officer. From the last officer candidate school held in Australia, came 2nd Lt. Elisha Burno, Hartsville, S. C., to start a staff of officers. This unit is allowed one captain, two first lieutenants and one second lieutenant, which means that there are vacancies for two more officers and possible promotion for Lt. Burno after he has been "seasoned" as a staff officer.

Rumors fly fast in New Guinea and from them come much speculation. Latest speculative allusion is the belief that plans are being formulated to inaugurate a quartermaster battalion in this area into an all-colored unit. Basis for such speculation is the recent assignment of four Negro officers to this particular battalion and the common belief that Capt. Lowe's unit is an "experiment." If such should ever materialize it would mean opportunities for advancement [illegible]

TWO DIE WHEN TENANTS ARE MACHINE-

Police Shoot Up Apartment; Use Gestapo Tactics

By JOHN R. WILLIAMS
(Staff Correspondent)

DETROIT, July 1—A concrete illustration of how the local municipal police functioned in last week's race riot lies in what happened at the Vernor Apartments located at the corner of Vernor Highway and Brush streets and at the colored Young Men's Christian Association, located at Elizabeth and St. Antoine streets.

This apartment building, one of the few large apartment houses here occupied by Negroes, was raided by municipal officers and state motor police Tuesday evening because it was alleged that someone had shot out of one of the windows. Eighty-eight families live there. After the building was machine-gunned from the outside and two persons had been killed the officers entered the apartments and forced all of the occupants to line up on the outside with their hands in the air while the building was burglarized, according to affidavits.

GIVES STATEMENT ON INCIDENT

The following is an affidavit sworn to by a brilliant young Negro who has invented [illegible] combustion engine [illegible] at the Vernor [illegible] room [illegible] aprtment at the point [illegible] and bayonets Tuesday, [illegible] 1943, while the raiding [illegible] and troopers used the most [illegible] ne language I have ever heard. 'For instance, 'Come on you G—— D——N——; get the hell out of here quick.'

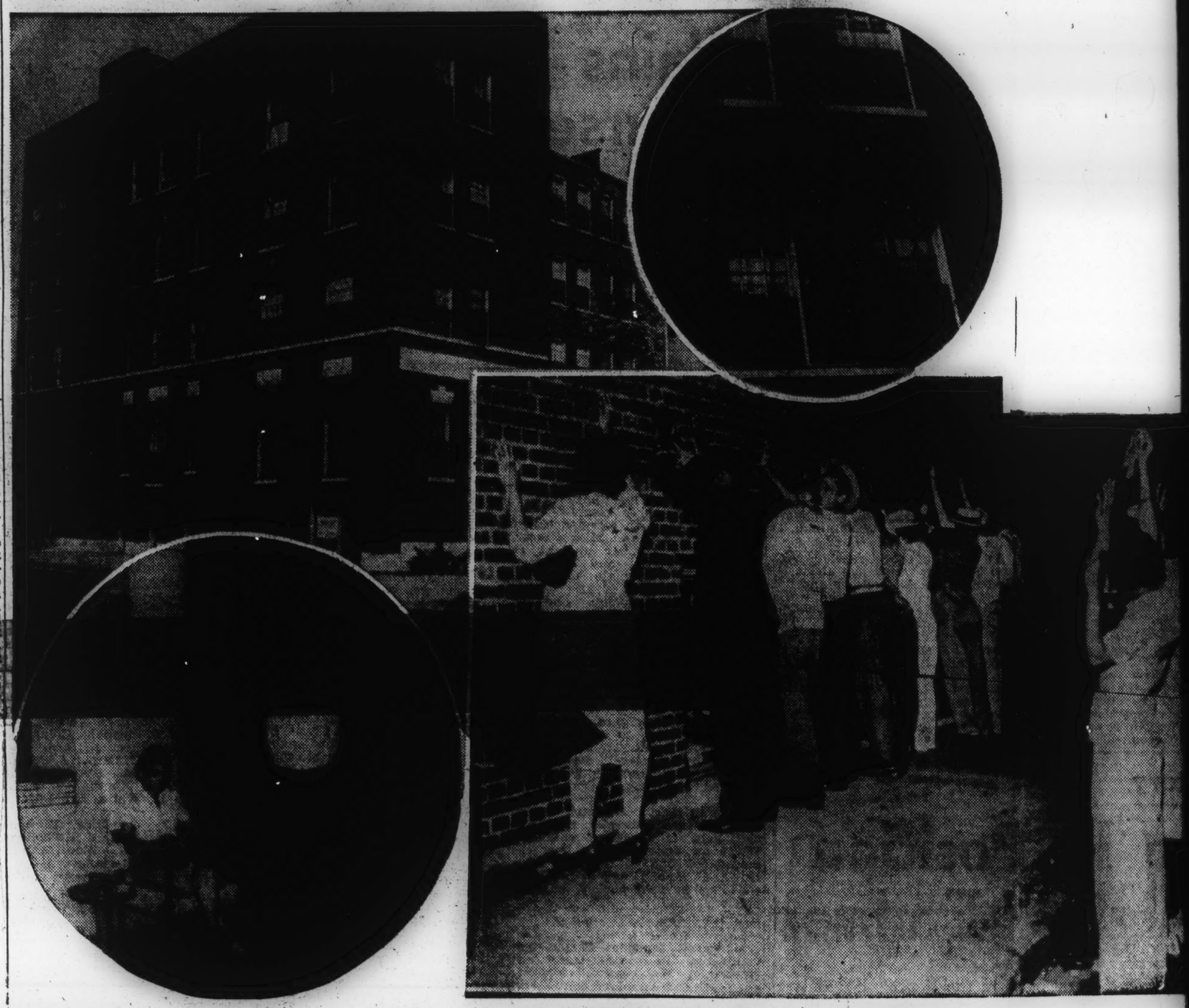
ONLY DETROIT POLICE ENTERED

As they spoke tear gas guns were fired before we could get out of the rooms. I was stepping out of the bath perfectly nude when they entered and grabbed a pair of pants which I slipped on as I walked out.

"After standing with up-raised hands on the Brush street side of the building for more than one hour we were searched but were not permitted to go back into the building until the police officers finished searching and robbing the apartments. I did not see a state policeman go into the building. According to my observation they remained outside while the municipal officers entered."

One white metropolitan daily, the Detroit Times, a syndicated Hearst owned newspaper, has been accused of aiding and comforting the white rioters by the manner in which it has handled the situation. Indeed an open fued has developed between the Hearst owned Detroit Times and the Detroit Free Press. As stated in the Courier last week [illegible] has [illegible] whitewash the situation by [illegible] using photographs that have reflected police partiality.

HERE IS DEMOCRACY... DETROIT STYLE!... A STORY IN PICTURES



The Pittsburgh Courier's Charles Harris, staff photographer, was rushed to Detroit last week, after Langford James, Detroit staff photographer, had his arm seriously injured when police manhandled him as he was taking pictures. Here is the graphic picture story Mr. Harris "snapped" of the "raiding" and machine-gunning of the swank Vernor Apartment hotel, on the corner of Vernor and Brush. The first picture shows the hotel, which houses 88 families in two to four-room apartments. Upper insert is a close-up of the windows, showing where bullets entered the building and richocheted off the walls. The lower insert shows two tenants of the building, snapped in the foyer, as they told Courier reporters of losses sustained during the incident. The last photo shows innocent tenants lined up against the wall, with arms upraised, in regular Gestapo fashion. (International News photo).

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SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943

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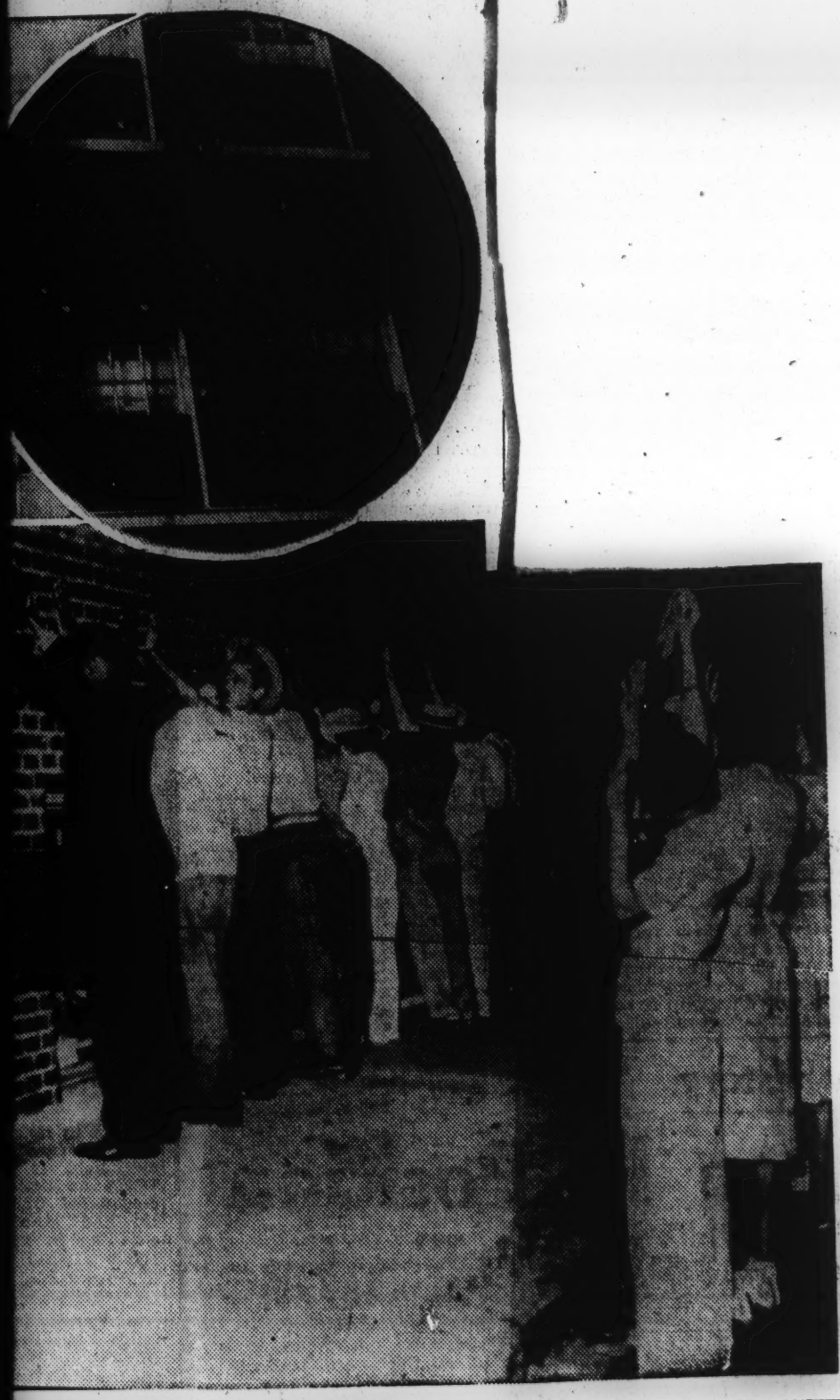

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FDR Puts FEPC Control Under His Guidance

New Executive Order Says Discrimination Must Be Eliminated

(By Amsterdam News Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—After several months of marking-time, the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) takes on new life. Once again it is independent—responsible only to the President of United States.

An executive order issued last week-end abolished the old committee which was under the control of Chairman Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Commission. The order called for a new personnel of six members and a chairman. Msgr Francis J. Haas, who has a long and varied experience in dealing with social and labor problems, was appointed to head FEPC. The other members will be named by FDR "as soon as possible."

The new FEPC inherits all pending hearing of the old group—which includes the Capital Transit

Continued on Page 2

Saturday, June 5, 1943

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS

FDR Puts FEPC Under His Wing

New Executive Order Says Discrimination Must Be Eliminated

(Continued from Page 1)

Co. case which was scheduled for a hearing this week (to see if Negroes could be employed as bus and street car drivers). But, since the committee's complete membership has not been named, a postponement follows. However, this case, the famous jim crow case of the railroads and others will be taken up as soon as the machinery is put into operation, assured Msgr. Haas.

"Discrimination is just a filthy situation that must not be tolerated," says the new chairman, "not only as a matter of prosecuting the war, but one of fairness and decency to all American people."

The new executive order further amends Executive Order 8802 (which created FEPC), places the committee back under the "Office for Emergency Management (OEM) of the Executive Office of the President" and is phrased in stronger language than the original order of pre-Pearl Harbor days.

The chairman will give up his teaching post at Catholic University and devote his full time to the job at $10,000 a year. The new members will receive a per diem allowances of $25 a day and expenses This is an improvement over the old committee when the members served on a voluntary basis.

It is a matter of congesture as to whether the general working staff of field representatives will be increased to any appreciative size The order will seek the aid and cooperation of various local groups and facilities which will cut down the work usually done by field representatives.

Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of the old committee, was asked by the Amsterdam-News whether he would accept an appointment if he were considered and what he thought of the new FEPC. He said he was going into the Army and is at present eyeing a Majorship spot Incidentally, he was considered the "fly in the ointment" of the old FEPC. He further said he expects "big things" from FEPC under the new chairman.

Promise of FEPC

FEPC is still FEPC—only rewritten in elaborate phraseology, without necessarily being stronger. "The committee," as the chairman points out, 'is not a dictatorship." Yet, he promises to "utilize all powers set forth in the executive order."

There is no statement of definite means to enforce recommendations of FEPC. It will still be dependent upon the War Manpower Committee, and other agencies, to eliminate jim crow. According to the order, the President does not order the elimination of discrimination by federal agencies, but states it is the duty of them to erase jim crow, as is the duty of labor unions and other agencies engaged in war efforts—from which the order expects to receive cooperation.

The crux of the new FEPC lies in the interpretation by the chairman. If FEPC is interpreted in enforcing the spirit as well as the letter of the order it will succeed in eliminating considerable discrimination If it takes too narrow an interpretation of its powers, as granted in the order, it will succeed in tieing its own hands.

E. W. CARRINGTON.

PM, THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1943

Housing Fight Goes to Board

Civic Organizations Intensify Demands to Delay Action on 'Walled City'

The Battle of Stuyvesant Town—a fight by citizens to keep New York City from surrendering part of its sovereignty to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.—shifted today to a Board of Estimate hearing after a Manhattan supreme court refused to enjoin the Board from enacting on the housing project.

The hearing, climax of a high-pressure timetable on which the Stuyvesant Town project has been rushed toward approval, was called for 2:30 p.m. at City Hall.

As the Board members prepared to act, they received a telegraphed plea from 15 civic organizations asking them to delay final action.

The *Times* joined the civic appeal yesterday with a long editorial, which warned: "Since there can be no building until the war is over, there should be time for careful consideration."

Petition Denied

Stuyvesant Town is a postwar housing project intended to "redevelop" the East Side Gas House District of Manhattan. Eighteen blocks of dwellings are to be torn down, to make space for 35 apartment buildings which will be walled off from the rest of the City . . . although the City will donate 11 acres of public streets and will give the company $25,000,000 in tax exemption.

On the eve of today's hearing, Supreme Court Justice Benjamin F. Schreiber denied a petition for an injunction brought by property owners' whose homes will be demolished. Schreiber said:

"Some features of the contract are said to and may indeed be unwise, but the court can only be concerned with the legality of the legislation and not its wisdom."

After learning of the decision, counsel for the taxpayers, Menahem Stim, announced that constitutionality of the project would be attacked in higher courts.

The citizens' telegraphed appeal to the Board of Estimate was signed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, the City Affairs Committee, the Committee on Harlem and other organizations.

The Appeal

It said:

"If Board of Estimate members are seeking the facts, they will ask whether they ought to approve without further inquiry the granting of substantial privileges and gifts by the City to a great insurance company for the building of a principality every square foot of whose streets and recreation areas will be privately owned."

The telegram termed the project a "walled town with excessive population density, but without a single school or public meeting hall—a community from which the owners would be free to exclude tenants or even visitors because of race, creed or color.

"Assumption that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. may [illegible] the plans or vo[illegible] profits is no reas[illegible] restrictions into the [illegible] dent is being [illegible] proceedings."

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1943

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,

Workers Quit Packard Plant Over Negroes

Union Heads Consider Call for Troops in Walkout at Detroit War Factory

DETROIT, June 3 (AP).—A walkout that virtually has halted production of Rolls-Royce air craft engines and Packard marine engines at Packard Motor Company here continued tonight while a Congress of Industrial Organizations United Automobile Workers official said the union may ask the Army to take over the plant.

Earlier, Leo LaMotte, East Side regional director of the union, announced that workers who walked out after a racial dispute had voted to return on the afternoon shift. A company spokesman, however, said that "only a handful" of employees reported for the 4 p. m. shift at the marine division and added that 95 per cent of aircraft and marine engine production has been stopped.

A union official, who could not be quoted, said U. A. W. and C. I. O. officials had decided to consult Army authorities after several thousand workers milling around the plant gates this afternoon had ignored stewards' pleas to return to their jobs.

Union leaders who appeared at the gates were greeted with boos. Norman Matthews, president of Packard Local 190, rode in one of the sound trucks that unsuccessfully urged the men back to work. Officials of the local said the stoppage was "completely unauthorized."

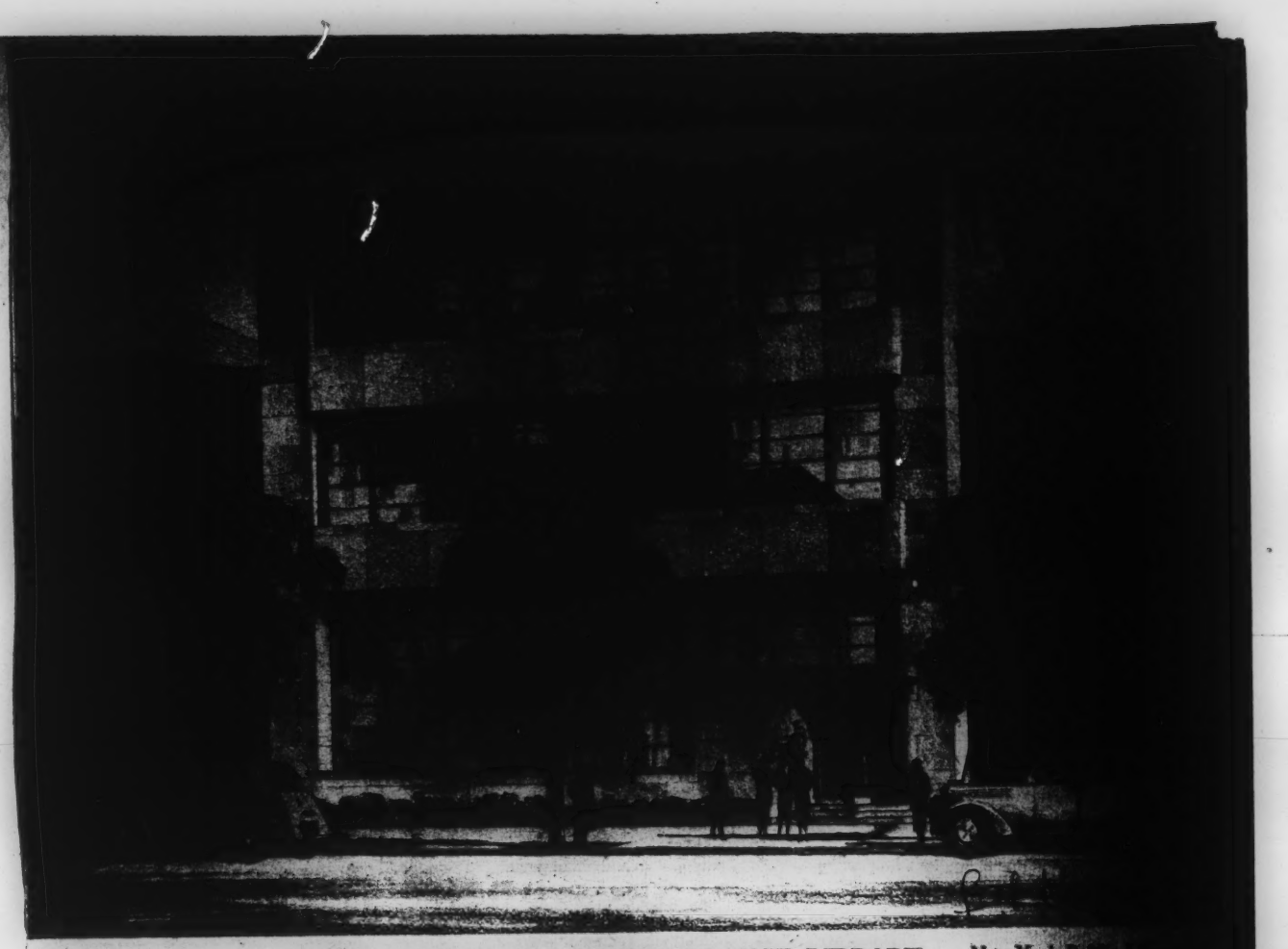
A company statement laid the walkout, which began at 1:30 a. m., to the upgrading to better jobs of three Negro workers on the final assembly line of aviation engines. Union leaders, however, said they were not opposed to upgrading of Negroes. They said they were opposed to mixing of white and Negro workers.

In New York, George T. Christopher, president of Packard, said the stoppage was not a quarrel between the management and the men, but was one between the men only.

3,700 Negroes Return

ST. LOUIS, June 3 (AP).—The 3,700 Negro employees who form a production unit at the St. Louis ordnance plant returned to work today after remaining away from their jobs to support a demand for appointment of Negro foremen.

The walkout began yesterday after two white supervisors had been added to the unit's staff. The United States Cartridge Company, which operates the plant for the government, is training Negroes to take over the foremen jobs but said none is yet qualified. An agreement to arbitrate the dispute was reached by representatives of the employees and executives of the company.



NEW YORK'S MOST RECENT BRANCH LIBRARY New York ...
The Center for Community Activity, This Building Houses the Schomburg Collection of ... Literature and Art.

PM, TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1943

Most Mobile Ship Workers Return to Jobs in 'Armistice'

Yards Need 2500 Welders And Say They'll Hire Anyone —Negro or White

By VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN
Staff Correspondent

MOBILE, Ala., June 1.—Practically all white workers and all but 100 Negroes were back on the job yesterday at the Alabama Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. There's a good chance the missing Negroes will be back today, if they see that the open season on skull cracking is over.

I walked through the yards yesterday and saw no hint of trouble. Some of the men—Negroes and whites—told me they intended to "put on steam" to make up for last week, during which production dropped to nearly half because 12 colored workers had been upgraded to welding jobs.

This week constitutes what you might call an armistice period. There will be no further upgrading of Negroes, and there is evidence that the 12 men over whom Tuesday's riot started may elect to stay home temporarily. Then, probably on Friday, a final solution—evolved here by representatives of the Government, the company and the union, and now under consideration in Washington for final approval—will be submitted to a mass meeting of workers.

Nothing concerning the proposed solution has been made public. In all likelihood it will guarantee the principle of upgrading for Negroes [illegible] some type [illegible] among them. It does not, however, provide for an all-Negro shipway in which a ship can be built from bow to stern by Negroes.

Such a plan has been proposed, but is not considered practicable.

The fact is that the Alabama Company yards need at least 2500 welders. Company officials tell me they'll hire anyone, Negro or white, who can do the job. And since—as one official told me—they have "beaten the bush" and scared up the last available white welder, they are determined to go through with their plan for using Negroes.

In the end, it is the company, given the moral as well as the armed support of the Government, that will have to carry the ball. The International Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, which has the bargaining rights at the plant, has long championed Negro upgrading.

There's no question that shipyards and other war plants throughout the country are watching developments here closely. They are watching management and the Federal agencies involved, such as the War Manpower Commission, the Fair Employment Practices Committee, and the U. S. Maritime Commission. If they become convinced that neither the company nor the Government is going to allow a handful of Negro-baiters, working on local prejudices, to tell the country how war shipyards must be run, Negroes will have won a major economic battle on a national scale. And [illegible] will have more men with [illegible]

..Negro's N...

(Continued from ...

curator. He passed on in ... was succeeded by Dr. ... Reddick, lecturer on Negro ... in the College of the City ... York.

Through gifts and purchase ... collection has more than ... and it is still growing. ... terial dates from the sixteenth ... tury and includes books and ... scripts in all the major ... languages, and in Latin ... and Amharic, besides African ... lects. It is reserved as a ... library, much of the material ... too rare for circulation ... freely available to readers ... building. Mrs. Catharine ... reference librarian, by ... filing and indexing current ... lications, is carrying forward ... history of Negro achievement. The books, some guarded by glass, are effectively displayed against walls hung with ... depicting the life of the Negro in many parts of the world, and among sculptures that show Negro talent. Household ... implements, carvings in ivory, wood, cunningly wrought ... and other exhibits document Negro civilizations, provide visual interest the ... sages of the printed ...

Here are assembled ... Ethiopia and Abyssinia ... of African languages ... that mold the thoughts ... in Liberia. Eloquent ... oirs of that extraordinary genius, Toussaint ... once a slave, and ... high adventure. Beautiful scholarly books also ... bound in parchment ... from the sixteenth ... and eighteenth centuries ... rope. Polemics that ... win emancipation, ... shook the United States ... orations, biographies, ... fiction narrate the ... drama of the Negro in the United States.

Moreover, "the best is yet ... In this library, facts and ... not permitted to remain ... between book covers. ... celebration of Miss Rose ... Gardner, and ... given significance and validity ... the ... of a large ...

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1943

New Action Is Taken

PRESIDENT FORMS NEW FEPC

Of Latest Order

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Roosevelt on Friday, issued a new executive order scrapping the old FEPC and establishing a new committee "to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory practices."

At the same time, the White House confirmed the recent appointment of Monsignor Francis J. Haas as chairman of the new committee which is established as a separate agency within the Office of Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President.

The new committee will be composed of a chairman and not more than six other members to be appointed by the President. Upon the appointment of the new committee, the old organization, established by Executive Order 8802 and operating within the War Manpower Commission, will cease to exist.

In his new order, President Roosevelt said: "I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of all employers, including the several Federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this order, to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Under terms of the new order, Msgr. Haas will receive a salary not exceeding $10,000 a year and the remaining six members shall receive necessary travelling expenses and, unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed by the President, a per diem allowance not exceeding $25 per day and subsistence expenses on such days as they are actually engaged in the performance of duties.

"The committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various federal departments and agencies and to the President, which it deems necessary and proper to make effective the provisions of this order," the new order states.

"The committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination forbidden by this order. It may conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination," the order continues, "and the committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this order."

Veteran Labor Ability

Msgr. Haas, the new committee chairman, is a veteran of labor disputes, dean of the School of Social Science of Catholic University, a member of the original National Labor Relations Board, a special conciliator for the Labor Department since 1935 and a participant in the settlement of about 12,500 labor squabbles.

The committee as orginally established on June 25, 1941, had independent status, but was placed under Paul V. McNtt when his authority was broadened to embrace selective service and other phases of the manpower problem. However, the FEPC has been inactive since Mr. McNutt, in January, indefinitely postponed scheduled hearings of charges of discrimination against Negroes by railroads.

Ever since the postponement of the railroad hearings, Negro, labor, and religious organizations have protested inactivity of the FEPC and recently received assurance that the committee would soon

PM, THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1943

Jim Crowism Sneaks Into Trains Here

Tickets for 'Negro Cars' Put Over on Passengers at the Pennsylvania Station

By WILLIAM FISHER

Jim Crow railroad trains leave from the Pennsylvania Station daily.

These trains are not part of the Pennsylvania System, but operate over the Pennsylvania's tracks as far as Washington. They are:

The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad's Miami Champion, leaving at noon and 6:05 p.m.

The Seaboard Railway's Silver Meteor, leaving at 2:35 p.m.

These railroads no longer wait until they enter the South to segregate Negro passengers. They have dispensed with this formality by including in their equipment a "Negro car."

De Luxe Service

For white passengers these lines provide through travel to Florida in air-conditioned and air-cooled deluxe coaches, with modern reclining seats similar to those in the Pullman parlor cars; diner and tavern-lounge cars.

The Negro cars on these trains, also air-conditioned and air-cooled, are equipped with reclining seats, but they are half baggage and half passenger cars directly behind the engines.

The trains include diner and tavern-lounge service for white passenger, but not for Negroes south of Washington.

Reservations for seats on the Champion and Silver Meteor must be made at least 24 hours in advance. And, the Pennsylvania Railroad's ticket agents are instructed how to make separate reservations for Negro and white passengers on these trains.

The plan shunting Negroes into Jim Crow cars in New York works so smoothly there seldom is any hitch in the railroad's practice.

Whenever a Negro passenger does obtain a seat in a white car, word is passed on to the train conductor, who shifts him to the segregated car at his first opportunity, either before the train reaches Washington, or in the capital.

When a Negro buys a ticket for either the Champion or the Silver Meteor, the ticket agent telephones the reservation office that he wants one "special"—the code to designate the Negro.

If, however, a Negro makes a reservation over the telephone, the agent is instructed to tell him, when he calls for the ticket, that a mistake has been made and give him one in the Negro car.

Should he protest the agent's explanation and refuse to accept the excuse that the train is otherwise sold out he will be given a seat over the wheels in another car—that is, either the first or last seat of the car, an uncomfortable place.

Word is then passed to the conductor that the Negro passenger is to be handled with care, but is to be shifted before the train leaves Washington.

At the office of the Atlantic Coast Line's general passenger agent, R. S. Voigt, today, a spokesman passed the buck to the Pennsylvania Railroad.

"Between New York and Richmond," he explained, "it's entirely up to the Pennsylvania.

S. B. Murdock, general passenger agent for the Seaboard in New York, admitted readily that his line tries "to get those people to go into the all-Negro car."

Denies 'Special' Code

When asked if he didn't think the practice of segregating Negroes out of New York was in effect a violation of the Civil Rights Laws of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, he said:

"I don't think so. We provide equal accommodations for colored people and merely do this so that they will not have to change in Washington."

C. G. Pennington, general passenger agent for the Pennsylvania in New York, denied that the code word *special* was used by ticket agents, and said:

"A Negro car is set aside for the convenience of Negroes traveling south of Washington so that they will not have to change.

"Ticket agents are instructed to tell Negroes that they are being put into the all-Negro car, but that they can have accommodations in any car north of Washington, if they desire them."

THE SCUTTLES — By Ajay

"Saboteur! !"

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1943
THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Fear New Trouble In Mobile

MOBILE, Ala. — Although indications are that calm has been restored in the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding company yards here following last week's riot between colored and white workers, the general impression in alert Negro circles is that trouble is still brewing in the ranks of disgruntled whites.

As the situation now stands, approximately 600 soldiers from a nearby Army Air base are maintaining order pending a final disposition of the case by the Fair Employment Practice committee, and as a semblance of protection for any of the 1500 colored workers who wish to return to their jobs.

Barely more than 300 Negroes have returned to work at the plant since the disturbance last Tuesday afternoon, in which white welders, resenting the upgrading of a number of colored men to welder posts, launched a vicious attack on the Negroes, many of whom were women. Close to 2,000 colored employes were active at the plant prior to the riot.

Attacked Singly

Although it is reported that the men who were graded upward to the welder jobs had been segregated and were working on different shifts from the white workers, the latter instituted a program of terrorism in an effort to intimidate the men into leaving the posts. Colored women and men, caught singly, were charged upon and beaten in the early stages of the flare-up. But when this failed to net the desired results, the Negro workers were set upon enmasse.

There are unconfirmed reports of from two to eight deaths and it is definitely known that more than a score of workers, the majority of them Negroes, were injured.

D. E. McFadyen, chief of police, said that the trouble started when the tools checked in by white welders on the day shift were immediately checked out to the new crew of Negro welders. Twenty-

See MOBILE, Page 4

Boom Tobias For Congress

Senior "Y" Secretary Slated for Gavagan's Post; Others in Race

Dr. Channing H Tobias, national YMCA executive, was boomed this week as "the most logical candidate for Congress from Harlem. When the reapportionment law was passed by the state legislature in its last session, a new congressional district in Harlem with a majority of Negro voters in it was carved out.

In Dr. Tobias powerful opposition is seen to Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr., who announced his congressional candidacy about a year ago in an address at Madison Square Garden. Among other local leaders spoken of as probable candidates for the new House seat are A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Herbert L. Bruce, Democratic leader of the 21st Assembly District.

Hasn't Heard It

Questioned about a move among some powerful Harlem political and other leaders to run him for Congress, Dr. Tobias said: "I haven't heard anything about it. If I had, I'd hardly be interested anyway."

Nevertheless, the off-the-record campaign to run Dr. Tobias for Congress continues unabated.

Because it is inevitable that some of the heads of Tammany Hall will test the constitutionality of the reapportionment law, it is possible that it may be declared void by the court. However opinion now is that it will stand as passed.

Three Assembly districts in each of which a majority of Negro voters reside in Harlem have also been carved out in the new redistricting law. However, there will be no senatorial district with a majority of Negro voters in it.

Behind the move to run Dr. Tobias for Congress are the many leadership fights, particularly on the Democratic side, that are brewing. The chief object of attack in Democratic ranks is Mr. Bruce of the 21st A.D. When asked about the reported impending fight to unseat him, Mr. Bruce said that he hadn't heard a thing about it. J. Raymond Jones, political alter ego of Congressman Joseph Gavagan, Tammany leader of the 22nd A.D., is reported to be definitely after Mr. Bruce's leadership mantle.

"Ray is an old friend of mine," Mr. Bruce said. "I'm sure the boys have him wrong. If there's a fight coming up, our organization will use every means at its command to block any bid to bring back absentee white leadership."

Although Mr. Jones denied any ambitions to contest Mr. Bruce for his leadership, some members of the Tioga Democratic, of which Mr. Jones is a member, insist that he will oppose Mr. Bruce.

It is also reported that Fred Dickens, realtor, will oppose Assemblyman Daniel Burrows, Tammany leader of the 19th

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

JOB SEGREG

Executive Order Covers All Forms Of Bias Practices

NEW YORK CITY, April 29—Although Executive Order 8802 is not specifically directed against segregation, it is a fact that in most cases segregation of workers on account of race results in discrimination and denial of equality of opportunity, and where this is true the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has the right to act.

This was the theme of a speech here last week by George M. Johnson, assistant executive secretary of FEPC, before the New York chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild at the Park Central Hotel.

ANSWER TO CRITICS

The speech was regarded as an answer to the extremist critics who have maintained that FEPC must not and may not, under its executive order, attack segregation in any form.

Explainnig that Executive Order 8802 prohibits "discrimination in the employment of workers—because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and makes it the duty of employers and labor organizations "to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers—without discrimination," Mr. Johnson posed the question of whether, in the operation of the policy of segregation, workers were denied full, and equitable participation without discrimination.

"Basic to the right of equality of employment is the right to be considered for employment for any position on the same terms as other persons," Jones said. "Equally basis is the rigth to be considered for promotions and upgrading to better paying and supervisory positions.

SEGREGATION LIMITS OPPORTUNITIES

"Where the policy of segregation obtains in any of the forms mentioned above, there will be a denial of employment opportunity if and when an available and qualified worker is refused consideration for a position because it is a skill from which members of his race group are excluded, or because it is in a building from which they are excluded.

"It is indeed difficult to imagine a situation," the speaker declared, "where a worker is segregated because of his race and yet is not restricted in his employment opportunities because of that segregation. Equality of employment opportunity involves something more than equality in hours of work, rates of pay, tolls, machines, workshops, and types of work, all of which are suspectible of control. It involves intangibles which by their nature may not be subject to the control necessary to assure equality."

JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

Lawyers Urge Retention Of Earl Dickerson

Ask Paul McNutt To Keep Attorney In FEPC Setup

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Leading Negro and white lawyers urged upon Paul V. McNutt the retention of Earl B. Dickerson as a member of the Fair Employment Practice Committee which is in the process of being reorganized.

The letter was sent on behalf of the National Lawyers Guild, and was signed by Robert W. Kenny, president; William H. Hastie, vice president; Martin Pepper, executive secretary; Lee Pressman, general counsel, CIO; Hubert T. Delaney, justice, domestic relations court, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel NAACP, in the face of rumors circulating in Washington that Mr. Dickerson was not to be appointed because he insisted upon the vigorous enforcement of Executive Order 8802.

The letter to Mr. McNutt stated "the failure to appoint Mr. Dickerson, the disregard of his proven ability and of the valuable experience he has acquired in the fight against discrimination in employment, will inevitably have the effect of arousing renewed suspicion concerning the wholeheartedness with which the President's policy is to be put into force."

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

Thirty Leaders Endorse 'March' Meet In Chicago

NEW YORK, April 29—More than thirty leaders — distrubed by the trend of democracy in this country and in the world at large has taken and apprehensive test the U. S. Constitution, Bill of Rights, and Four Freedoms be destroyed by fascist forces within and without—have signed a roll call for a national, all-out "We Are Americans Too" Conference.

The proposed meet is scheduled in Chicago, June 30, July 1-4 inclusive. It is sponsored by the March-on-Washington Movement, A. Phillip Randolph, director.

SIGNERS

James A. Burns, Charles Wesley Burton, M. C. Clarke, James E. Cooke, Frank R. Crosswaith, Elmer A. Carter, F. E. DeFrantz, C. L. Dellums, Thurman L. Dodson, Lawrence M. Ervin, C. A. Franklin, John A. Gregg, John Holly, Reverand D. V. Jemison, Layle Lane, Rayford W. Logan, B. F. McLaurin, T. D. McNeal, Carl Murphy, E. Pauline Meyers, William Stuart Nelson, Julian Steele, Reverend M. C. Strachan, A. Philip Randolph, Aldrich Turner, The Vanguard League, Thomas A. Webster, Charles H. Wesley, J. Finley Wilson and Reverend Horace A. White.

THE EXPRESS May 29, 1943

Labor Conciliator Named Chairman of FEPC Committee

NEW YORK—Gratification was expressed this week on all fronts at the long awaited report of the selection of a chairman for the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The new chairman, Monsignor Francis J. Haas, dean of social science at Catholic University and a veteran labor conciliator who succeeds Malcolm MacLean who resigned last January will resume the work of the committee which has been practically at a standstill since that time. Haas has a reputation as a liberal and a record as being opposed to labor unions that discriminate on the basis of race.

It was pointed out that of importance equal to the choice of an FEPC chairman is the text of the new executive order not released at the time of going to press.

Unless FEPC is provided with independent status, adequate funds and staff and adequate sanctions to enforce its findings no committee can function.

It was said this week that it wished again to express its strong conviction that the members of the committee should be retained because of their experience and long association with FEPC problems.

NAACP To Call Emergency War Meeting in Detroit June 3rd to 6th
NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS
Saturday, May 1,

Jim Crow R... High in A... Navy, Call S...

Labor Freeze a T... to Race, FEPC Dyi... Urge Quick Action

A call to attend an ... war conference in Det... through 6 has been ... more than 600 branche... councils of the Nation... ciation for the Advanc... Colored People throu... United States.

"Because of the seriou... the situation", the anno... said, "we call an emerg... ference on 'The Status ... Negro in the War For ... We invite not only our ... youth councils and colle... ters but Americans of ... who recognize the seriou... race prejudice as a menace ... only to our national welfare ... to general security as well."

"Although the victor and v... quished in the war are yet ... from being determined, sect... religious, class and racial pr... udices not only continue to ... pede the war effort," the NA... call stated, "but they multi... alarmingly.

"Day after day men like R... kin of Missouri spey forth ... Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-... bor abuse on the floor of C... gress without rebuke or re... Every federal agency designed ... help the ill-fed, the ill-housed ... the ill-clothed as well as to ... workers and increase the na... food supply is pilloried and ... culated.

"Jim Crow rides high in ... armed forces. Negro women ... tinue to be barred from ... WAVE, SPARS, and the Women's ... Marine Corps Reserve. Americ... soldiers die for want of ... while Negro nurses, eager to ... are turned downexcept for a ... quota accepted for service only in ... jim-crow Army units. The ... Cross pleads for blood donors ... but continues to segregate ... blood plasma in violation of ... law of science.

"Jobs in war industries are still ... barred to Negroes despite the ... necessity created by the man... poer shortage. Efforts to ... more efficient and fuller use ... the skills of Negro men ... women by the FEPC brought ... the wrath of powerful anti-... ity fotrces on that agency so ... it has been reduced to virtual ... complete impotence. Legislation ... to freeze labor already ... will fix Negroes—particularly ... nine million in Suthern states ... in their present menial and poorly ... paid jobs for the duration without ... hope or prospect of upgrading. A ... farm worker can move out of his ... county only if permitted by his ... county agent.

"We must not ... lost—... for ...

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1943
THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Race To Discard Party Labels In 1944 Vote

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — There is a growing unrest among Negro voters as they look toward 1944. So says the "black cabinet" in Washington.

Government employees cannot engage in political activities and campaigns. The Hatch act forbids it. But there are no restrictions on observation. And many of the high ranking Negroes in the government have been keeping their eyes open and their ears attuned and are seeing this definite political "growing-up" and unrest on the part of Negroes.

These men, most of them, travel extensively over the country. Many of them have representatives of their agencies, attached to their offices, who are located in the regional set-ups throughout the country. The reports of their regional representatives, giving community and public reaction to programs and developments, reflect a growing political unrest on the part of the masses of Negroes.

As a result of these observations and reports, it is a concensus among the members of the "black cabinet" that the Negro, in 1944, will be voting on men and issues rather than by party labels. It is their concensus that neither of the major political parties, by following their present trends, will be able to consider the Negro vote a "cinch" in 1944.

The Negro, therefore, appears to be shedding party labels. He will be independent in 1944, casting his vote for men and for issues. And he is measuring his men and analizing the issues.

His votes will be extremely important, too! The Gallup poll has recently revealed that 58 per cent of the war workers in industrial areas did not vote in 1942. Much of this was due to migration. But the Negro—denied opportunity to move about as freely because of resistance to hiring him and often because of inadequate war-housing even when jobs were available to him—has found his war work at home. He is still a voter, and will be in 1944. His balance of power may be even more potent, as a result.

Strictly An Independent

The Defender, in order to determine the basis of this political unrest which makes the Negro's vote uncertain in 1944, has collected a mass of material on the Negro political prospectus.

That material shows that the Negro, prior to 1932, was a Republican with few exceptions. The party label was part of his dress. In 1932, 1936 and 1940 he aligned himself with the New Deal Democrats. In 1942, he began a swing back toward the Republicans. But today, he faces 1944 as an independent.

The Negro vote was a powerful factor in the 1940 New Deal victory in view of the serious threat that had arisen in the third term opposition led by Jim Farley, and in the Southern bloc which resented the recognition and advances which had come to the Negro under the New Deal.

The Southern bloc began organizing its lines in a tighter formation. They got sympathy from the "isolationists" whose anti-Roosevelt sentiment gave a common meeting ground. A rift in the party ranks was threatened.

The New Deal began thinking of expediency rather than principle. Developments affecting the Negro began taking a turn in the opposite direction. The soft-pedal was ap-

See 1944 VOTE, Page 4

[illegible] appeasement. Politicians were advising the White House that nothing should be done to further alienate the solid South.

A deaf ear was turned to the pleas of Negroes to be allowed a chance to participate fully in their country's defense work.

Most government agencies, despite increasing difficulties of obtaining workers, resisted the hiring of Negroes other than as messengers and custodial workers.

The army was extending its rock-ribbed policy of segregation and discrimination—and no word was uttered to curtail it. The navy barred Negroes except as messmen. The marines excluded them entirely.

By threat of a march on Washington, an executive order was wrung from the President in June of 1941. A fair employment practice committee was set up to police adherence to the order by defense industries and government agencies.

But this move, though hailed by Negroes as a second emancipation proclamation, had been born of protest. A louder howl rose from the Southern bloc, which reached its crescendo when the FEPC moved into Birmingham, Ala., to hold hearings on discrimination.

The result was the scuttling of FEPC by cancellation of scheduled hearings in the Southwest on discrimination against Negroes and Mexicans, and the "postponement" of the committee's proposed railroad hearings.

In the meantime, war had come to us!

Labor stringencies resulting from war on a larger scale than the world had ever known or dreamed, rather than any forthright action of the New Deal, were forcing employers in war industries and government to hire more and more Negroes.

Their pocketbooks were no longer empty. Their stomachs were full. There was time and inclination to think with their heads, and to look about at what was happening.

What they saw was a trend away from the New Deal policies and programs to which they had been sold.

They saw the gradual lessening of the influence of the "black cabinet," and the usurpation of their advisory function by an appeasement-minded group of "white experts" on Negro affairs. Negro leaders were finding it increasingly difficult to get the ear of the President.

They saw agency administrators bowing and scraping to the race-baiting whims of the Southern bloc and many other things equally distasteful.

Roosevelt remains individually popular with the Negro, but only as the President and as an individual—not as head of the Democratic party, which is aligned and is following the philosophy of Congressmen Rankin (Miss.), Tarver (Ga.), Cox (Ga.), Peterson (Fla.), and Dies (Tex.).

The Negro feels the New Deal has lost the deal, and that, with permission, the Southern bloc is drawing cards off the bottom of the deck.

The reaction of the Negro voter, therefore, began setting in in 1942. He began deserting the New Deal and retracing his steps to the Republicans in Congressional, state and municipal elections.

But the Republicans are missing the boat. In a blindness of greed for power and an ignorance of the maturing political sagacity of the Negro, the Republicans have made a marriage of convenience with this same Southern bloc in order to fight Roosevelt.

[illegible] made deals at the expense of the Negro, in order to gain [illegible]

the arresting of the advance being made by Negroes.

Believing they are playing a shrewd game by staying out of the open, the Republicans are only fooling themselves by thinking the Negro is not seeing through their little game.

Their reluctance to stand up in Congress in support of the Negro's welfare shows they are riding on a false security of feeling they have regained the Negro balance of voting power. Their cause is not helped when Rep. Wigglesworth of Massachusetts says he thinks the race relations function in government is un-American and unnecessary. Nor is the Republican cause helped when 40 per cent of their members fail to sign a petition to bring the poll tax bill to a vote. Nor is it helped when the Republicans sit idly by in committee hearings or on the floor of the House and fail to rise in defense of racial attacks against their constituents. Nor does it help when they vote to support the Dies committee, which placed charges of subversive activities against a woman like Mary McLeod Bethune. Nor does it help when they kow-tow to the Farm Bureau Federation in helping to kill the Farm Security Administration, led by Dirksen of Illinois and Taber of New York. Nor does it help when their Senators fail and refuse to vote for cloture to shut off the filibuster of the Southern bloc against the poll tax and anti-lynching bills.

[illegible] the New Deal's

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1943

McNUTT BLOCKS FEPC PROBE

WASHINGTON, May 20—The Committee on Fair Employment Practices was officially advised Monday by War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt that a new chairman had been appointed and that the committee's re-organization will be effected immediately upon his resumption to the chairmanship.

The committee has therefore been requested to postpone its public hearings scheduled for Tuesday, May 18, in Washington, on the Capital Transit company.

POSTPONE BOTH HEARINGS

Pursuant to this request, the committee, at its meeting Monday, postponed the transit company hearing from May 18 to Wednesday, June 2. At the same time and for the same reason, the committee postponed its scheduled hearing in Detroit from May 24-25 to June 28-29.

Observers in Washington interpreted the former Indiana Governor's request to postpone hearings and the impending announcement of the new FEPC chairman as a cleverly-devised move to take himself off the spot. This interpretation was given added status when it is remembered the committee's move in re-scheduling the transit company hearings was positive action to enforce Executive Order 8802.

TRANSIT COMPANY STATES DEFENSE

Authoritative sources indicate the new chairman to be Monsignor Francis Joseph Haas of Catholic university.

EDITOR'S NOTE—Catholic university is the educational institution which would not allow colored athletes from New York and New Jersey to participate in its track meet.

On the Capital Transit company case, the facts are that the company's defense will be, it did everything the committee requested, including the employment of a Negro motorman. When the motorman came to be employed, certain white employees walked off the job. The company then called Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of the FEPC, and asked him what should be done about the case. According to them, Cramer advised them to "hold off" until they heard from him. No word has been forthcoming from Mr. Cramer since that time, they will say.

On the basis of this defense, many are questioning Mr. Cramer's official attitude.

MAN GETS 5 YEARS ON ASSAULT CHARGE

BALTIMORE, Md., May 20 — A five-year penitentiary sentence for assault was imposed by Judge Eugene O'Dunne on James Craig, 14, who was identified by a hospital nurse as the person who threatened her on the street and tried to force her into an alley last April 28.

Judge O'Dunne was told by Prosecuting Attorney Bernard G. Porter that Craig was caught the next night peeping into windows of a hospital at Eutaw place and Lanvale street. After his arrest he was identified by the nurse.

The Afro-American, May 15, 1943

No Chairman for FEPC Yet

The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee is still without a known chairman, despite White House Secretary Marvin McIntyre's statement to members of the body on Wednesday that one had been secured by War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt.

William E. Coles, head of the Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, was the last person whose name has been mentioned in connection with the chairmanship of the committee.

Meanwhile, the FEPC's Capital Transit hearings for Washington are scheduled for May 18.

SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1943

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

AWAIT NEW FDR ORDER ON WAR JOBS

F E P Members Go To White Houes To Confer With McIntyre

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — A new presidential executive order affecting Negro employment in war plants was expected momentarily this week following a White House conference with members of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Existence of a new order was admitted to FEP members by President Roosevelt's secretary, Marvin MacIntyre, but the exact nature of the new order was not divulged.

However, the FEP was assured by MacIntyre that the new order will be submitted to them before it is made public. Exactly what the future status of the FEP will be under the new order was still a shrouded mystery after the committee members had left the conference.

Observers claim that the President has run into a snag in trying to find a suitable chairman, and it is upon this point that the reorganization hinges. Only a white man is acceptable and as one spokesman puts it, "None of them who are big enough for the job want it. They don't want the grief of heading a committee which is unpopular with all the other agencies."

Meanwhile, Chairman Paul V. McNutt of the Manpower Commission, is rumored busy trying to sell the chairmanship to at least one man, but the manpower boss is maintaining a complete silence until the settlement is "in the bag."

The FEP members made their second visit to the Pennsylvania avenue address since the committee's appointment in August, 1941.

After one hour of conversation, they came away with nothing more than the assurance that "something is cooking" but what it is, the White House is not telling—at least not until a new chairman for the committee has been found.

The regular meeting of the committee had been scheduled for Monday but was changed to Wednesday. The usual four members, Earl B. Dickerson, Milton P. Webster, Boris Shiskin and John Brophy, met briefly and then went to the White House for the 11:30 a. m. appointment. They were accompanied by Lawrence W. Cramer and George M. Johnson, executive secretary and assistant, respectively.

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1943

FEPC ADJUSTS AND CLOSES 101 CASES

NEW YORK, May 20—(ANP)—The New York regional office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices adjusted and closed 101 of the 145 complaints on discriminatory employment practices it received during the month of April, according to a report issued this week by Edward Lawson, FEPC examiner.

Eighty-two of the cases received alleged discrimination because of race, 15 complaints were made on the basis of religion, and 40 persons stated that they had been refused jobs because of their national origin. In addition, 421 persons, most of whom had no specific complaints, were given vocational guidance, or information about alien or birth certificate procedures.

REMOVE RACE CLAUSES

At the request of the committee, 25 New York firms whose application blanks carried questions as to race or religion agreed to eliminate such questions, and 12 companies which had been inserting discriminatory specifications into their want ads decided to take them out.

Twenty-six New York companies found by the committee's investigators to be discriminating against Negroes, and 14 found to be discriminating against Jewish persons, agreed to alter their policy immediately in order to conform to Executive Order 8802. Many of these showed good faith by employing qualified persons of the group they had previously refused to hire.

A request for hearings on several companies which have steadfastly refused to alter their discriminatory employment patterns has been sent to the FEPC but has not been acted upon as yet.

LAST MINUTE MOVE BY FDR DELAYS QUIZ

New Chief, Believed Rev. Haas, Will Have Power To Name Members

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON.— An eleventh hour White House move that had all the earmarks of a final act of desperation this week upset plans of the Fair Employment Practices Committee for Capital Transit Co., and Detroit hearings on job discrimination.

Coming a short 24 hours before scheduled Washington bus hearings and resembling the recent cancellation of the FEP's scheduled railroad probe, the postponement was assertedly caused by the final naming of a new FEP chairman—believed to be the Rt. Rev. Francis J. Haas, dean of social studies at Catholic university.

But from facts disclosed by reliable sources to the Defender, the delay of the two hearings may be permanent!

Furthermore the entire present personnel of the FEP may be ov"

Challenge Jurisdiction

Coming in quick succession were these sudden developments:

1. On the eve of the scheduled Capital Transit hearings Tuesday, the White House told FEP members that a new chairman had been named and requested that all scheduled hearings be cancelled.

2. The FEP met the White House request but was not informed whom the new chairman was.

3. Meeting in its regular session, the FEP learned that Lawrence Cramer, committee secretary, had informed the Capital Transit Co. to hold off on hiring Negro drivers without any consultation with FEP members.

4. At the same time the jurisdiction of FEP in the bus case was challenged by R. B. Dreshner, War Manpower Commission area director, who claimed the case came under his sole supervision.

Altogether the sum total of FEP trends added up to open desperation by government officials to stop the important transit hearings at all costs.

May Never Be Held

Signs were that the Capital Transit case will never be held despite the FEP announcement of a delay until Wednesday, June 2.

It was learned by the Defender from officials close to the White House that the new executive order which will be issued at the time of official appointment of the new FEP chairman will make him a virtual czar—having complete power to name the other members of FEP.

That the present FEP members will be "dumped" is taken for granted by high Washington officials who have been gunning for them.

Father Haas, who is mentioned as the choice for the post to succeed Attorney General Francis Bid-

(See Story Page 1)

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1943

FEP—

(Continued from Page 1)

dle. He is considered a labor man and is formerly from Milwaukee.

Official Announcement

The official FEP announcement of the delayed hearings said:

"The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was today officially advised that a new chairman had been appointed and that its reorganization will be effected immediately upon the assumption of office by the chairman.

"The committee has therefore been requested to postpone its public hearings scheduled for Tuesday, May 18, in Washington, D. C., on the Capital Transit Co. case. Pursuant to this request the committee at its meeting today postponed the Capital Transit Co. hearing from Tuesday, May 18, to Wednesday, June 2.

"At the same time and for the same reason, the committee postponed its scheduled hearing in Detroit from May 24 and 25 to June 28 and 29."

Cramer Under Fire

The announcement came a short several hours after War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt at his press conference said he had no statement to make on the status of the FEP.

Meanwhile, it was learned that Cramer, FEP secretary, came under heavy fire of the committee members at their session after disclosure of his statement to the Capital Transit Co. telling the firm to "hold up" on hiring Negroes.

Cramer, it was divulged, met with Leo R. Wertz, WMC director of manpower operations; George Johnson, assistant FEP secretary; E. D. Merill, president of Capital Transit; and J. D. Bigelow, local president of the AFL Amalgamated Association of Street, Electrical Railway and Motor Coach Employes of America, to discuss the C[illegible] case regarding

[illegible] at the meeting maintained [illegible] had done everything to [illegible]

Negroes. He related that the company had trained several Negro bus drivers and attempted to put one man on but a number of white employes refused to work with him. Then it revealed, he consulted with Cramer who told him to "hold off" on hiring Negroes.

Confesses Statement

That was the first time FEP members learned of Cramer's action and at Monday's meeting he confessed making the statement to Merill. It was believed that Cramer's statement would have been the company's defense in case the scheduled hearing were put on [illegible] week.

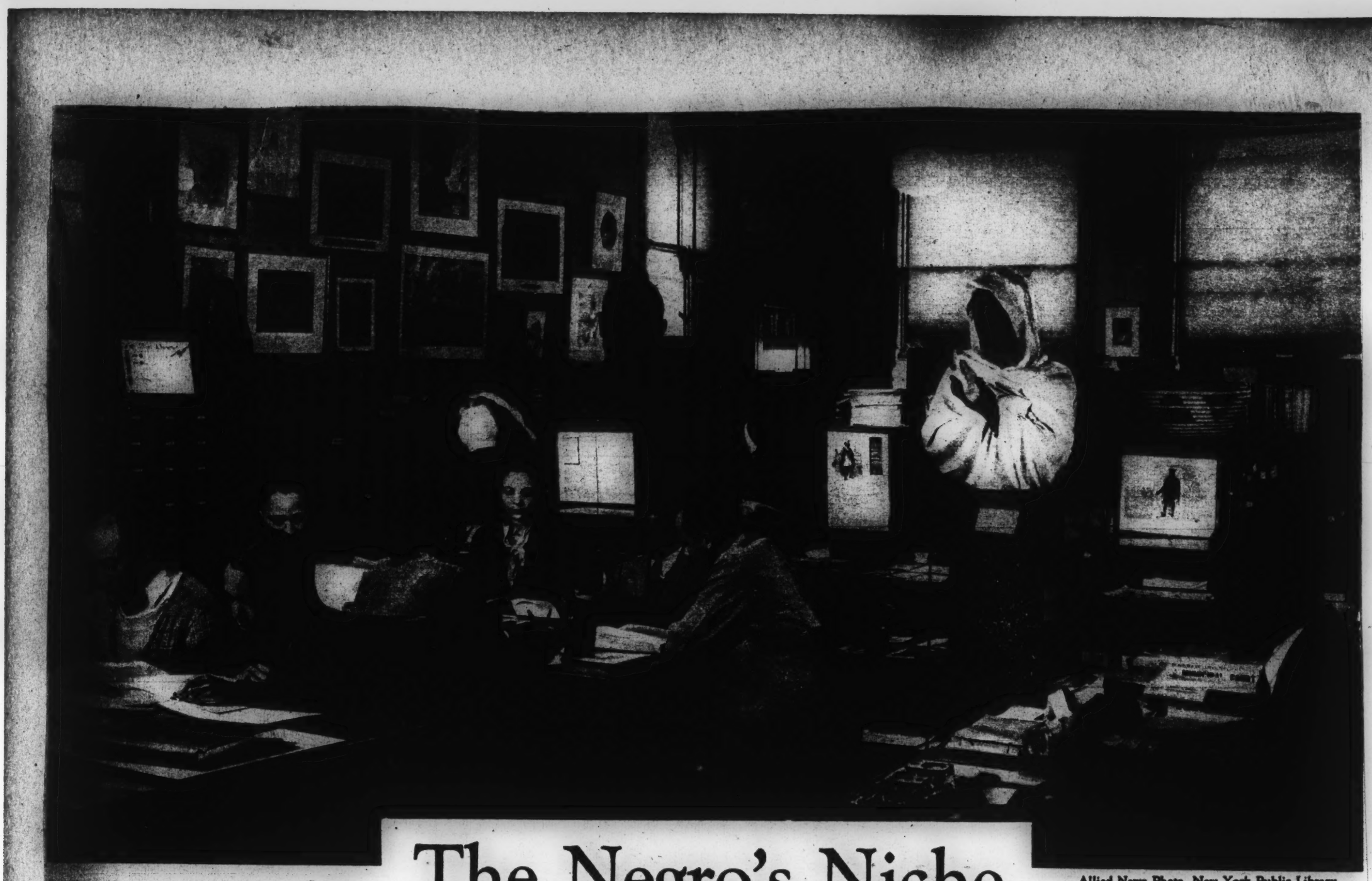
It was also learned that the FEP meeting Monday had voted to hold the Capital Transit hearings on Thursday instead of Tuesday, when Marvin MacIntyre, President Roosevelt's secretary, called asking for the delay until the new chairman took his post.

The original delay was made to allow the AFL's Boris Shiskin and the CIO's John Brophy to attend.

Saturday, May 1, 1943
THE CHRONICLE

MOWM Publishes Anti-Jim Crow Law

New York—Recently issued from the headquarters of the March-on-Washington Movement, 2084 Seventh avenue, is a pamphlet entitled "The War's Greatest Scandal—the story of Jim Crow in Uniform." It is an account of Winifred Lynn's case as it evolves out of a practice on the part of War Department officials to disregard the Selective Act of 1940.



Allied News Photo, New York Public Library

The Negro's Niche in American History

By Helen Johnson Keyes

DEDICATED TO NEGRO CULTURE

Corner of Schomburg Room (Top), Showing Bust of Don Aldridge, Shakespearean Negro Actor, Who Was Decorated by Many European Rulers. Left to Right: Miss Ernestine Rose, Librarian of the Harlem Branch; Arthur A. Schomburg, Who Started the Collection; Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Curator of the Schomburg Collection, Which Is to Be Opened to the Public on May 28.

"SAY," exclaimed a small voice beside me, "we'll have bang-up times when the building's opened. It's got a room for everything you want to do, and they're goin' to let you do it."

"Miss Rose said it had to be big," responded a second voice, "because it houses our Negro history, and that's awful big."

This conversation proceeded from a small boy and girl, both on roller skates. The three of us were looking at a new library edifice at 103 West 135th Street, in New York's Harlem. It returned our gaze with a beaming, friendly expression, sunshine glinting on its three rows of continuous windows.

"Miss Rose is the branch librarian, isn't she?" I asked it because I wanted to hear these youngsters comment on an institution in which they were so obviously conscious of being shareholders.

"Sure," answered the boy. "Miss Ernestine Rose. She worked in the other building, too, and got up story hours and plays and things. They say it's got as many rooms as a palace," he continued, returning to his original thesis. "You read in one and listen in another and sing in another. And you can read sitting in big chairs." He was breathless. Then they were off, clanging down the street.

* * *

In their naïve way these children had communicated voraciously the character and scope of the New York Public Library's most recent branch building. It is planned to express the idea that books should act dynamically upon those who read them. Just to absorb printed pages is not enough, affirms Miss Rose. Both information and enchantment need to express themselves in action. By means of a four-year program of lectures, seminars, concerts and dramatic entertainments, Miss Rose, in the old building that stood on this site, translated into social forces for community development the facts and ideas first encountered in print. The new building, with its many rooms designed for specialized activities, is a tribute to the value of her work and the importance of its continuation under adequate architectural conditions.

An advisory staff to assist readers will keep in touch with the educational and recreational projects, so as to recommend books helpful in their pursuit; with school curriculums in order to provide teachers and pupils with accessory reading; and with domestic problems for the purpose of introducing into puzzled homes the advice of experts who understand the difficulties and write clearly. A unique department which promises to make a valuable contribution to welfare is one particularly planned for adolescents, being supplied with reading matter acceptably romantic and adventurous, but wholesome, informative, and in tune with actual life.

For small boys and girls story-telling programs have been arranged on an unusually comprehensive scale and are available not only to groups who visit the library but to those in the care of social organizations. A selection of books on and by Negroes and suitable for children, made by the distinguished Negro author, James Weldon Johnson, is ready to exemplify the truth of Mr. Schomburg's lifelong argument that his people have a tradition in which it can take pride.

* * *

Hobby clubs, a concert hall and a little theater group offer not only recreation but opportunities for the unfolding of talents. In a reading lounge stand those "stuffed chairs" extolled by my acquaintance on skates. Its colors, too, will refresh those who go there for the luxury of hours with books. Nor is the library careless of those who need its friendship but cannot visit it; to them it goes out with parcels of books and good counsel.

On the third floor of the building is housed the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, an unsurpassed aggregation of historical data written by Negroes or about the colored race. The story of the inception and growth of this collection is such an example of devotion to a cause and skill in obscure research that it commands our admiration while leading us over a romantic trail.

In San Juan, Puerto Rico, was born in 1874—one year after the abolition of slavery in what was then a Spanish possession—a Negro boy named Arthur Alfonso Schomburg. As soon as his serious school days commenced, he became aware of discrimination against his people and, pondering it, decided that in order to attain their full potentialities black men must be made aware of possessing a creditable history, an honorable tradition. To this thesis he devoted his life, traveling, observing, collecting. His earliest researches were made in the Caribbean area.

At 23 he went to New York and found perfunctory jobs which enabled him to live and save money for wider travels. While doing so he focused his attention on the American Negro and dug up many incidents forgotten or ignored. One of these was the existence in the eighteenth century of a colored pastor, the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, who ministered to an important white congregation in Rutland, Vermont, and left behind commentaries on the American Revolution and a number of sermons.

Another discovery was the portrait of Benjamin Banneker, a Negro mathematician and astronomer praised by Thomas Jefferson and General Lafayette. At this time, too, Mr. Schomburg reintroduced to the public the poems of Phillis Wheatley, born in Africa and in 1773 sold in Boston from a slave ship. These documents and many others he acquired and added to his expanding archives.

By and by he set off for wild portions of South America, the Congo, Guinea, Nubia, Egypt, Liberia, where he harvested extensive knowledge of customs and practices. He translated from native tongues legends, hero-tales and tender ditties; among these last are Zulu nursery rhymes from the Bantu language.

* * *

Intellectually enriched but without funds, Mr. Schomburg returned to New York and became head of the mailing division of the Latin-American department of the Bankers' Trust Company, a position he occupied for 21 years. In 1911, together with a number of colored men, he organized the Negro Society for Historical Research, of which he was made secretary and librarian. It brought together for the first time in one body African, West Indian, and Afro-American scholars, and gave much impetus to private collecting.

Again, after years of personal sacrifices, he found himself in a position to seek Negro traditions abroad. This time he went to Europe, first to Spain and Portugal. In the cathedrals of Seville and Granada he brought to light musty records of the Indies and paintings by Negro slaves. His most important discovery was a group of manuscripts by Juan Latino, a Negro who in the last half of the sixteenth century was incumbent of the chair of poetry in the University of Granada. Proceeding to other countries, he unearthed scientific treatises, polemics, and autobiographies, and on his return to New York his collection numbered 4,000 volumes, 1,000 pamphlets, and manuscripts, and 200 prints. His claim that this material represents the first true writing of Negro history and that it revises many important paragraphs in our common American history is undoubtedly justified.

In 1926 the Carnegie Corporation acquired all Mr. Schomburg's material and gave it to the New York Public Library and in 1932 Mr. Schomburg was appointed

(Continued on page 14

FEPC Hearing Postponed; D. C. 'Riot' Rumors Persist

Special

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Tuesday's hearings on alleged non-compliance by the *Capital Transit Co.* with the Committee on Fair Employment Practices directed against racial discrimination were called off suddenly Monday when the committee issued the following announcement to the press.

"The Fair Employment Practices Committee was today advised that a new committee chairman had been appointed and that the committee's reorganization will be effected immediately upon his assumption of the chairmanship. The committee has, therefore, been requested to postpone its public hearing, scheduled for Tuesday, May 18, in Washington, DC, on the *Capital Transit Co.* case to June 2. Pursuant to the request, the committee at its meeting today postponed its scheduled hearing in Detroit, Mich., from May 24 and 25 to June 28 and 29."

SPREAD UNFOUNDED RUMORS

Incident to recent *Capital Transit Week* demonstrations led by the Committee on Jobs for Negroes in Public Utilities, which were climaxed by a parade and mass meeting of nearly 4,000 white and Negro citizens on May 7, inflamatory rumors of a pending "race riot" were spread rapidly throughout the nation's capital.

Anonymous phone calls and taxi drivers were especially effective in spreading such wholly unfounded rumors as the following:

- the parade is going to be turned into an invasion of the Capitol;
- white women and children are being dragged off street cars and buses by Negro mobs;
- troops have been called out to quell riots in which several citizens were killed;
- 800 roughnecks have been imported from NY to invade downtown theatres and hotels.

LOCAL DAILIES MUM

Reaching their peak just before the parade and mass meeting on May 7, such rumors continued for several days, even after the highly impressive *Capital Transit Week* demonstrations had passed.

During the height of the rumor campaign, all four local daily papers maintained complete silence, not once mentioning the demonstrations for Negro bus and street car operators or seeking to quiet the unwarranted fears which affected all parts of the community. Following the parade and mass meeting, the daily press carried brief, somewhat distorted accounts of the demonstration, but not until three or four days later did they begin to editorialize against the spreading of dangerous rumors.

It was in this setting that the FEPC called upon E. D. Merrill, president of the *Transit Co.*, to appear at the hearing to determine whether the company "has complied with the provisions of Executive Order 8802 and the directive of the committee" against racial discrimination in employment practices. The hearings had [illegible] as the most important [illegible] of the week and [illegible] postponement was ex[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

—VV—

"WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO," WEEK

A Phillip Randolph, international president of the Pullman Porters and a group of leading Negroes are planning a "We Are Americans, Too," Week, to be held sometime in June. One of my friends in discussing this contemplated week, casually referred to the fact that an FBI man had told him that such a week was not wanted in Houstpn. If this FBI man said that he is not fit to be a member of the FBI. Any one who would object to a week, dedicated to the principles of Americanism, is an enemy agent and should be denounced as such. While this writer does not believe that it is necessary for the Negro to have a week to show that he is intensely patriotic, I don't believe that such a week should be condemned.

Author

Miss Irene West, Los Angeles, Cal., author of "The Twain Shall Meet" and "Sun-tanned Americans" Poem.

"MAMA IRENE"

Come! I would gather you to me,
You children of God, whom I love,
To hear what I write or give voice to—
'Tis a message to you from above.

Too long have I sinned by silence,
When my heart was bursting to speak,
To the world's oppressed and the sorrowing;
To our own blessed lowly and meek.

My honest voice and virile pen,
I dedicate to you;
You, dear ones, take up the chant,
'Til it rings the whole land through.

I'll write it, you sing it, beloveds,
And pass the torch along;
We'll sear their souls with our demands—
In verse and prose and song!

You'll speak through me, with dignity,
With head held high in the air;
While all we ask of "the upper-crust"
Is that the Law be fair.

They listened to many false prophets,
The prophets of graft and greed;
In their folly and utter conceit, they failed
To discern Humanity's need.

We'll truthfully shout it and cry it,
Until they perceive who we are;
We are they, who hear greed's doom resounding,
From battlements, hidden—afar!

To YOU, I am plain, "Mama Irene,'
Together we'll toil till it's done;
I, a God-child bleached in the shade—
You, a God-child tanned in the sun!

'Tis a solemn pledge I give thee—
To defend with my last breath—
Your Righteous Plea; Your Psalm of Life,
From now 'til the day of death!

Although they hang me to a tree,
Or burn me at the stake,
I vow to you, I'll speak the TRUTH—
For God's and your own dear sake!

—Irene West.
(Author of "The Suntanned Yanks and Chocolate Marines)

100,000 NEGRO MINERS URGED BACK TO WORK

National Negro Council Asks 'United Nations Victory'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 2—The National Negro Council, in an emergency meeting today, called on the 100,000 Negroes employed in the struck coal fields to return to work tomorrow as ordered by President Roosevelt.

In a statement which also asked the use of Federal troops to protect the returning miners, the council declared:

"We are not unmindful that the United Mine Workers organization has never drawn the color line and maintained the union free from discrimination between workers, working conditions and pay scales.

"We submit, however, the Negro workers today, everywhere, like their sons, 450,000 of them fighting alongside their fellow-American soldiers and sailors, must stand or fall on the incontestable and absolute power of the Government of the United States and the Constitution."

The council said: "We second the command: back to the mines on Monday morning at 10 A. M. sharp, in the name of victory for the United Nations."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

(Dedicated to OUR, "Frederick the Great!")

Could you have lived to see this age; this day;
Deeds of achievement on the scroll embossed—
(By descendents of proud Ethiopia's clay)
You'd know no word nor deed of yours was lost.

The seed you sowed in barren, virgin soil,
Did sprout and bloom, yea, ever and anon,
As monuments, no age could e'er despoil.
You stand today, the Race's Paragon!

From little acorns, mighty oaks do grow;
No amaranthine weed, can strangle it;
Other blossoms' growth—laborious and slow;
Yet all are registered in Holy Writ!

From humblest birth, to wear the Laurel Crown;
You grew as strong and bendless as an oak;
Nor could all Hell or Hellions, hold you down.
A Sampson! You escaped the chain and yoke!

A powerful force in Reasoning, you became.
How! You helped humanize the human brute!
Thus, Man, became more reasoning and sane;
Frederick the Great! Let all Humanity salute!

—Irene West

...should take a broader view of his situation and unite with other minority groups of the world to secure just consideration in post-war settlements."

These words are wise and coming from a man of Judge Moore's position, experience and breadth of vision, they should cause deep thought, especially with the simultaneous announcement by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of an emergency conference in Detroit from June 2 to 4, and by the March on Washington committee of a conference in Chicago a month later.

This is a crucial period in the history of the American colored people. For the first time there seems to be a concerted national drive on the part of public and private agencies to freeze us into a status of second-class citizenship while we are being lulled to sleep with professions of affection of our "friends" who want to do away with discrimination while condoning segregation.

• • •

In the past the chief obstacle to our progress has been the unreconstructed South. But today there is a noticeable and painful tendency everywhere to look upon "equal but separate" arrangements as the solution to all interracial problems that arise, whether in Minneapolis or Mobile, San Francisco or Shreveport, New York or New Orleans.

This indicates that the philosophy of bi-racialism is now generally accepted and being put into practice despite an increased volume of talk and writing about democracy.

There is a definite drive in Washington to eliminate the so-called Black Cabinet by heading all agencies dealing with Negroes with "liberal" whites on the ground that the latter are less emotional and more objective in administering their posts when problems involving colored citizens arise.

• • •

The drive against the FEPC has succeeded and that agency now lacks power, direction and vigorous leadership.

The campaign waged by Negroes since 1939 to make the armed forces democratic has miserably failed. We have a strictly segregated Army and Navy, and there is no indication that the powers-that-be intend to have any other.

Quasi-governmental agencies such as the USO and the Red Cross are firmly established on a jim-crow basis and no amount of complaining, threatening or pleading has swayed them one lota from their program.

Our drive to keep Federal housing democratic has also failed with extremely few exceptions. Almost everywhere colored citizens occupy segregated housing projects.

We have made no fundamental gains on the educational front, although discrimination in expenditure of school monies for buildings, equipment and salaries has been markedly lessened.

Now there is a bill pending in Congress which will enable reactionaries to take the office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia out of the control of Negroes.

In short, it seems clear that the whole tendency in this country is toward a more strictly bi-racial civilization in which colored people will be "frozen" into the status of second-class citizens and from which they will be unable to emerge.

• • •

It is unlikely that this trend toward bi-racialism will be lessened with the end of the war. On the contrary, it may well be accelerated until the color caste system becomes "fixed, fast and frozen" like the Hindu caste system, unless it can be effectively combatted.

This is the problem confronting our organizations, and because American colored people are pacing the progress of all colored people of the world, the strategy determined by these two organizations at their coming conferences will in large part determine the future of the colored world.

Under the circumstances it is unfortunate that the leadership of both of these organizations seem baffled by the tremendous problems confronting colored people.

In a world in which democracy is being stressed more than ever before, both organizations are self-perpetuating oligarchies at best and dictatorships at worst, as any unbiased study of their structure and operation will abundantly prove.

The March on Washington leadership is completely visionary and has succeeded merely in staging a few giant mass meetings and stirring indignation and unrest which it lacks the administrative genius to constructively channel. The measure of [illegible] is evidenced by irresponsible talk about [illegible] and mass marches which never [illegible]

It is a far cry, of course, from the March on Washington "opera bouffe" to the saner, more constructive, more experienced and immeasurably larger and more powerful N.A.A.C.P.

The latter organization actually has a great number of achievements to its credit, and more than any other organization, it has helped to definitely slow the national trend toward that bi-racialism which will sound forever the death knell of our aspirations.

But the NAACP, with its self-perpetuating board of directors, its oligarchic structure, its archaic administrative machinery, its farcical annual meetings and its increasing centralization of operation, is far from being the sort of instrumentality capable of leading the Negro out of the wilderness of segregation into the green fields of democracy.

Democracy must begin at home and the effectiveness of the NAACP would be immeasurably increased if it had an administration elected by and answerable to the rank and file membership.

The NAACP has become a mere protest, legal aid and lobbying agency, and while its achievements as such have been noteworthy, it has been unable by this policy to secure a real mass membership because its appeal has not been broad enough.

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In a situation crying for new techniques, its leader-

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 4)

Msgr. Haas Accepts Post as FEPC Head

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 20.—Msgr. Francis J. Haas, veteran labor conciliator and dean of social sciences at the Catholic University of America, disclosed yesterday, following a visit to the White House, that he had accepted the chairmanship of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).

He will succeed Malcolm MacLean, president of Hampton Institute, who resigned the chairmanship last January to enter the Navy. Since then the work of the Committee has been practically at a standstill.

Two other vacancies on the Committee, resulting from the resignations of Lt. Col. David Sarnoff, president of RCA, and Mark Eldridge, publisher of the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, are expected to be filled shortly.

MOW Head Calls For Mass Unity

NEW YORK CITY, May 20—A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington movement, has directed to be issued from his national headquarters in the Theresa hotel building, a call for all Negroes to attend the "We are Americans Too" conference in Chicago from June 30th to July 4th. At this time, leaders of the MOW will decide when it is necessary to March on Washington and if it is necessary at all, it was reported.

"The very universe is troubled and discomforted," Randolph said. "People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. The need for mass organization is now. Negro Americans must awaken to the cause of their nation's freedom. Black men who have long cherished democracy from afar, must arise and take this sacred address for themselves."

Randolph Denounces Savoy Case

NEW YORK CITY, May 13—A. Phillip Randolph, director of the March on Washington Movement, in a speech at the movement headquarters in the Theresa Building, denounced the policy of the New York police department in the closing of the Savoy Ball Room in Harlem. He demanded the reopening of the establishment and stated that there should be a public hearing on charges made by the police department against the hall. The accusations that soldiers have become infected by women frequenting the hall should be considered as unfair by the dynamic leader and he branded the accusations as discriminatory.

MISSION TO

MOSCOW

By Frank C. Waldrop

EVERYBODY having eyes to see with, ears to hear with and A BRAIN TO THINK WITH, had better go see the movie, *Mission To Moscow*, advertised as a true record of Joseph E. Davies' career as U. S. ambassador to Russia in the critical pre-war years.

This picture is not entertainment. It is politics. It is the first weapon in a battery that is already going to knock out the last independent intelligence of this once free Republic, or be knocked out by same.

This picture is not history, either, any more than it is entertainment. By any test of historical fact it is a lie and a fraud. What is more, it has already been publicly exposed in clear detail as a lie and a fraud, by many Americans of usually conflicting political feelings.

And so, no more details of evidence will be offered here at this time except a listing of just a few of the patriots who are helping expose the historical lie and fraud. These include:

John Dewey, Princeton University's world acclaimed philosopher; Anne O'Hare McCormick, editorial columnist of the New York Times; Manny Farber, film critic of the New Republic, a magazine ordinarily found defending anything pro-Russian; William Henry Chamberlain, for many years Moscow correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, and internationally known as an authority on Russian affairs.

JOS. C. GREW, Former U. S. Ambassador to Japan

ALSO, Sidney Hook, chairman [illegible] of the Department of Philosophy at New York University; Dorothy Thompson, syndicated newspaper columnist and as wild-eyed an advocate of war upon Hitler before December 7, 1941, as there was in the world.

Also, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Federation of Labor; and Harry Gideonese, president of Brooklyn University.

These are just a few of the people who have seen *Mission to Moscow* and denounced it as a historical lie and fraud.

AS it shows throughout the country there will be others with equal courage and intelligence to speak up and say publicly what they know to be true.

But how many others?

That is why it is vitally important for you to see *Mission to Moscow*. For, whether you like it or not, you are now jockeyed into the position of having to defeat this historical lie and fraud or have it defeat you in the struggles dead ahead.

OF course this is not the first politically slanted movie, but up to now political propaganda in the movies has been sly, left-handed and tentative. Therefore, hard to prove in detail.

Back in 1941, while the foreign policy debate was rocking America, a brave but unskilled handful of U. S. Senators tried to show how propaganda was seeping into movie entertainment.

They flopped not because the movies but because they weren't smart enough to demonstrate the real inside facts to a politically unskilled public.

BUT now, the Warner Brothers who made *Mission to Moscow* have become so bold as to lay aside the poisonously gilded lily and swing a sledge hammer.

The movies are using a sledge hammer on the country. How about the country using a sledge hammer, too?

In America there never has been—and we must all make sure there never will be—a monopoly of weapons on one side in a political fight.

Free speech, the free press, and the laws forcing radio stations to share free broadcasting time between all candidates for the same job, are designed to keep U. S. politics competitive.

NOW that the movies are in politics, they, too, must be opened up for competition.

The Warner Brothers have shoved off on us one version of the 1938-1941 foreign policy debate as it related to Europe. How about these same Warner Brothers making now another movie on the foreign policy debate as it involved Japan?

***Mission to Moscow* makes Roosevelt, Stalin and Ambassador Joe Davies supernatural in their knowledge of what was going to happen in Europe. It also makes a thundering campaign speech for Roosevelt's Fourth Term.**

Well, let's get at the other side. How about a movie beginning with Ambassador Joe Grew's *Report from Tokyo* and traveling the straight road of public fact on past Pearl Harbor and Bataan to the Japs now entrenched on Kiska and until yesterday on Attu?

THIS other movie could hammer upon some plain home truths concerning the cause of Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

Who had the responsibility to stay awake? Who was commander in chief then? Who was supernatural and wise ahead of events that time?

This movie could remind us of the prewar warnings by Gen. Douglas MacArthur out in the Philippines, and of the now publicly forgotten testimony before the House Military Affairs Committee in 1941 by Admiral Joseph K. Taussig—remember him?

He declared that Japan was our No. 1 enemy, remember, and was promptly retired from active duty and sent down to Norfolk, Va., as commander of that city's garbage scows.

THIS movie could also remind us that the Japs raped Hong Kong, Singapore and the Dutch East Indies because the U. S. fleet was all the while at the bottom of Pearl Harbor—shot dead in its sleep on a Sunday morning. Why? How come?

The Administration and Warner Brothers committed this conspiracy to drag the movies into politics. It was a terrible thing to do.

But now that it is done, OK. Let's have not just this one political movie but also another to be shown free in every hamlet and village and town during the summer of 1944. Let's call it:

"The Truth About Pearl

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

Democracy Wins A Round

WASHINGTON'S SECOND RACE RIOT was a phony. A rumor and whisper campaign all week nearly drove the police crazy. Frantic whites swamped switchboards—"The niggers are planning to march downtown Friday night and take over, call out the marines, call the boys back from Tunisia, help murder, police!" Hysteria swept the city.

Harried police sent out special cars and rounded up Negro leaders and asked for advice. They found everybody knew about the riot but Negroes. They found the "why" behind the rumors. All week interracial groups had been picketing at strategic intersections, pushing to a climax the campaign to force Capital Transit to hire Negro motormen. White servicemen had heckled the pickets, especially the white ones. There had been incidents. Capital Transit employees capitalized by starting the rumors when they learned Negroes and whites planned to hold an open-air mass meeting in downtown Franklin Square Friday night.

Friday afternoon, things got critical. White servicemen from the chitterling belt drank raw courage in the taverns and swore they would clean out U street, as they were ill-advised enough to try and do in the riot of the last war. The police were ready.

Friday night, Negro and white representatives of labor and welfare organizations, marched 800 strong from U street to Franklin Square and cheered speakers (Rep. Marcantonio, Doxey Wilkerson, Rev. Jernagin, Joe Phillips) and held their banners and placards aloft for the curious. Police were dime a dozen. MP's and shore patrol kept service men moving. Nothing marred events except a sprinkle of rain, and a bag-pipe and drum band on balcony of the nearby white shriners building, deliberately trying to drown out proceedings. The colored Elks band took care of them.

It was all pretty disappointing and tame to the daily press, which had held off at the advice of police and NAACP. Undoubtedly the "March On Washington" (A. Phil Randolph) civil disobedience campaign scheduled to get underway Saturday, got mixed in the picture and helped the rumors along. Meanwhile the Capital Transit fight goes on undeterred, and as for race riot rumors, the wages of gin, the breath, nothing more, chum.

Statecraft, Racecraft, and Just Craft

WALTER WHITE (NAACP) back in October, "wanted in" the State Department to buttonhole Undersecretary Welles about a "Pacific Congress" to guarantee justice to dark-hued United Nations subsidiaries. State, notoriously shying away from "race" at home, gave him the old brush off, 'till Eleanor Roosevelt said, "Let him in, damn it" or words to that effect.

Welles listened with Statecraft respectfulness, and ceremoniously took several months to do nothing about it. Darklings salvaged something, though, because Walter now has an "in" and can get in to holler. Racecraft demands he holler so you and Charley can hear him, Statecraft notwithstanding, and the Hulls and Welles falling where they may.

Incidentally, about same time, colored messengers in State petitioned FEPC to halt "discriminatory practices" in hiring and promotion in the department. State refused to be put on the grill publicly (would look bad abroad) and MacLean and Cramer (FEPC chairman and secretary were closeted with Welles. Result—few messengers became clerks, and colored girls were employed as other than charwomen for first time, in a Jim Crow mimeograph division with a colored supervisor. Today, messengers complain colored clerks are kept out of sight.

Win-The-War-With-Work Department

PAUL McNUTT, noting colored newsmen Hall (Afro), Davis (Courier), McAlpin (Defender), Johnson (ANP) at his press conference said an acceptance or rejection was expected hourly from the latest prominent figure proffered the FEPC chairmanship. (Newsmen concensus is it has been accepted.) Paul also said no notices of work stoppages because of hiring of Negro workers had come to his attention. (What you waiting for, chums?) To Davis' query as to why the Pullman porters had had no voice in selecting a Railroad Brotherhood representative in manpower questions, Paul merely shrugged.

FEPC plans bravely for its May 18 hearing on Capital Transit, but both committee members and staff know this will be more than just a trial of the Street Railway company. It's a test showdown, of FEPC power and probability of survival.

Meanwhile as Joe Reed, [illegible] Social Security [illegible] Bob [illegible] offered a [illegible]

SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1943
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

RT"--COURIER POLL

George W. Carver Launched In Colorful Ceremonies

RICHMOND, Calif., May 13—Sliding down the ways to the strains of "The Star Spangled Banner," amid the plaudits of thousands of Negro and white shipyard workers and civilians, the S.S. George Washington Carver, second Liberty ship named for an outstanding Negro American, was launched Friday afternoon at Shipyard No. 1 of the Kaiser company

Launched just 26 days after its keel was laid, the 10,500-ton vessel was christened by Lena Horne, singer and motion picture actress, in a colorful ceremony.

STAR SELLS BONDS ON TOUR

Flanked by Mrs. Beatrice Turner, matron-of-honor and first Negro woman welder employed in the Richmond shipyards, and little Teresa Dellums, her flower girl, Miss Horne crashed the champagne bottle against the ship and uttered the traditional words, "I christen the George Washington Carver," as newsreel cameras and photographers' flash bulbs went into action.

The launching followed a whirlwind tour through the shipyards by the movie actress during which she sold more than $25,000 worth of War Bonds. Two Negro shipyard workers, Mr. and Mrs. E. Kautzman, purchased a $2,,500 bond and Local A-26, represented by its president, Richard Guilmenot, bought a $1,000 bond as Miss Horne and Percy Bost, a shipfitter and anchor man, made appeals in three of the four Kaiser yards.

The launching program was opened by M. G. Vanderwende, assistant manager of Yard No. 1, who started that "Today we are honored to witness the launching of another great Liberty Ship. We are also launching another blow for the cause of freedom and honoring a man whose whole life was dedicated unselfishly to this same cause."

1500 WITNESS CEREMONIES

Vanderwende then introduced C. Laurence Dellums, West Coast representative of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and president of the United Negro Labor committee, which sponsored the launching. He served as chairman of the program. Following an invocation by Rev. H. T. S. Johnson, former pastor of Taylor Memorial church in Oakland, Verne McCalla, shipfitter representative of the Kaiser workers declared:

"We are all laborers working together towards the completion of a tremendous job—the job of victory. The American Negro has made himself an integral part of the pattern of this great industry of shipbuilding. The dramatic rise of Negro labor in the Bay area has and always will receive nationwide attention.

The celebration began earlier in the day when Miss Horne and her aunt, Mrs. Edwin King of Los Angeles, arrived from Los Angeles and were honored with a breakfast at the Athens club by the United Negro Labor committee. The whirlwind bond rally at the shipyards followed and the entire launching committee and guests were luncheon guests of the Kaiser company at Yard No. 2. More than 1,500 civilians joined the shipyard workers in witnessing the launching.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, MAY 17, 1943

Heard In 'The Market'

The first Rosenwald Fellowship ever awarded to a Negro journalist was given to **Roi Ottley**, publicity director of the National CIO War Relief campaign. He will study the condition of working class minorities in the United Nations.

George Cranmore, ass't regional director of this area for the United Automobile Workers (CIO), was appointed a member of the State War Fund, **Irving Salert**, director of the N. Y. CIO relief drive, said.

Wholesale violations of OPA ceiling prices have been discovered by UAW price police in supermarkets, chain and independent food stores, **Walter Reuther**, UAW vice-president, reported... **Genevieve Tabouis**, editor of the Free French Pour la Victoire, and City Councilman **Stanley Isaacs** will speak at the Win-The-War Rally of the New York Newspaper Guild, Manhattan Center, Thursday.

The President's job-wage freeze order "hurts all labor but particularly the Negro, since he is frozen in inferior jobs and wages." **A. Philip Randolph**, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, charged.

Leading economists will join with **Mark Starr, N. M. Minkoff, Fannia M. Cohn**, and **A. Weiss**, International Ladies Garment Workers' educational department directors, in a forum on the post-war world, May 22, at 3 W. 16th St.

The State Labor Relations Board has ordered an election among pari-mutuel employees at the Jamaica racetrack for a vote on affiliation with the Mutuel Ticket Agents Union (AFL), **Lorenzo D. Carlino**, union attorney, and the SLRB reported.

The delegation of five local CIO officials who met with President Roosevelt to discuss "roll-back-prices" strategy included **Michael Quill**, Transport Workers president; **Albert Stonkus**, United Electrical Workers; **Josephine Timms**, American Communications Assn.; **Clifford McAvoy** and **Saul Mills**, of the CIO Council.

NEGRO LABOR NEWS, SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1943

Says Job Freeze Hurts Negro Worker Most

NEW YORK CITY—In a statement commenting on the Job-Wage freeze executive order by President Roosevelt, A. Philip Randolph, international president president of the Sleeping car porters, said this week that the order was one of the most drastic decrees which has ever been issued on wage and employment in a so-called democracy.

"It hurts all labor but particularly the Negro since he is frozen in inferior jobs and wages, and Negro and white workers must unite to change [illegible] said Mr. Randolph.

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

New WMC Committee Anti-Negro, Charge

Fraser, Goss, O'Neal, Crawford, Have Bad Records for Us On Labor Problems

(Special to The Courier)

WASHINGTON, April 29—Unless President Franklin D. Roosevelt personally steps in to clear up the policies of the War Manpower commission affecting the use of Negro labor in America's war effort the conclusion seems inescapable that both the war production goals of the United States and the future position of Negro workers in the job life of the country will be seriously crippled.

This broad conclusion is fully borne out by current developments in the War Manpower commission.

NEGROES IGNORED ON VITAL COMMITTEES

Briefly stated the situation is this: There is no Negro representa-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

NEW WMC COMMITTEE

(Continued from Page 1)

tion on any policy-making committees of the War Manpower commission. There has not been for months any consultation between War Manpower commission policy-making officials and members of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice as to what policies need to be established to deal with the increasingly grave problem of use of Negro labor in the war effort.

The same thing is true of Negro experts on labor employed in the Commission, such as Dr. Robert C. Weaver. There is still no chairman of FEPC. The sudden burst of energy in FEPC reported last week was without knowledge or authority of the War Manpower Commission and all official Commission releases regarding hearings and investigations by FEPC into Negro job discrimination have been stopped.

Meanwhile the "wage-freeze order" of War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and the announcement last Saturday at an emergency press conference by Fowler Harper, deputy commissioner, of a new labor-management policy committee have only served to deepen the fears of observers here as to the road being taken by the War Manpower Commission in its Negro policy.

COMMITEE PICKED AGAINST NEGRO LABOR

In an administrative order issued by Commissioner McNutt last Friday there was re-established, with a new membership, the labor-management policy committee of the War Manpower Commission. This committee is, under the terms of the order, to advise WMC in the determination of policies for use of labor and to stimulate cooperation of all groups in the carrying out of these policies.

There are nine members on the new committee: three from management, three from farm groups and three from labor organizations. The membership of the committee is as follows: for management, Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Fred Crawford, president of the National Manufacturers' association; Conrad Cooper, vice president of the Wheeling Steel corporation; for farm groups, Ed O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau federation; Jas. G. Patton, president of the National Farmers' union; Albert Goss, Master of the National Grange; for labor, Philip Murray, president of the CIO; William Green, president of the AFL, and Harry Fraser of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.

R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Farm Equipment Workers' of America, last week blasted against this new committee, charging that it was packed against labor. To an even greater degree it can be said that the committee is "packed against Negro labor."

RECORDS OF FRASER AND GOSS NOT GOOD!

The selction of Fraser, representing railroad workers on the committee, was made at a meeting held in Chicago last Thursday of representatives of 22 railroad workers' unions. Invitations to this meeting were issued by Fowler Harper, deputy commissioner of WMC, who admitted in his press conference Saturday to a Courier representative that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, headed by A. Philip Randolph and the United Transport Workers' of America, headed by Willard Townsend, had not been invited to that meeting.

What is more significant is the fact that Fraser comes from a union which has a jim crow color bar in its constitution. Under the terms of this constitution membership is open only to "white men."

An interview with Albert Goss, another member of the committee, revealed the fact that his organization had no Negro membership and had in the last 30 years taken no position on any problem affecting Negroes. Goss explained the absence of Negro membership by explaining that his organization was "sort of like a fraternity, like the Odd Fellows" and then stated, when queried on use of Negro labor in the war effort, "I don't know enough about it to comment on it." He was described by one farm leader here, as a "tired old man."

[illegible]

knows nothing about Negro labor problems there are two other members who know them at first hand. One is Ed O'Neal, large Alabama plantation owner who employes hundreds of Negro sharecroppers on his plantation in Northern Alabama. It was Ed O'Neal who last week led the successful fight to scrap the Farm Security Administration which gave help to thousands of small Negro farmers. O'Neal knows the Negro manpower question, "Alabama style." The other is Fred Crawford, big industrialist, who is president of the Thompson Products company in Cleveland. This company now employs about 1,400 Negro workers—but only as result of FEPC action, before it was disorganized by McNutt's action in halting its activity. Prior to that time the company officels on September 30, 1942, informed the Cleveland office of the United States Employment service that it was "not hiring colored girls." Scores of Negro girls were turned away from its employment office at that time by R. B. Evans, one of Crawford's personnel managers.

It is this committee packed by men such as those described above from which McNutt will get advice as to how to deal with Negro manpower problems.

Meanwhile, competent Negro experts, such as Dr. Robert C. Weaver, who from June 1940 until last October was in charge of the Negro labor division of WMC, now dismantled by order of Commissioner McNutt, has been literally "put on ice" so far as his dealing with the Negro problem is concerned.

"WAGE-FREEZE" ORDER WILL HIT US HARDEST

Meanwhile the McNutt "wage-freeze order" issued without consideration of its affect on tens of thousands of low-paid Negro wage earners threatened to play havoc with the living standards of these workers. The order prevents most of these workers from taking jobs at higher pay, unless permission is granted by officials of area or regional offices of the WMC, controlled in the South by prejudiced white employees. The jim crow status of Negro workers, aggravated by McNutt's inactivity on the FEPC front, will thus be perpetuated, causing real hindrance to war production and irreparable harm to the job status of Negroes.

LEWIS IGNORES ROOSEVELT VIEW

Will Not Discuss Statement on Obligation of Miners as Government Employes

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, said yesterday that he had no comment on President Roosevelt's statement in his Washington press conference that the miners were now Federal employes and that accordingly he did not expect them to strike against their government.

Mr. Lewis also declined to say whether he would stay at his temporary headquarters at the Hotel Roosevelt here over the week-end or return to Washington.

With Mr. Lewis absent for the third day in succession, while he carried on routine union affairs at his hotel, representatives of the union continued their wage negotiations with the anthracite operators at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Because Ralph E. Taggart and James H. Pierce of the operators' negotiating committee were in Washintgon to answer a call from the War Labor Board, alternatives sat in for them. They were F. W. Leamy Sr., vice president of the Hudson Coal Company of New York, and Santo Volpe, president of the Volpe Coal Company of Pittston, Pa. The conference adjourned until 1:30 o'clock Monday afternoon.

A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared in a statement that Negro workers should stand by the miners. He asserted that prices should be rolled back to the level of Jan. 1, 1942, if wages were not to be increased, but voiced belief that this would not be done. The OPA, he added, was helpless and prices were still going up.

Workers should support President Roosevelt and the war program, he said, but should also fight to protect their economic rights.

WHOLE NO. 1677 WILLIAM GREEN, President

FACING *the* FACTS

With PHILIP PEARL

No more important piece of legislation ever was offered in Congress than the new Wagner-Dingell Social Security Amendments which incorporate the objectives of the American Federation of Labor and leaders of public life, regardless of political affiliations.

This bill is dynamite—dynamite which will explode in the face of any selfish, petty or reactionary group or individual who dares to oppose it.

We say this under the assumption that every intelligent American citizen wants a national insurance system that will put an end to destitution in our country, guard the health and safety of our people and compensate the boys now serving in our armed forces for physical injuries and post-war unemployment.

These are some of the major objectives of the Wagner-Dingell Bill, a measure which does not represent somebody's sudden bright idea but is the result of five years of the most careful study by experts on the staff of the American Federation of Labor and the Social Security Board.

The Lineup In Favor

Who are the people who favor this bill? Every worker who dreads the loss of his job at any time in the future and fears the onset of old age for which he has been able to make no ample provision.

Every mother who has been forced to count pennies before deciding whether she can afford to send for a doctor to administer to her sick child will support this bill because it provides health insurance and hospitalization care for all members of the family.

Millions of agricultural workers, domestic servants and self-employed persons who are not now covered by any phase of social security will fight for this bill because for the first time it provides protection for them as well as all other American citizens.

Working women who can't afford to have children now because of the medical costs and loss of income will appreciate the maternity insurance provided in the Wagner-Dingell Bill.

Every American soldier, sailor and marine who is risking his life against the enemy will want this bill passed. It obligates our country to provide compensation for unemployed ex-soldiers after the war and to pay disability insurance to those who have been injured. The families of these boys, troubled by the failure of our Government to take any steps in their behalf, also will demand favorable action on this bill.

We've all heard about the "Beveridge Plan" in England. This Wagner-Dingell Bill is an American "Beveridge Plan." As President Green said, coupled with a program for post-war expansion of industry to provide jobs for all in peace-time, it will carry out the pledge of the President of the United Staes to end the fear of want for all time in America.

Behold The Opposition

Now let's see who may oppose this bill. It may be expected that political interests which seek to preserve patronage systems under the present State-Federal unemployment compensation system may object to being deprived of the gravy under the new bill which creates a single, unified and national insurance system.

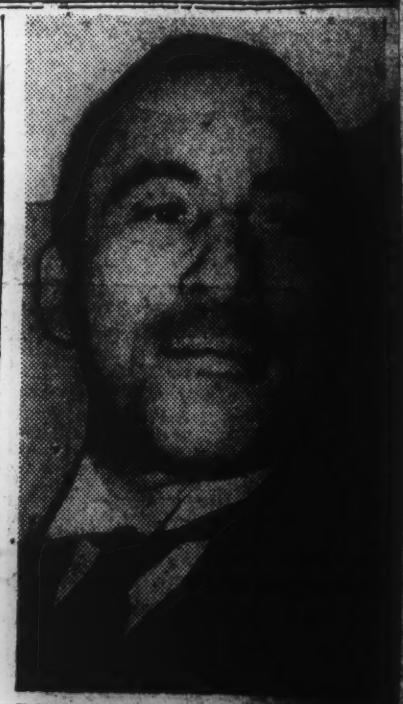
Then, it may be possible that a few moss-backs in the medical profession, who oppose socialized medicine regardless of the benefits to the people as a whole, may start protesting even though the bill protects the individual's choice of physician and seeks to uplift the standards of medical treatment.

Who else? Perhaps a few reactionary groups may set up a howl against higher taxes. But the bill does not increase the tax on employers. They will have to pay 6 per cent on payrolls. Under the present law they would have to do that by 1949 anyway. The bill does double the tax on workers by bringing it up to 6 per cent of weekly wages, but we doubt if any worker will be heard to complain. The benefits provided by the bill are so great as to make the cost cheap to every worker and employer.

So we expect that the Wagner-Dingell Bill will become law—eventually. It would be too optimistic to expect its immediate enactment. There probably will have to be an interval for public education as to the provisions of the bill before we can get the ball rolling.

To that end, we propose to devote the space usually occupied by this column in the next 13 weeks to a series of articles by the Social Security Committee of the AFL explaining the purposes and provisions of the Wagner-Dingell Bill. We urge all labor publications to print these articles. At the same time we appeal to all labor organizations in the country to mobilize their entire political strength in support of the Wagner-Dingell Bill.

AMSTERDAM NEW YORK STAR-NEWS



REV. WILLIAM LLOYD ... pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church, has announced his resignation from the ministry, to accept the presidency of Knoxville College, Tenn. Dr. Imes answered queries as to the reasons for his resignation said while he loved the work here, I feel the call as president of ... College ...

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, MAY 18, 1943

Bias Board Reorganizing

New Chairman Named for McNutt Group

Washington, May 18 (AP)—The self-sought reorganization of the Fair Employment Practice Committee appeared imminent today.

The committee said it had been "officially advised that a new chairman had been appointed and that the reorganization will be effected immediately upon his assumption of the chairmanship."

Therefore, the statement said, the committee has acceded to a request to postpone two hearings that it had scheduled for inquiry into charges of discrimination against Negroes and others.

One hearing, dealing with alleged discrimination in Detroit war industries, was postponed from May 24-25 to June 28-29. The other, involving hiring practices of the Capital Transit Company here, was set back from tomorrow to June 2.

Identity of the new chairman was not disclosed. Chairman McNutt of the War Manpower Commission, parent agency of the committee, indicated that President Roosevelt would deliver the appointment personally.

The committee's work has been virtually at a standstill since early this year, when a hearing it had scheduled into alleged discrimination against Negroes by the railroad industry was "postponed indefinitely" by McNutt.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, MAY 3, 1943

A World To Live In

N. Y. State Discrimination Committee Needs Funds

By Dorothy Norman

The New York State Committee on Discrimination has been working under serious handicaps. It has never had sufficient funds or personnel. It has never been able to investigate discrimination on a truly state-wide basis. But it makes progress, nevertheless.

Its latest report cites 14 firms investigated a year ago, when, out of 43,000 employees only 422 were Negroes. This year those same concerns are employing 65,000 persons, of whom 1,130 are Negroes. One out of sixty are Negroes now, as against one out of a hundred a year ago.

That is progress. There remain, still to be dealt with, thousands of other factories throughout the state, and the discrimination against Jewish and Italian citizens, loyal aliens and others against whom prejudice has long persisted.

* * *

Another advance the committee mentions in its report has to do with improved practices with regard to discrimination by employment agencies.

Whereas more than half of the employment agencies visited and investigated by the committee formerly had discriminatory items on their application blanks, all those agencies have now agreed to remove such items.

The committee also reports that the Army has been co-operating in helping it to remove discriminatory items from application blanks formerly approved by the Army, with the discriminatory questions left in.

Obviously there are still methods that can be used for discriminatory purposes that do not meet the eye. The committee is well aware of this, and intends to check such practices in every manner possible. Public hearings are, in fact, under way at this time.

* * *

How much of the progress reported is due to the fact that there is a war manpower shortage, one cannot even begin to guess. But changes in policy indicate the one important fact that if more Negroes have jobs in technical fields they will therefore have developed skills that they never have had the opportunity to develop before.

An important fact to know, however, would be just how many Negroes are being given jobs that are not merely menial. It would also be valuable to know what the State Committee has found with regard to discrimination against Negroes by unions. There is, after all, a state law against the barring of Negroes from unions. Why not invoke it?

And what is happening about segregation within factories now employing Negroes? Also what is happening about up-grading for Negroes?

Here is an enormous field that the committee should be empowered to investigate.

* * *

It is sad to note that no word has as yet come from Albany about final assurance of a budget for the committee for the coming year. No one knows what the status of the committee will be after June 1, since it has only enough money to last until that time.

All foes of discrimination should write the Governor today urging him to give the committee an adequate budget.

PM, MONDAY, MAY 3, 1943

Pearl Buck Launches New Drive Against Racial Discrimination

A Nationwide movement to do away with race discrimination was announced today by Pearl S. Buck, chairman of the Committee Against Race Discrimination of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Twenty-six national member organizations, each having a positive program for race equality, will take part in a series of meetings this week. Following the subdivisional meetings the Conference will convene as a whole on May 11.

Topics to be discussed this week include discrimination in the armed forces, in Government employment, in the voluntary services, in trade unions, in housing and in education and training.

"The eyes of the world are upon us to see how we work out our democracy here; they look to us to see the patterns for the world to come," said Miss Buck. She added:

"It is our job to make democracy come true for the colored people in America as a promise of our sincerity in a democratic peace. It is the duty of responsible American citizens to do something about it now."

The Conference will carry out its purpose by a continued educational campaign for race equality and seek legislation in various states against discrimination.

It will seek to enlist wider organizational and individual support for racial equality among white, inter-racial and Negro organizations.

Mrs. FDR in Tribute To Negro Educator

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt yesterday joined an audience of 3500 at the Golden Gate in Harlem to pay tribute to the "courage, hope and strength" of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune for her 38 years service as founder and president of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.

"Mrs. Bethune symbolizes the spirit we need today to meet the problems of the world," said Mrs. Roosevelt.

"She has also achieved the supreme task of instilling that spirit in her students who have gone into the State of Florida and other Southern states and assumed positions of leadership."

"The people cannot be educated overnight. But we are moving in the right direction.

"We must realize that all of us are brothers. We all belong to the human race. If we don't, we can not have the kind of peace for which we are fighting."

Mrs. Bessye Bearden, deputy collector of the Second Internal Dist. of New York, presented Mrs. Bethune a plaque from the New York committee of the college. She listed Mrs. Bethune with Mrs. Roosevelt, Pearl Buck and Mme. Chiang-Kai-shek as the "four greatest women of our time."

Mrs. Bethune said:

"I am very glad that however high my contacts have been, they haven't been so high that I couldn't reach down and lift up the lowest, that I could open the door for others to enter."

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1943.

366% INCREASE NOTED IN NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

Huge Gains Reported in Recent Survey of 27 War Plants

Success in integrating Negroes in war work in New York State was reported yesterday by the State Committee on Discrimination, which found in a recent survey that while total employment in war industry had risen 7 per cent during the last year, Negro employment had increased 366 per cent.

A sampling of twenty-seven concerns showed that Negroes constituted 4.1 per cent of the total employes last month, compared with 1.2 per cent in April, 1942. A sample taken among fourteen other companies last March showed 1.71 per cent Negro workers, compared with only .97 per cent in March, 1942, a gain of 160 per cent.

"Since our committee's arrival," Charles C. Berkley, director, commented, "firms have been shown where there are untapped reservoirs of manpower, which they badly need. Most of the firms were not slow to adopt the committee's suggestions for integration after conferences with our field men."

Discrimination because of color, race or creed still exists in this State, however, Mr. Berkley reported. He mentioned the old practice of discriminating against Negroes not by barring them from emloyment, but by restricting them to such menial jobs as porters or other maintenance men. Some concerns that employ one or two Jews in such vital executive positions as attorney or controller may actually bar them from employment in the main.

Saturday, May 1, 1943
NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS
Job Segregation Within Scope of FEPC, Lawyers Are Informed

Johnson Tells Group of 8802 Powers, Ri

Said to Answer Cri... Holding FEPC Can't Attack Segregation

Although Executive Or... is not specifically directed ... segregation, it is a fact ... most cases segregation ... on account of race resu... crimination and denial ... of opportunity, and wh... true the President's com... Fair Employment Practic... right to act.

This was the theme of a ... here April 21 by George M... son, assistant executive ... of FEPC, before the ... chapter of the National ... Guild at the Park Ce...

The speech was regard... answer to the extremi... who have maintained th... must not and may not, ... executive order, attack ... tion in any form.

Explaining that Execu... der 8802 prohibits discri... in the employment of wo... cause of race, creed, colo... tional origin and makes ... duty of employers and l... ganiaztions "to provide for ... and equitable participation ... workers . . . without discri... tion," Mr. Johnson posed the ... tion of whether, in the op... of the policy of segregation, ... ers were denied full and e... participation without discri... tion.

He pointed out that many ... ployers, both in government ... private industry, have a ... tion policy on the job, ... may place a particular race ... particular shift, or limit the ... to certain types of work, or ... them in certain buildings ... or sections by themselves."

Promotions Considerations

"Basic to the right to ... of opportunity for employ... the right to be considered ... ployment for any position ... same terms as other ... Johnson said. "Equally ... the right to be considered ... promotions and upgrading ... ter paying and supervisory ... tions.

"Where the policy of se... obtains in any of the forms ... tioned above, there will be ... of employment opportunity ... when an available and ... worker is refused considera... a position because it is in ... from which members of his ... are excluded, or because it ... building from which they ... cluded."

Hits Jim-Crow L...

Johnson said the FEPC ... nized that its jurisdic... limited in discrimination ... reiterated that where ... produced discrimination ... of Executive Order ... FEPC was obligated to ...

Striking at separate ... local unions, set up as ... of established unions, ... that "to the extent ... minority group desire only ... the regular union ... which ... simply a part ... the unions policy of racial ... ation has violated ...

'JOB SEGREGATION IS DISCRIMINATORY'--JOHNSON

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

Executive Order Covers All Forms Of Bias Practices

NEW YORK CITY, April 29—Although Executive Order 8802 is not specifically directed against segregation, it is a fact that in most cases segregation of workers on account of race results in discrimination and denial of equality of opportunity, and where this is true the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has the right to act.

This was the theme of a speech here last week by George M. Johnson, assistant executive secretary of FEPC, before the New York chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild at the Park Central Hotel.

ANSWER TO CRITICS

The speech was regarded as an answer to the extremist critics who have maintained that FEPC must not and may not, under its executive order, attack segregation in any form.

Explainnig that Executive Order 8802 prohibits "discrimination in the employment of workers—because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and makes it the duty of employers and labor organizations "to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers—without discrimination," Mr. Johnson posed the question of whether, in the operation of the policy of segregation, workers were denied full, and equitable participation without discrimination.

"Basic to the right of equality of employment is the right to be considered for employment for any position on the same terms as other persons," Jones said. "Equally basis is the rigth to be considered for promotions and upgrading to better paying and supervisory positions."

SEGREGATION LIMITS OPPORTUNITIES

"Where the policy of segregation obtains in any of the forms mentioned above, there will be a denial of employment opportunity if and when an available and qualified worker is refused consideration for a position because it is a skill from which members of his race group are excluded, or because it is in a building from which they are excluded.

"It is indeed difficult to imagine a situation," the speaker declared, "where a worker is segregated because of his race and yet is not restricted in his employment opportunities because of that segregation. Equality of employment opportunity involves something more than equality in hours of work, rates of pay, tolls, machines, workshops, and types of work, all of which are suspectible of control. It involves intangibles which by their nature may not be subject to the control necessary to assure equality."

JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

Will Air Findings In Detroit

Transit Hearing Set For May 18 In Washington

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—No one in the capital seems to have any doubt as to the motive behind the move on the part of the Fair Employment Practice Committee last week in scheduling hearings in Detroit and Washington, and going ahead with ground work for the formal presentation of arguments in the St. Louis-Kansas City area and possibly in Houston.

The committee met on April 19 with four members present and decided that the time is ripe to air the results of the investigations that have been going on in the Motor City for three months under G. James Fleming, examiner in charge. May 24 and 25 are the dates they set.

Confronted with demands that the inertia be shaken off in connection with the refusal of the Capital Transit Company of Washington to hire Negroes in accordance with a directive to do so, the committee decided to discuss this in hearing on May 18. Actually the next move is up to the

(Continued on Page 2)

JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

Will Air Findings In Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

committee since the company took on a Negro as a driver but members of the union refused to train him for the specific job.

OTHER PROBES

While on the subject of transportation, Earl B. Dickerson, acting chairman of FEPC who was taking the responsibility for the statement on the business of the meeting, said that investigations will also be made into the Los Angeles Railway system, Chicago Surface lines, Chicago Transit company and the Baltimore Transit company.

Complaints with regard to the Houston (Tex.) Shipbuilding company, he said will now be investigated closely since no settlement of grievances has been possible through correspondence.

In those areas where hearings are planned, the FEPC examiners, not yet assigned, will be aided by area and regional men of the War Manpower commission, Dickerson said, just has been the case all along.

Just previous to the press conference called by Dickerson, and in which sat Lawrence W. Cramer, executive secretary for the committee, a draft release was sent to the public relations office of WMC for clearance. That handout will never be released.

WMC POSITION

Spokesman for WMC explained that it would be unfair to do anything that would be binding upon the new chairman of the committee, whoever he might be, and that this chairman ought to be given the right to make certain decisions himself.

When it was pointed out to the spokesman that the unwillingness of WMC to permit the Office of War Information to release the statement prepared by the committee, in no way relieved the "new chairman," he continued to rest on his earlier explanation.

He cited instances of other committees subordinate to the war manpower chief the decisions of which are generally "recommendations" to Mr. McNutt. He was reluctant about labeling the FEPC decisions as "recommendations," however.

At Paul V. McNutt's regular press conference the governor, when asked about his reorganization plans, said just about the same thing in deference to the new chairman. He believes that any plan of reorganization ought to have the approval of the new chairman.

NO PLAN

He was further asked: "Do you have a particular plan to lay before this new chairman?"

"Not necessarily," was his response.

"But possibly?" he was pressed.

This routine was repeated twice and finally McNutt said: "I prefer to use my own language."

There was some expectation that an announcement would be forthcoming around the end of that week, but at the moment this promise seems to have disappeared. The reason remains the difficulty of obtaining [illegible]

PURPOSE EXPLAINED

It is generally being construed that the committee, in taking the action it did, did so in order to commit the FEPC to do certain desired things irrespective of who is a member or what type of plan is approved, or when it goes into effect.

According to Dickerson, it was the committee's desire only to do something about the complaints that were piling up and receiving little consideration.

He justified this inaction by explaining that when they were told that the committee would be reorganized, they saw no point in being precipitous until the matter had been settled. Apparently the [illegible] delay in arriving at a [illegible] sort of ways as the position of the committee.

MAY 1, 1943
THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

FEPC Outlines Jimcro Sabotage

DETROIT—G. James Fleming, field representative of the FEPC, informed 300 delegates attending the Conference on Manpower, called by the Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practices, that there existed "alarming evidence" of race prejudice, which was hampering war production. He gave many examples of the refusal by industry to hire Negroes and other minority groups.

Other persons who spoke out against segregation included James Lindahl, recording secretary of Packard Local 190, United Auto Workers, CIO; F. H. Peiffer, personnel director of Continental Motors.

FEPC Regional Office Makes Four Additions

The New York regional office of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which has been operating on a curtailed basis since cancellation of the proposed hearings on discrimination in the railway industry several months ago, this swung into high gear with the anweek swung into high gear with the announcement by Edward Lawson, Acting Examiner in Charge, of four new appointments and of plans for a greatly expanded program.

Personnel added to the staff of the regional office include St. Clair Bourne, former managing editor of *The People's Voice*, appointed as an Associate Examiner; Miss Mildred R. Greenblatt, appointed as an Associate Examiner; Mrs. Lethia W. Clore, appointed as an Assistant Examiner; and Miss Evelyn Bullock, appointed as a junior clerk-stenographer.

SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1943
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

'STICK WITH MINERS,' URGES MOWM LEADER

NEW YORK CITY, May 13—In discussing the coal miners' strike, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and MOWM leader, stated that the victory of the coal miners' fight for a wage increase will help Negro workers, and that the Negro miners should stick with the United Mine Workers and not scab on the union.

The workers want to and should support President Roosevelt and the war program for victory over the Axis powers, but they should also fight to protect their economic rights, concluded Mr. Randolph.

The Afro-American, April 3, 1943

Form Mixed Army Now, Tobias Urges

(Continued from Page 1)

colored citizens."

As an example, he cited the Office of War Information booklet, "Negroes and the War," which portrays what colored people are doing in the army "without saying a word about segregation or suggesting that it is something undemocratic that should be abolished."

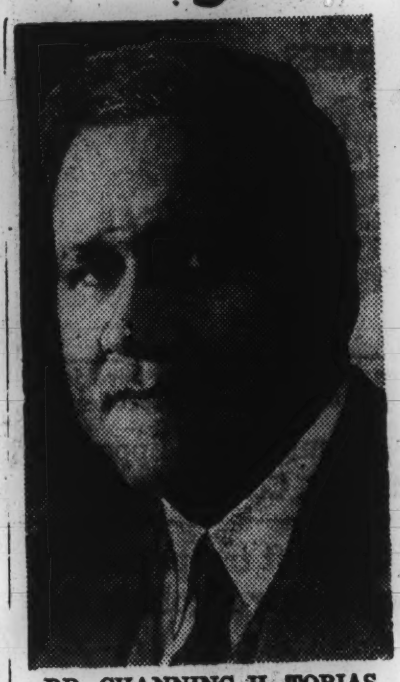
Referring to the South's attitude toward colored people, the YMCA official said:

"Instead of the South's looking upon colored people as a problem, it should recognize the fact that everything that is distinctive in its literature is either seen through the eyes of the colored man, spoken in his dialect, or breathes his spirit."

Asks Army Equality

Answering those persons who fear that a mixed army would bring disastrous results, the speaker pointed to the precedent set by Abraham Lincoln in the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.

"I am not suggesting revolutionary disruption of units of colored men that have been trained already and are now active in the service," he declared, "but I do mean that it is possible for the President of the United States to issue an executive order declaring that from now on colored men shall be enlisted or drafted into the armed services on the same basis as other Americans.



DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS

"It is absolutely impossible for colored men not to be offended down to the very depths of their souls when they see Filipinos, Mexicans, Chinese and even native-born Japanese integrated into practically all arms of the services without discrimination and only the colored man completely segregated as if his presence were contaminating to other people.

"It is natural for him to ask the question if this is the reward that he gets for loyalty such as he has demonstrated through all the years of his life in America."

FEPC Sabotaged

On the question of war jobs, Dr. Tobias pointed out that reactionary forces are sabotaging the work of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and that the government should exact full and impartial compliance with Executive Order 8802 forbidding discrimination in war plants.

He also urged the government to order the Red Cross to end its policy of segregating blood plasmas of colored donors.

"It is almost unthinkable," he said, "with all the assurance of science that there is no difference in the blood plasma of the racial divisions of mankind, that color prejudice could have been strong enough in America in war time to offer this gratuitous insult to thirteen million American citizens."

Hitler Policy of Papers

Dr. Tobias called the newspaper policy of association race with crime only in the cases of colored people "not very different from the Hitlerian method of insisting that Jews wear badges identifying themselves racially."

"It is difficult to estimate the extent of injury done to colored Americans by this long-established policy," he stated. "After all, is it race that commits crime, or people?"

Dr. Tobias stated further that education of the public could hardly be very effective if the moving pictures continue to show colored people only in roles of "obsequious, grinning servants, or as clowns and buffoons."

Saturday, April 10, 194[illegible]

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

WHEN the soldiers come home apparently those who will attract the most attention will be the ones who have not received medals.

The continued stalling of the administration on the FEPC is one of the most extraordinary occurrences of the war.

It would be interesting to have President Roosevelt personally compare with Mr. Stalin the message which Mr. Eden brought concerning colonies.

Dr. DuBois

[illegible] Police found

PM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1943

On Negro's Draft Fight

A mass meeting in support of Winfred Lynn, 36-year-old Negro gardener of Jamaica, who is seeking release from the Army on the ground that Negroes are chosen on a quota basis and are segregated, will be held Thursday at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Lenox Ave. and 140th St.

Lynn, who is now in the Army, brought his case into the courts, and his appeal is expected to be heard in the Supreme Court of the U. S. within a few months. Arthur Garfield Hays is conducting the appeal.

[illegible]d Army Now, Tobias Urges F. D.

Winning the War Include Ending Jim Crow in War
[illegible] Cross Blood Banks; Movie Policy Is Scored

Dr. Tobias also urged that newspapers refrain from mentioning race in crime stories and that "the movie industry abolish code restrictions that confine colored people to roles of menial service and buffoonery."

These suggestions [illegible] in an address Tuesday [illegible] Cooper Union Forum which was attended by over 800 persons.

Urges Immediate Action

The speaker pointed out that while all the complex racial problems could not be "resolved overnight," changes in certain fixed practices could be made immediately.

"Without these changes," he added, "it will be impossible for America to push forward rapidly to the winning of the war."

With these changes he predicted that the internal racial [illegible] and that "the morale of colored Americans would be fanned into a white heat of enthusiasm for the Allied cause."

Hits OWI Pamphlet

Stating that we cannot win the war or a durable peace without unity among all diversified groups, Dr. Tobias said that "only half-hearted efforts are being made at present to make democracy a reality in America for its

(Continued on Page [illegible], Col. 1)

THE OMAHA STAR

April 30, 1943

Lena Horne Noted Mo... Actress To ...on Ship

Ship Second In A Series Of Thre... The Names Of Outstanding Negro ...

The Liberty Ship, George Washington Carver, named for the celebrated Negro scientist, will be launched at noon on Sunday, May 2, at the Richmond Calif., Yard No. 1 of the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company, the Maritime Commission announced today.

The ship, second in a series of three bearing the names of outstanding Negro Americans, will be sponsored by Lena Horne singer and motion picture actress. Beatrice Turner, one of the 6,112 Negro workers in the four

George Washington Carver

Kaiser shipyards in Richmond, will be matron of honor. Both were chosen by the United Negro Labor Committee which is in charge of the launching ceremony.

Thousands of the Negro shipyard workers, who are employed as boilermakers, shipfitters, shipwrights, stage riggers, joiners, sheet metal workers, painters, warehousemen and laborers will participate in the ceremony, along with representatives of Negro organizations throughout the country. The latter will include a representative of the Carver Foundation at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and a Negro delegation from Ohio appointed by Gov. John W. Bricker.

C. L. Dellums, West Coast representative of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and president of the United Negro Labor Committee, will serve as master of ceremonies on a program which will include short addresses by Attorney Walter A. Gordon of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Leon H. Washington, Jr., publisher of the Los Angeles Sentinel, and Vernon McCalla, a shipfitter, representing the Kaiser workers. Marcus Hall, another shipyard worker

(Continued on page 4)

...unched Sunday

...ington Carver To Be Laun...

...SS George Washi...

Saturday, April 3, 1943 **As Crow Flies**

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

CHURCHILL'S latest satement is an open challenge to liberal England; if we are fighting for democracy and the four freedoms and the end of war. The Churchill attitude is dead wrong.

Dr. DuBois

The dying agonies of the FEPC is a forecast of what the fight for Negro rights must face and not only that: if 8802 falls every single accomplishment of the New Deal is in danger.

The presence of Negro fighting men in every area of this war except the Russian front is a repetition of the anomalies and paradox of the First World War.

Stressed "Talented Tenth"

There is one aspect of the Booker Washington controversy which should be noticed in the present revival of interest in that era of our progress. The young men of that day emphasized my phrase the "Talented Tenth," and declared that the object of education was to discover and produce exceptional leadership. Later Abram Harris and the Howard school interpreted the phrase to mean the Privileged Tenth and intimated that it resulted and would result in the development among American Negroes of trained persons who would use their talent to exploit the masses. It has not been until lately that the opposite facts could be brought together to show the truth in this argument.

Recently the veteran student of interracial affairs, Oswald Garrison Villard, has emphasized the extraordinarily efficient leadership which American Negroes have today. There can be no doubt of the truth of his statement. Of the oppressed groups and nationalities in the world today next to China and India, and in some respects on a par with them, stands the American Negro. There is not today a single field of human endeavor: the natural sciences, the social sciences psychology, organization literature, music and art; there is not a single field in which American Negroes have not representatives who are trained, efficient and turning out work: in some cases first class in all cases creditable. This was what we meant by training the Talented Tenth. We said that training for industry was commendable, was necessary. We never denied that. Not a single statement can be found in which any of the rebellious leaders of the Washington era denied the need of technical training.

Leadership Is Vital

But what we did say then and what thinking Negroes are still saying: without efficient leadership in fields opened by the higher training it would be impossible for us to hold our place in America and especially difficult in time of change and dislocation. Not only that, but the younger leaders trained by the colleges have not proved in the main selfish exploiters of their people. We have unselfish and really brave men. It was no ordinary deed for Judge Hastie to jeopardize his whole career by resigning from an office of unusual importance and then daring to criticize the United States Army in plain terms. Less publicized but equally brave was the resignation of Theodore Berry from the Office of Facts and figures.

In other instances where there has not been resignation or spectacular action, there has been equally strong outstanding pressure and determination to defend America Negro rights. Perhaps most astonishing in our later leadership has been Randolph's action which compelled the issue of Presidential Order 8802 and the extraordinary storm of well-documented answers which followed the attempt of the **Reader's Digest** to smear the Negro press. All this proves to my mind the essential rightness today as yesterday of the position that long training of men and women of exceptional talent is the key to our success in the modern world. The phrase has been bandied about, but it was originally mine: "the object of education is not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men."

CIO Assails McNutt For Gagging FEPC

AFL Joins in Protesting Suppression of Hearings on Jim Crowism in Railroad Industry

By JAMES A. WECHSLER
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13.—Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt today faced mounting protest over his ban on the Fair Employment Practice Committee's long-prepared exposure of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

In a sharp attack on McNutt's action, CIO Secretary James B. Carey charged that postponement of the railroad hearings "is a serious blow to the war morale of 10,000,000 Negro citizens and to all white persons who know that racial discrimination is a Hitlerite weapon."

Acting as head of the CIO's anti-discrimination committee, Carey appealed directly to McNutt to "correct this grievous error before we lose the faith of millions of people, at home and abroad." He said that McNutt's announcement calling off the railroad exposure "constitutes a setback of the first magnitude on the home front."

Simultaneously, an AFL spokesman disclosed that President William Green had instructed Boris Shishkin, Federation representative on the Fair Employment Practice Committee, to ask for an immediate meeting of the FEPC and to register AFL's opposition to McNutt's stand. Green was represented as feeling strongly that the railroad hearings should go on as scheduled.

Committee May Dissolve

With John Brophy, CIO representative on the FEPC, and Shishkin expected to join in demanding that McNutt back down, it appeared that the Committee would make a strong fight for survival before any resignations take place. If McNutt refuses to yield, the FEPC—a unit of the War Manpower Commission—is believed almost certain to go out of business.

Henry Epstein's withdrawal as chief counsel to the FEPC in the railroad case, announced in New York yesterday, also was expected to help crystallize the revolt stirred by McNutt's action. Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York State, had spent many weeks directing the FEPC probe. (*Story in Column* 3.)

Some sources close to the Manpower Commission expressed belief that anti-discrimination groups still had a fighting chance to force reversal of McNutt's decision. It was said that protests from labor, liberal and Negro groups had started coming in almost as soon as the news broke.

The projected railroad hearings were slated to expose the "lily-white" coalition of management and unions in the railroad industry designed to keep Negroes from gaining advancement and to reduce the number employed on the roads.

Decision 'Disappoints' CIO

With the hearings scheduled to start on Jan. 25, McNutt last week end informed Lawrence Cramer, executive director of the FEPC, that the show wouldn't go on. On Monday McNutt told a press conference that the Manpower Commission would use "other ways" to combat discrimination on the railroads. He didn't say what they would be.

In protesting McNutt's move, CIO Secretary Carey said:

"Mr. McNutt's announcement constitutes a setback of the first magnitude on the home front of this Nation's war effort. Unless speedily corrected, it well may develop into an equally serious obstacle to achieving full unity among all the peoples of the United Nations, regardless of color or creed, in their global war against the Axis.

"The home front is linked indissolubly with our battlefronts. And the time has come for Mr. McNutt to show the same courage and valor at home as our fighting service men, regardless of color or creed, are displaying in their daily engagements with the enemy. . . ."

Paul Robeson, addressing a banquet in honor of the Negro Merchant Marine skipper, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, at the Hotel Commodore in New York last night said:

"We must see that the words of McNutt do not stand. We must call on the President for an investigation."

CIO Secretary James B. Carey said yesterday Manpower Commissioner McNutt's gag on FEPC is a serious blow to morale.

Henry Epstein, who resigned as FEPC special counsel in protest against Paul McNutt's squelching of discrimination hearings.

Epstein, FEPC Counsel, Quits

Henry Epstein, New York lawyer, resigned today as special counsel to the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC), vigorously protesting Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's suppression of the Committee's hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

Epstein, who had been retained at a nominal fee to handle the cancelled hearings, addressed a letter to Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean in which he said:

"The sudden cancellation of the hearings without warning or opportunity for discussion by the President's Committee is, in my judgment, an irreparable blow to your Committee's prestige and must result in loss of public confidence in its effectiveness. . . ."

Epstein disputed McNutt's explanation that postponement of the hearings "would permit more intensive activity by the Commission to insure full utilization of manpower on the railroads."

"The evidence at hand," he said, "presents a picture of grievous discriminatory practices against Negro citizens in the railroad industry that cries out for public attention. Without such public hearing I seriously question whether any appropriate redress ever will be made possible."

McNutt Defies Own Com
On Inquiry Into Negro Job

By DOROTHY NORMAN

Manpower Commissioner McNutt did not have the approval of a ma
of the Fair Employment Practice Committee in postponing indefinitely
scheduled hearings of that committee on anti-Negro discrimination in the
road industry.

EXCLUSIVE

This charge was made today to The Post by the Citizens Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen Jobs, 112 E. 19th St., as a result of a telephone poll of FEPC members. Other groups protested to Washington, declaring that the McNutt action would precipitate a showdown on the whole question of racial equality.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, appealed directly to President Roosevelt to overrule McNutt's decision lest it "directly and dangerously affect successful prosecution of the war."

"Opens the Floodgates"

"If the McNutt order to the FEPC to cancel the hearings stands it will rob that committee of the last vestige of justification of its existence and will open the floodgates of discrimination against racial, religious and other minorities," said White.

"We ask immediate and unequivocal action before the damage becomes too great to correct."

Attempting to meet the outcry which arose yesterday upon revelation of the postponement of the railroad hearings, McNutt told a press conference in Washington that the purpose of postponement was to work out a solution which would apply to all hearings.

No member of the FEPC, which is under the jurisdiction of the Manpower Commission had voiced objections or raised questions about the postponement, McNutt added.

The Citizens Committee

The Citizens Committee, of which Mayor LaGuardia is chairman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt honorary chairman and Winifred Raushenbush secretary, then started its telephone poll. The first four FEPC members reached said they hadn't raised objections or questions because they weren't consulted, but that they opposed postponement.

They were: Milton Webster of the brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, John Brophy of the CIO, Mark Ethridge, Southern publisher, and Earl Dickerson, Chicago Councilman.

Two FEPC members not reached were Malcolm MacLean of Hampton Institute, chairman, and Boris Shiskin, of the AFL. The seventh member of the committee, David Sarnoff, resigned recently.

The Statement

The Citizens Committee then issued a statement, declaring in part:

"Not only were the hearings to be a showdown in the fight more than 2,000 Negro firemen to keep their jobs, but since railroads have been declared to be a defense industry by the FEPC the case would become a test of whether the unions rightfully interfere with the defense effort by continuing to discriminate despite the President's executive order which set up the FEPC specifying that it is the duty of employers and labor organizations . . . to provide the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industry without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin.'"

Lester Granger of the National Urban League charged today that the railroad hearings had been called off because of pressure by leaders of the railroad brotherhoods and by reactionary congressmen and advisers close to the White House who wished to play down the question of Negro discrimination."

Protest Demonstration

Hearings in the railroad case were scheduled for Jan. 28 after presentation of the case for the Negro firemen by a special committee headed by A. Philip Randolph, which appeared before the FEPC in closed session on Mar. 30, 1941.

Labor and Negro leaders have scheduled a mass meeting in Washington January 26 to focus national attention on the need to eliminate Jim Crow from defense work. Now that meeting will probably be turned into a protest demonstration.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

January – 1943

The peremptory action of Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, in indefinitely postponing the hearing of the case of two thousand colored railway locomotive firemen before the Fair Employment Practice Committee appears to threaten the very existence of this important quasi judicial tribunal. This unprecedented order refutes the claim that the Committee has an independent status. Thus all hearings are suspended despite the fact that it had made considerable progress in bringing about a more enlightened policy on the part of many large employers. ...which would have been dismissed because the committee has no jurisdiction. But wasn't this the responsibility of the highly competent attorneys for the complainants? And shouldn't this question be determined by the committee itself?

Altogether this is a very serious situation and while it affects primarily the rights of Negroes, other minority groups who are victims of employment discrimination are also affected.

We believe that the F.E.P.C. should be restored to its full independent status subject only to the Chief Executive. At the same time this important committee should be given the necessary authority to effectively carry out the purposes for which it was established.

In a war to defend democracy the Government should take a forthright stand consistent with Fair Employment Practice.

CIO Assails McNutt For Gagging FEPC

AFL Joins in Protesting Suppression of Hearings on Jim Crowism in Railroad Industry

By James A. Wechsler
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13.—Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt today faced mounting protest over his ban on the Fair Employment Practice Committee's long-prepared exposure of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

In a sharp attack on McNutt's action, CIO Secretary James B. Carey charged that postponement of the railroad hearings "is a serious blow to the war morale of 10,000,000 Negro citizens and to all white persons who know that racial discrimination is a Hitlerite weapon."

Acting as head of the CIO's anti-discrimination committee, Carey appealed directly to McNutt to "correct this grievous error before we lose the faith of millions of people, at home and abroad." He said that McNutt's announcement calling off the railroad exposure "constitutes a setback of the first magnitude on the home front."

Simultaneously, an AFL spokesman disclosed that President William Green had instructed Boris Shishkin, Federation representative on the Fair Employment Practice Committee, to ask for an immediate meeting of the FEPC and to register AFL's opposition to McNutt's stand. Green was represented as feeling strongly that the railroad hearings should go on as scheduled.

Committee May Dissolve

With John Brophy, CIO representative on the FEPC, and Shishkin expected to join in demanding that McNutt back down, it appeared that the Committee would make a strong fight for survival before any resignations take place. If McNutt refuses to yield, the FEPC—a unit of the War Manpower Commission—is believed almost certain to go out of business.

Henry Epstein's withdrawal as chief counsel to the FEPC in the railroad case, announced in New York yesterday, also was expected to help crystallize the revolt stirred by McNutt's action. Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York State, had spent many weeks directing the FEPC probe. (*Story in Column* 3.)

Some sources close to the Manpower Commission expressed belief that anti-discrimination groups still had a fighting chance to force reversal of McNutt's decision. It was said that protests from labor, liberal and Negro groups had started coming in almost as soon as the news broke.

The projected railroad hearings were slated to expose the "lily-white" coalition of management and unions in the railroad industry designed to keep Negroes from gaining advancement and to reduce the number employed on the roads.

Decision 'Disappoints' CIO

With the hearings scheduled to start on Jan. 25, McNutt last week end informed Lawrence Cramer, executive director of the FEPC, that the show wouldn't go on. On Monday McNutt told a press conference that the Manpower Commission would use "other ways" to combat discrimination on the railroads. He didn't say what they would be.

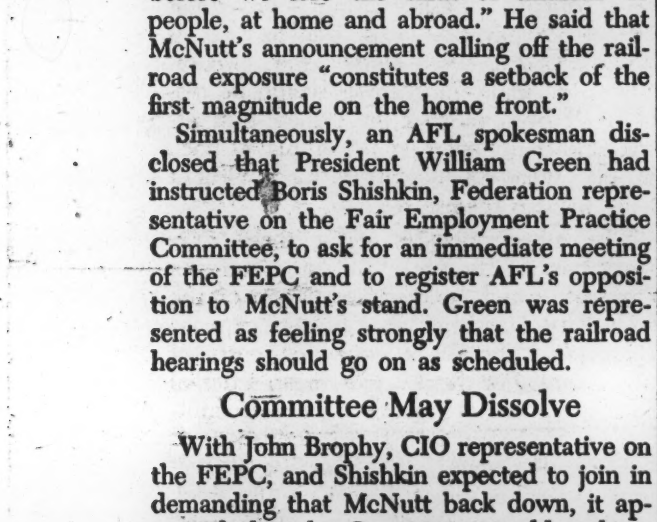
In protesting McNutt's move, CIO Secretary Carey said:

"Mr. McNutt's announcement constitutes a setback of the first magnitude on the home front of this Nation's war effort. Unless speedily corrected, it well may develop into an equally serious obstacle to achieving full unity among all the peoples of the United Nations, regardless of color or creed, in their global war against the Axis.

"The home front is linked indissolubly with our battlefronts. And the time has come for Mr. McNutt to show the same courage and valor at home as our fighting service men, regardless of color or creed, are displaying in their daily engagements with the enemy. . . ."

Paul Robeson, addressing a banquet in honor of the Negro Merchant Marine skipper, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, at the Hotel Commodore in New York last night said:

"We must see that the words of McNutt do not stand. We must call on the President for an investigation."



CIO Secretary James B. Carey said yesterday Manpower Commissioner McNutt's gag on FEPC is a serious blow to morale.

Henry Epstein, who resigned as FEPC special counsel in protest against Paul McNutt's squelching of discrimination hearings.

Epstein, FEPC Counsel, Quits

Henry Epstein, New York lawyer, resigned today as special counsel to the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC), vigorously protesting Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's suppression of the Committee's hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

Epstein, who had been retained at a nominal fee to handle the cancelled hearings, addressed a letter to Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean in which he said:

"The sudden cancellation of the hearings without warning or opportunity for discussion by the President's Committee is, in my judgment, an irreparable blow to your Committee's prestige and must result in loss of public confidence in its effectiveness. . . ."

Epstein disputed McNutt's explanation that postponement of the hearings "would permit more intensive activity by the Commission to insure full utilization of manpower on the railroads."

"The evidence at hand," he said, "presents a picture of grievous discriminatory practices against Negro citizens in the railroad industry that cries out for public attention. Without such public hearing I seriously question whether any appropriate redress ever will be made possible."

Personnel Of FEPC Named By President; Dickerson Left Out

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The President on Friday, appointed six members of the new Committee on Fair Employment Practice, of which Rt. Rev. Monsignor Francis J. Haas is chairman. The members, representing labor and industry, include:

For Labor

John Brophy, Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson place, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Milton P. Webster, international vice - president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L, 4231, South Michigan avenue, Chicago.

Boris Shiskin, American Federation of Labor, 901 Massachusetts avenue, Washington, D. C.

For Industry

Miss Sara Southall, supervisor of Employment and Service, International Harvester Company, Chicago, Ill.

P. B. Young, sr., publisher, Norfolk, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

Samuel Zemurray, president, United Fruit Company, Audubon Place, New Orleans, La.

The new committee, established under Executive Order 9346 on May 27, 1943, is charged with the responsibility of promoting the full utilization of all available manpower, and the elimination of [illegible] in [illegible] and in [illegible] services [illegible] June 25, 1941.

NAACP SEES NEW COMMITTEE POWERLESS

WASHINGTON D. C. — As of July 1, beginning of the new fiscal year, the Fair Employment Practice Committee is totally without funds to operate, the NAACP pointed out coincident with announcement of the new board of FEPC by President Roosevelt. Unless funds are secured FEPC literally faces extinction.

The proposal to restrict the President's emergency fund is still in Congressional committee conference with the likelihood, because of the bitter opposition of the Southern Congressional bloc, that the President's emergency fund will be so restricted as to make it impossible to secure money with which to finance the FEPC.

The NAACP further pointed out that as the fiscal year ended on June 30, no bill is pending in Congress to appropriate money for the FEPC. The outlook is exceedingly dark in that Congress plans to adjourn shortly until sometime in September. Only last minute and desperate action, the success of which is exceedingly doubtful, can save the situation.

"It is ironic," Walter White of the NAACP declared, "that the personnel of the new committee should have been announced by the White House with a great fanfare of trumpets on the very day that the Committee ceased to have any money on which to operate."

Mr. White also scored the failure to reappoint Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago as a member of the committee. "We cannot escape the conclusion that Mr. Dickerson was not reappointed because of his militant opposition to the [illegible] position of the Committee," Mr. White declared.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1943

NEW FEPC CHAIRMAN TAKES WHITE HOUSE OATH

Msgr. Francis J. Haas, Dean of Social Studies of Catholic university, takes the oath of office as chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This picture was photographed by Associated Press Photo. Looking on are Attorney General Francis Biddle, Senator Robert Wagner, Rep. McIntyre. Left to right: Attorney General Francis Biddle, Senator Robert Wagner, Rep. [illegible], Msgr. Haas, [illegible] Justice [illegible]

To-Hell-With-Democracy Is Riot Theme; FDR Orders Troops In Detroit

DETROIT—Ku kluxers, america firsters and hitler won an overwhelming fascist victory Sunday and Monday when they turned the United Nation's arsenal city into a scarred and bloody battlefield.

With the stench of hand-to-hand street fighting still clinging to its nostrils after 24 hours of the worst race rioting this country has witnessed since l'affaire Houston in World War I, Detroit awoke Tuesday morning to find:

- 24 of its citizens dead—3 white, 21 Negro, 16 of whom were killed by police in an alleged attempt to disperse crowds;
- 700 persons injured, many of them seriously;
- 600, mostly Negroes, jailed;
- jeeps, trucks and tanks manned by Federal troops **swinging up the main** thoroughfares as per Monday night's Presidential order;
- untold thousands of dollars of property wantonly destroyed;
- only persons going to and from war jobs allowed on the streets;
- bars, grills, restaurants, public places, including movies, closed.

FEDERAL TROOPS SENT

President Roosevelt sent federal troops here late Monday night following a telephone conference with Gov. Harry F. Kelly, who had ordered a modified form of military law, with state militia and deputized civilian police, over the city during the day. Declared the President:

"I do hereby command all persons engaged in unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes immediately and hereafter abandon said combinations and submit themselves to the laws and the constituted authorities of said state (Michigan)."

Gov. Kelly had declared a state of emergency Monday and a 10 pm curfew several hours before Federal troops from Fort Wayne, Ind., and Mt. Clemens, Mich., in full battle array, entered the city. Despite the Governor's orders, clashes between Negroes and whites continued unabated on the East Side, an area with a population of more than 40,000 Negroees.

During the day, bands of hoodlums brandishing lead pipes, bricks, and broken glass bottles swarmed over the neighborhood unhampered by the police.

In the three other Negro "islands" of the city, and before the Hudson Arsenal and other war plants, similar bands began mobilizing for trouble.

Little effort was made to disperse them. Automobiles parked along the streets were wrecked and overturned, some even burned, and store windows were smashed for blocks and stores looted. War production was halted when hundreds of Negro war workers refused to go to work in order to protect their families.

***RIOT BULLETIN*—Up to Tuesday afternoon, 1,400 persons, nearly 1,000 of whom are Negroes, had been arrested, charged with inciting to riot and carrying concealed weapons.**

Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, flew to Detroit.

The CIO has ralled a special meeting.

Food in the Negro section is scarce and it has been rumored that the water has been poisoned.

A Negro street car motorman was shot as he attempted to maneuver his trolley through the white mob.

FASCIST-PLANNED

The incident that touched the match to the flame, which trade union and civic leaders here say is in reality a sinister and planned plot of fascist forces to hamper the war effort, was an innocent enough fight between a sailor and a Negro at Belle Isle, a public resort on Sunday.

A general brawl ensued which quickly spread from the park to various parts of the city and finally concentrated on the East Side when it was invaded by white hoodlums.

The riot followed fighting last week at Eastwood Park where hoodlums beat up every Negro they could lay their hands on and other disturbances in Inkster, a suburb of Detroit, which was blown up into a race riot by the Hearst **Times**.

An emergency meeting of more than 250 representatives of labor, fraternal, church and civic groups, both Negro and white, met in the dining hall of the Lucy Thurman branch YWCA Monday noon to take steps to quell the rioting. Mayor Jeffries, who attended, presented a plan to the delegates to quell the rioting which they considered unsatisfactory.

He told them that 3,500 police and 1,000 auxiliary police were mobilized on the East Side; but delegates called his attention to the fact that police were concentrated in the Negro community and that the majority of the injured and killed were also Negro. They demanded that it was the responsibility of the police to be impartial and protect all citizens regardless of race, color and creed. They further demanded the arrest of leaders of the mobs who were beating up Negroes.

HEARST TIMES BLAMED

R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, declared: "The statement that no organization is behind this is completely false. The rioting taking place . . . is a manifestation of lawlessness and racial hatred which have no place in any American city. . . . While our armed forces are fighting to exterminate hitlerism and racial hatred throughout the world, no American should lend himself to creating and fostering intolerance and violence in our own country."

Judge Patrick O'Brien condemned the instigators of the riots and volunteered his personal aid and the help of the Lawyers' Guild. During the meeing the Hearst **Times** was criticized for its inflammatory and inciting reporting of the fighting."

At Fort Custer, outside Detroit, members of the Negro quartermaster battalion commandeered jeeps and trucks to go to Detroit to aid their families and friends. Before they could leave camp, however, they were thrown into jail.

At one street corner, white soldiers came to the aid of a Negro saying: "You guys are stirring up something we are trying to stop."

SHOOT TO KILL

Police indicted themselves when they released the list of dead.

(See roster of the dead on back page.)

POLICE PROTECTION

Negro citizens had more to fear from those whose duty it was to maintain law and order than from mobs, as [illegible] evidenced this picture, taken during the Detroit riot. INS Sound

NEW YORK AGE

MAY 1, 1943

Staff; Plans Court Action

The New York regional office of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which has been operating on a curtailed basis since cancellation of the proposed hearings on discrimination in the railway industry several months ago, this week swung into high gear with the announcement by Edward Lawson, acting examiner in charge, of four new appointments and of plans for a greatly expanded program.

Personnel addded to the staff of the regional office include St. Clair Bourne, former managing editor of The People's Voice, appointed as an associate examiner; Miss Mildred R. Greenblatt, appointed as an associate examiner; Mrs. Lethia W. Clark, appointed as an assistant examiner; and Miss Evelyn Bullock, appointed as a junior clerkstenographer.

Preparations for an immmediate court test of the Mahoney Act, New York State law which forbids discrimination in war industry, were among the plans announced by Mr. Lawson. The regional FEPC staff already has completed preliminary investigations on a case involving a firm which supplies food to Army camps, and the office of the District Attorney for New York has indicated that on the basis of the evidence presented to date, it will as for indictments of officials of the firm when the case comes up in court early next month.

Actions Planned

Other plans for action in the immediate future include:

1. A survey of all Federal agencies in New York State,, to determine their employment patterns with a view to correcting discriminatory proctices;

2. Establishment through War Manpower Commission agencies of objective standard for admission to Long Island schools training for aircraft plants, to replace the present system whereby Negro and Jewish applicants are denied training although they apparently meet all requirements while white persons not meeting these requirements are acccepted;

3. A drive to open to Negro men and women clerical and professional jobs in the midtown offices of firms largely engaged in war work, including the public utilities and broadcasting system; and

4. A drive to get Negro workers trained and properly registered for thousands of new war jobs that are expected to open up in New York within the next three months.

Complaints of discrimination can now be given immediate attention and investigation, Mr. Lawson said. He advised persons who felt they had not been properly considered in applying for employment to ask their firms to register their complaints at once at the FEPC regional office, Room 2288, 11 West 42nd Street.

—:o:—

Senator Promises Action On Discrimination

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Senator Charles McNary, Minority Leader of the Senate, promised this week to discuss the recent appearance of a discriminatory advertisement in the Daily News here with the capitol architect who is now responsible for administrative matters.

McNary's promise came in answer to an NAACP protest against the advertisement which specified "white" in a want ad for a worker at the Senate restaurant. The NAACP declared the advertisement to be inviolation of Executive Order 8802

—:o:—

MAY 1, 1943

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS

Penalty To Halt Job Ban

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Former State Solicitor General Harry Epstein suggested last week that New York state establish an administrative agency to provide sanctions against employers who discriminate against Negroes or other minority groups.

Epstein, in his address before the seventh annual educational conference of the Teachers union in the Hotel Commodore, pointed to the state's record in pioneering social legislation and said that if such an agency were established, it would be an example to the rest of the country.

He said that the agency would "begin to make progress against some objectionable factors in our national life that tend to destroy democracy." Epstein declared that business will cry that industry will quit the state, but that the cry "is always raised when there is talk of sanction against management."

Epstein, who relinquished his post as chief consul to FEPC, last January, spoke of the FEPC's work in disclosing examples of alleged discrimination against Negroes by railroads.

He said that the FEPC investigation revealed that labor unions were more to be blamed than management in barring Negroes from railroad employment. He said that of 29 unions throughout the country discrimination against Negroes, 20 were railroad unions. Epstein added that government agencies, too, are at fault.

MAY 1, 1943

TENN. LIBERAL PROF GETS BID TO HEAD FEP

Dr. Alexander Sponsors Coles As Chairman In New Setup

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Newest candidate for the chairmanship of the Fair Employment Practices committee is Prof. William Earl Coles, chairman of the University of Tennessee sociology department.

Coles' name came to the fore this week as the personal protege of Dr. Will Alexander, War Manpower Commission bigwig, who is now completely in the saddle as far as reorganization of FEP.

Coles is sponsored by Dr. Alexander as a southern white liberal who will give FEP much added prestige in the South. Coles is a Rotary club man, youthful (only 39 years of age) and comes from an institution which is known as a citadel of conservatism (scene of the Scopes evolution trial).

His name has already been submitted and approved by high administration officials and awaits only the approval of President Roosevelt on his return to the White House.

McNutt Angry

It was also learned that under the new setup of the FEP the chairman will be virtual boss of the entire body, being the only paid member while the other members will function only in an advisory capacity.

Coles' nomination came after drastic action by the four remaining FEP members to begin hearings on discrimination in five cities.

Meanwhile, it was learned that Manpower Commissioner McNutt was angered by the action of the FEP in announcing its plans for hearings last week.

When asked about the new plans at his press conference last week, he said he did not wish to tie the hands of the new FEP chairman.

But it was learned privately that Acting FEP Chairman Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago has fired McNutt by giving away FEP plans without approval by the WMC.

Release Held Back

The story as learned from private sources showed that Dickerson told reporters after the last FEP meeting that a formal statement of the proceedings had been sent to Philip Broughton, chief of the WMC public relations division by special messenger for release.

The committee's statement had to be sent to Broughton, instead of directly to the OWI, because the FEPC is still technically a subordinate branch of the WMC; and press releases from the WMC's subordinate branches have to be approved by McNutt's public relations office before they can be released by the OWI.

A few of the reporters realized that, in view of the announced plans for the FEP's reorganization into a new, full-time, independent agency, McNutt and the WMC underlings

Page 4

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1943

Randolph Speaks At Boston Rally

BOSTON, Mass., April 8—A Philip Randolph delivered a challenge for renewal of the true American spirit of liberty and equality to an audience last Sunday which packed the Old South Meeting house, at the closing session of the Institute on Race Relations and Non Violent Solutions, held under the joint auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the March on Washington Movement.

"The great social documents of our history, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution," said Mr. Randolph, "were formulated with no regard for the colored man, but a significant and, at times the significant, pre-occupation of American life has been the problem of bringing within the scope and meaning of these great documents the Negro who, too, is America. Today the Negro is again one of the chief pre-occupations of American life. Indeed the Negro is, for some, a pre-occupation not second to the winning of the war."

Saturday, May 15, 1943

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS

Neil Scott Made Aide to Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March on Washington Movement, has appointed Neil Scott, newspaperman and former union official, as Director of Public Relations for the March on Washington Movement, it was announced this week.

The March on Washington is making its final plans for a giant "We Are Americans Too" rally to be held July 4, 5, 6, at Cominsky Park.

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

Oscar Chapman Heads FEPC; Sets Up Rules

Special

WASHINGTON—Oscar L. Chapman, assistant secretary of the interior since 1933, has been chosen by the President for chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Chapman has set the following conditions under which he will function: complete independence of Paul V. McNutt's War Manpower Commission, of which the FEPC is now a subordinate agency; adequate powers, budget and staff to make good the President's executive order against discrimination (8802), and rescheduling the public hearings into railroad discrimination which were cancelled, as well as of hearings on the Southwest anti-Mexican discrimination which were "hushed up" by the State Department last

Chapman is a protege of the late liberal Senator Edward P. Costigan of Colorado, the author of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, which was filibustered into oblivion eight years ago. He also arranged the Marian Anderson concert in Washington in 1939 at the Lincoln Memorial after the DAR had jimcro-ed the great contralto.

PM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1943

Showdown Seen on Its Reorganization

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Apr. 21.—The Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) moved today toward a showdown with Administration officials over the future of the anti-discrimination agency.

The FEPC has been virtually dormant since Manpower Commissioner McNutt ordered cancellation last January of its hearings on Jim Crowism in the railroad industry. Since that time McNutt has repeatedly indicated that the Committee would be revitalized under a new chairman.

Aroused over the delay in its reconstitution, Earl B. Dickerson, its acting chairman, announced today that the FEPC had fixed dates for new public hearings on discrimination cases. This decision was made Monday at a meeting of four remaining members of the Committee.

The participants at the meeting were Boris Shishkin of the AFL, John Brophy of the CIO, Milton P. Webster of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Dickerson, a former Chicago alderman.

Dickerson said the Committee had decided to hold an open session on May 18 to determine why the Capital Transit Co., controlling most of Washington's transportation facilities, has failed to hire Negroes as conductors, motormen and bus operators. This dispute was one of the "hottest" handled by FEPC.

Although Capital Transit formally agreed to comply with FEPC order, it is understood that Negroes still have been unable to obtain employment.

The Committee has also agreed to hold hearings on May 24 and 25 in Detroit, Dickerson said, where members of the FEPC have conducted extensive investigations of job bias against minorities.

Dickerson's announcement is expected to force the hand of Administration officials who have been working on plans for reorganization of the anti-discrimination unit, and may lead to an early decision.

Since the cancellation of the railroad hearings, the FEPC has refrained from any public hearings and the battle against discrimination has virtually collapsed. During the same interval manpower officials have stressed that manpower needs cannot be met this year unless bias against minorities in industries is wiped out.

SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1943

The Pittsburgh Courier

FEPC Work Gets Results

BUFFALO, N. Y., April 8—The number of Negroes employed in war industries in the Buffalo area nearly equals Buffalo's total population of a few years ago, according to Edward Lawson, FEPC regional examiner-in-charge.

At present more than 12,000 colored workers are employed in this city's essential war plants, some on highly skilled or professional jobs. The Negro population of Buffalo in 1940, as shown by the Census of that year, was 17,000.

Largest single employer of Negroes in the Niagara frontier area is the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company, which hires more than 3,500. Second is the Curtiss-Wright Aircraft Company, with more than 1,000. There are still many giants, however, which employ no Negroes, or very few.

Chapman Not to Head FEPC

BULLETIN

—Oscar Chapman has turned down the chairmanship of the FEPC, War Manpower Commission Paul V. McNutt told the AFRO, Tuesday. The railroad discrimination hearings will be re-scheduled as soon as a chairman is named, he added.

WASHINGTON

Selection of a new chairman for the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee hinged on "ifs" and "buts" this week.

Several certainties, however, projected themselves through the mists of obscurity that have for two months shrouded plans for reorganization of the body.

Mr. Chapman

1. Oscar Chapman, assistant Secretary of the Interior since 1933, the latest

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 8)

Chapman Not to Head FEPC

(Continued from Page 1)

person asked to take the committee chairmanship, said that he would accept only under the following conditions:

Conditions Stated

Make the FEPC completely independent from Paul V. McNutt's War Manpower Commission.

Give him adequate powers, budget and staff to make the committee function according to the President's order.

Reschedule public hearings into railroad discrimination called off by McNutt in January.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Chapman, now 46, is a Virginian and a protege of the late Senator Edward P. Costigan of Colorado, author of the Costigan-Wagner antilynching bill. He arranged the Marian Anderson concert at the Lincoln Memorial in 1939.)

Meeting Called Off

2. This week's meeting of the committee was called off when Earl Dickerson and Milton Webster declined to attend.

3. Word from the White House is "expected momentarily."

Work of the FEPC has been virtually at a standstill since Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, then president of Hampton Institute, resigned in January. Others who resigned were Mark Ethridge and David Sarnoff.

Since that time the chairmanship has been offered to former Governor Poletti of New York; former Governor Price of Virginia; Dr. Will Alexander of the WMC; Dr. Frank Graham of the War Labor Board and former Senator George W. Norris, all of whom have refused.

FEP—

(Continued from Page 1)

A picket line of Negro leaders around the War Manpower commission offices is in the wind.

An announcement concerning the committee has been momentarily promised by War Manpower commission officials for the past two weeks. McNutt has shown a complete reluctance to discuss the FEPC, however, in his press conference—sharply answering his questioners with "I have no comment."

The regular bi-monthly meeting of FEP was called off on Monday by the committee, who said they had nothing to do until the final decision was made on the status of the committee.

Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt at his regular press conference on Monday promised that the railroad hearings called off several months back when the FEP controversy was precipitated, would go on as soon as FEP was reorganized.

He indicated that the new chairman would be paid and the other members unpaid in line with the proposals submitted at a recent conference of organizations in McNutt's office.

Some observers have expressed the belief that Chapman's reluctance about accepting the FEPC chairmanship is traceable to a lack of power for the committee which is necessary to effectively carry out the provisions of Executive Order 8802.

TAKE THE MISERY OUT OF YOUR SKIN

With One Minute Milky Mist Formula (Money back guaran-

NEW SCHEME TO MUZZLE FEP SETUP

Committee Reverts Back To FDR But Will Be Powerless Body

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON. — State's rights reigned supreme this week in the new setup of the Fair Employment Practices committee, it was learned exclusively by the Chicago Defender.

Under the new formula which is understood to have approval of the White House, the poll tax bloc of the Solid South wins a clean-cut victory in its campaign to scuttle FEP while the administration saves face by giving the committee some

[redacted]

power to carry out the provisions of Executive Order 8802. It will act more or less as an appeal board but have no investigating functions.

Personnel A Tossup

Regional centers will be abolished and the job of investigating discrimination will go to WMC regional offices, who are usually political appointees with the same racial attitude as the locality in which they are stationed. In the South these WMC directors have gone along with discriminatory practices which bar Negroes from skilled jobs.

Personnel of the new FEP is still a tossup but it is expected that the present four members will be retained. A chairman will be named and the FEP may be limited to five members.

This will bring favorable comment from Negroes and liberal whites because of the liberal composition of the present FEP but still the FEP will have no power to function.

Chapman Rejects Job

Meanwhile, the Defender learned that the chairmanship of FEP was offered to Oscar Chapman, assistant secretary of interior, but he has turned down the bid. His reluctance is causing those responsible to the White House for working out some solution of the FEPC problem no end of headaches. The pressure of liberal and democratic groups of both whites and Negroes has not relented for the reactivation of the committee and the re-scheduling of the railroad hearings.

[redacted] FEP, Page 4

Paseo Baptist Church Crowded for Address of Noted National Leader

CALL 3/5/43

Loving Cup Presented to Him on Behalf of Kansas City Citizens At Annual Meeting of Urban League

Standing room only (and not much of that) was available at the Paseo Baptist church Sunday afternoon when A. Phillip Randolph spoke at the annual meeting of the Kansas City Urban League.

Every seat on the first floor and the balcony of the Paseo Baptist auditorium was filled before the program began and the overflow crowd stood around the walls and sat on the steps of the balcony.

Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and considered by many the No. 1 Negro in America today, is a popular man and a popular speaker in Kansas City.

Always Popular Here

Randolph was popular here before he gained nation-wide recognition as a leader of Negro masses. He was popular before he won a contract for the Pullman porters with the Pullman company. His popularity has grown, of course, with his recent achievements as organizer of the March-on-Washington movement, the influence of which group brought about President Roosevelt's executive order 8802 and the creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

But in the days before March-on-Washington, FEPC and order 8802, Randolph always drew a crowd in Kansas City. The Pullman porters idolize him. Working men in other fields consider him a hero. And now with citizens in every walk of life looking upon him as a leader, even a Moses, it was no wonder that the capacity of the newly-completed auditorium of Paseo Baptist was taxed for the Sunday afternoon meeting.

At the beginning of the program, Kansas City paid a tribute to Randolph. His early association in Kansas City when the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was young was recalled by three men who supported Randolph before the rank and file of Negro citizens rallied to him.

Presented Loving Cup

The Rev. D. A. Holmes, C. A. Franklin and Rufus Norman paid tributes to Randolph and their words were climaxed by the presentation later in the program of a loving cup to Randolph by Dr. Hayes Richardson, member of the Urban League board, on behalf of the citizens of Kansas City.

Engraved on the cup are these words:

> "To Asa Philip Randolph in appreciation for his brilliant leadership in labor and race relations. Presented by the citizens of Kansas City on the occasion of the 24th annual meeting of the Urban League of Kansas City, February 28, 1943."

Randolph accepted the cup with these words, "On behalf of Negro workers and white workers, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart."

Makes Militant Speech

The presentation of the loving cup to Randolph came following the most militant speech that Kansas City has heard in many a month. Along with his militancy, Randolph outlined a program of action for the Negroes of the country.

"Negro people have never been free," Randolph began. "They are not free today."

The problem of the Negro today, he said, is to abolish second-class citizenship and establish first-class citizenship.

Randolph told in detail how and why the March-on-Washington movement was started, told of the conference between leaders of the Negro race and President Roosevelt and other governmental officials which resulted in the issuance of Executive Order 8802.

President Roosevelt issued order 8802 for one reason and for one reason only, Randolph made clear: To stop the march of 100,000 Negroes upon Washington in July, 1941.

When he signed the order, President Roosevelt said to Randolph, "I have signed the order. Now I want you, Randolph, to get on the radio and tell the people not to march on Washington." Randolph postponed the march in 1941.

May Still Have to March

"But we may yet have to march on Washington," he said emphatically Sunday. He then told of the many problems still faced by Negro people. Negroes must find remedies for these problems," he said.

"Negroes have no other alternatives than to become members of trade unions," he said. "Negroes are working people. They want food, clothing and shelter. They can't buy these without wages and wages are high or low according to the bargaining power of the workers."

Emphasizing that the Negro's interest lies with organized labor, Randolph said, "You never heard of the National Association of Manufacturers or the Chamber of Commerce endorsing an anti-lynching bill. But the A. F. of L. and the CIO did."

3-Point Program

In addition to joining trade unions, Randolph urged Negroes to:

1. Develop producers and consumers cooperatives to protect their interests both at the course of production and consumption.

2. Form a non-partisan political bloc comparable to the blocs of the farmers, business men and organized labor. Rnadolph said that there is no essential difference betwen the Republican and Democratic powers and that the Negroes must search for new political strength to bring pressure upon both parties.

3. Develop mass forces.

Discussing the last point, Randolph said that a conference will be held in Chicago the last week in May by the March-on-Washington movement to ponder the technique and strategy of a campaign to be known as a non-violent, good-will, direct action campaign.

"It is my conviction," he commented, "that we are losing rights because we don't attempt to exercise them."

During the period set aside for the non-violent, good-will direct action campaign, Randolph said that all over the country, Negro people will take action to recondition the mind of America on the race question.

To Boycott Jim-Crow Cars

In the South, he said, during that period, Negroes will boycott jim-crow cars, picket and refuse to send their children to jim-crow schools, etc.

In the North, Negroes will go into restaurants and cafes, theaters and even "swanky" places where they are not accustomed to go.

In other words, during the non-violent, goodwill, direct action campaign Negroes will exercise their normal civil rights in order to recondition the minds of white Americans.

"If we go to a cafe and are refused breakfast, we will return for lunch. If we are refused again, we will return for dinner."

In this campaign, Negro people will have the active support and cooperation of liberal whites who believe in real democracy, Randolph said.

"The South has conditioned the minds of America to look upon Negroes as clowns, buffoons and 'pocket-book snatchers'," Randolph said. It is up to Negroes to recondition the minds of white Americans.

The March-in-Washington movement embraces marches on city halls and local government officials as well as a march on the national capital.

"Action focuses attention on issues more effectively than words," Randolph said.

Plans World Conference

In addition to plans for the non-violent, goodwill, direct action campaign and the Chicago conference, Randolph outlined plans for the organization of a Western Hemisphere Policy Conference of Free Negroes to be composed of white and Negro scholars and laymen to take up problems of Africa after the war.

He also visualizes a "World Congress of Darker Peoples" to develop techniques and take up problems of free black people of the world.

After the war, Randolph anticipates a super-world state and a super-world police force. Negroes and black people everywhere must fight for representation on the American commission at the peace conference.

"The peace conference will discuss the liberty and democratic rights of the Czechs, the Bulgarians and the Greeks, and all other people under the Nazi yoke. But what about the democratic rights for people in Georgia," Randolph cried.

Randolph said that in the last war, Negroes were told to forget their grievances and close ranks. "As they forgot grievances," he said, "Negroes were promptly forgotten."

Want Allies to Win

The Negro wants the Allies to win, Randolph said, "but while we are for winning the war abroad, we also want to win the war at home."

Randolph was introduced by Perrin D. McElroy, secretary of the Building Trades Council of the A. F. of L. and friend of Randolph for many years of association in A. F. of L. conventions and conferences.

Earl D. Thomas, new president of the Urban League board of directors, presided in the absence of George M. Husser, the retiring president.

Dr. Luke E. Williams read the report of the nominating committee of the Urban League board. Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary, made a brief annual report and introduced members of his staff.

On behalf of the Urban League board, James A. Jeffress presented a plaque to Dr. J. E. Dibble, founder and former president of the Urban League board. Mrs. Tom S. James paid a tribute to board members now in military service and to retiring members.

Invocation was by the Rev. King Beach and benediction by the Rev. Carl F. Flipper.

Randolph, who stopped at Street's hotel, left Monday afternoon for St. Louis, Chicago and New York.

Granger Reviews His Conference Efforts

Conditions Have Changed with Race Leaders, Once Apathetic, Now Alert to Need for Reform

By JULIUS J. ADAMS

Try again, Granger, you may yet earn the undying gratitude of your race and country. Remember, Dick Whittington, who, after numerous disappointments, was about to give up, when a small voice whispered; "Turn, again Whittington, lord mayor of London." You know the rest of the story, and so does every grammar school kid.

It has been nearly two years now since Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, called together several of the topflight Negro leaders to discuss the problems of the Negro and the war. Mr. Granger, himself admits today, that the conference, while enlightening in many respects, fell far short of expectations. In my opinion, Mr. Granger ought to try again, now. Conditions have changed since then. Negro leaders themselves, at that time, fairly complacent and willing to string along, have come to the conclusion that the "go along" method will not do.

Deserted by Many

In the interim, William Pickens has felt the lash; William Hastie has had to step down because of the failure of the War Department to live up to its promises; many of the liberals of the South, who stood with us until they realized we intended going all the way in our fight for political, economic, and social equality, have left the ship; persons high in administration circles have partly, if not fully, deserted us and left us to the mercy of the Southern rebels.

Things have changed mightily since that historic meeting. Moreover, the Negro leaders are aware of it, and singly they are crying out in the wilderness.

Several weeks ago, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, speaking in the Middle West, urged Negro leaders to unite in some way to chart a program. Mr. Granger has repeated the same plea time after time, the most recent occasion being his speech in Washington a fortnight ago. Willard Townsend, labor leader, has come out for unity; Carl Hansberry, head of the National Negro Progress Association, is plumping for it. Mary McLeod Bethune has spoken for it; Mabel K. Staupers pines for it; Adam C. Powell barks for it; Bishop W. J. Walls prays for it; Paul Robeson sings for it; C. C. Spaulding urges it; Forrester B. Washington yearns for it; the masses of the people hope for it; Edgar G. Brown has added his clear voice; Frank R. Crosswaith votes aye; J. Finley Wilson is for it; A. Philip Randolph wants it; Roy Wilkins' weekly articles in this newspaper make a strong plea for united action against the evils, as do the pronouncements of every other Negro—little and big—who has any opportunity to get his views to the public.

Don't Unite Efforts

One would imagine then that since all these men and women are in accord as to the need of a conference of leaders to map a plan to stem the onrushing tide of prejudice, and to prepare the way for greater progress in the future, it would be natural that they would get together to thrash out their problems.

The answer seems to be that when one person puts forward an idea, instead of others with similar ideas seeking a way to pool their efforts with the original program to make it a really workable one, they selfishly stand alone and try to do the job by themselves.

It is all right for the Negro big shots to ignore any individual or what he has to say about the problem, but one thing is certain they can't escape the inevitable consequences that are becoming more evident with each passing day.

It is an old trick—that of attempting to destroy a person's usefulness, either by ignoring him or by calling him unimportant and branding his ideas as being crack-brained or unworkable. Well, Shakespeare has something about the Devil being able to quote the Scriptures.

It is time to forget about individuals. In the larger interest of the race and country somebody ought to start doing something. And since someone must take the initiative, and since he has acted once with a measure of local success, Granger ought to act again, NOW! The people are ready and they will, I believe, forsakee any present leader or spokesman who refuses to co-operate with a sensible program.

Saturday, April 3, 1943

Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

COPYRIGHT 1943 BY ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY

OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 3435 INDIANA AVE. TELEPHONE CALUMET 5656

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1943

FDR Asked For Parley On FEPC

NEW YORK—A conference with President Roosevelt on the status of the Fair Employment Practices Committee was asked this week by nine [illegible] organizations.

Alarmed at the virtual "freezing" of the FEP ever since cancellation of the railroad hearings, the signers of the request told the President:

"Because it has been one month and four days since conference was called by Paul McNutt and Attorney Francis Biddle under your order for organizations interested in FEPC to express their views on its work and future, the undersigned are greatly disturbed lest those forces that practice discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin become more emboldened and aggressive in treating your Executive Order 8802 as the proverbial scrap of paper, which will endanger national unity, and play into the hands of the Axis powers.

"Since the minority groups affected by discriminations have not had the honor and opportunity to discuss the status of FEPC with you face to face, the undersigned wish herewith to request a conference with you at the earliest possible date to advise you of the new danger that threatens FEPC which has done constructive work for manpower mobilization and better race relations.

"We hope we may have the privilege of presenting to you a report on industrial and manpower conditions affecting minority groups which may be helpful in your selection of personnel."

Signers were: Walter White, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Channing H. Tobias, National Council of YMCA's; Lester Granger, executive secretary, National Urban League; Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman, Negro Labor Committee; Morris Milgram, executive secretary, Workers' Defense League; Dr. Sidney Goldstein, Commission on Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis; Dr. Max Yergan, president, national Negro congress; Ann Arnold Hedgeman, member, Brooklyn Branch, NAACP; A. Philip Randolph, national director, March on Washington Movement.

The Pittsburgh Courier SATURDAY,

Chapman Declines FEPC Post

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 8—The Fair Employment Practice Committee will be reorganized and the southern railroad job discrimination case will be re-scheduled, were the promises made by War Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt at his press conference Monday.

McNutt's statement followed questions asked him when it was learned that two members of the old FEPC had declined to attend a committee meeting earlier in the day "due to the uncertain status of the organization."

TRIED TO GET CHAPMAN

The WMC head told the conference the question of FEPC reorganization had received more intense and careful consideration than any other problem on his desk in the past month. "Up to Saturday night we thought we had the matter settled and could make an announcement this week," he explained.

He admitted that Oscar Chapman, assistant secretary of interior, had been under consideration for the post of FEPC chairman. "We tried to get him," he said, but would not explain the cause of the failure.

When pressed for details concerning the plans for reorganization, McNutt said he had followed the recommendations of the conference held last February which called for a paid chairman and an unpaid committee.

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 8—With official announcement of plans to reorganize FEPC held up another week, Washington was alive this week with a variety of rumors concerning the future of this branch of

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 4)

CHAPMAN DECLINES

(Continued from Page 1)

the Manpower Commission.

The name of Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interor, was frequently mentioned as the final selection for the post of full time chairman of the committee. Chapman, long associated with Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, is a Southerner distinguished for his liberal attitude toward Negroes, and was especially active in the protest concert for Marian Anderson at Lincoln Memorial when the singer was denied use of the DAR Constitution hall.

SEES TRANSFER FOR COMMITTEE

Other reports, which could not be confirmed in any official source, indicated that the battle made by leaders of Negro organizations at a conference held here several weeks ago by War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and Attorney General Francis B. Biddle, for autonomy of the FEPC, had been won and that the agency would be transferred to the Office of Emergency Management, directly responsible to the President.

The fate of the present remaining membership of FEPC remained clouded. In some quarters it was stated that the old committee, with new members added to replace former members—MacLean, Sarnoff and Ethridge—would continue to function in an advisory capacity, but with real responsibility and power centered in the new full time chairman. What might be the reaction of present members to such an arrangement was not known.

MAY RE-SCHEDULE OLD HEARINGS

A meeting of the old committee scheduled Monday was canceled. But no significance was attached to this because it was known that members of the committee had been busy with other matters over the week-end.

What has caused concern of a number of leaders of organizations interested in breaking down barriers to full use of Negro manpower in war industry has been what they termed an "unreasonable delay" in reconstituting the FEPC and in re-scheduling imp[ortant] discrimination hearings in the [rail]road industry and in the bi[g] production centers such as [De]troit, Philadelphia and Buffal[o].

They point to the fact that though some progress has [been] made by staff members of FEPC in adjusting minor cases of discrimination, months have passed since the halting of major operations to abolish discrimination in railroad employment and other vital war industry. More than two and a half months has elapsed during which little or no fundamental activity in ironing out problems of tens of thousands of Negro workers, excluded from jobs because of race, has been carried on by FEPC or other branches of the War Manpower Commission.

Fowler Harper, deputy War Manpower Commissioner, told The Courier last week that some progress had been made all along the line in the matter of employment of Negroes in war industry. He admitted, however, that he was far from satisfied with these results. He also admitted that both the Detroit hearings and the hearings on railroads had been held up pending reorganization of the FEPC.

As one sign of progress, however, Mr. Harper indicated that a solution of the problems of getting Negroes jobs on the Capital Transit Company, local street car company, seemed likely in the near future and that it could be expected that Negroes would soon be employed as motormen and conductors on Washington's street car and bus lines.

The deputy commissioner wrote to each organization which attended the conference on the FEPC several weeks ago, promising them an early official announcement of final plans for FEPC. But so far no announcement has been forthcoming.

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

APRIL 3, 1943

FEPC Head Promises Action In 'Few Days'

"This problem (FEPC) has had our constant attention . . . and I think I can assure you that within the next few days announcements will be made on this matter," Fowler V. Harper, deputy chairman of the War Manpower Commission stated Tuesday in a letter to Dorothy K. Funn, administrative secretary of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, in answer to a telegram sent to the President expressing concern over the delay in arriving at decisions on the Fair Employment Practice Committee after the February 19th conference with Mr. NcNutt and Mr. Biddle.

The full text of the letter follows:

"President Roosevelt has referred to Mr. McNutt your telegram of March 12th in which you express concern over the delay in arriving at decisions in connection with the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

"This problem has had our constant attention since the conference which you attended, and I think I can assure you that within the next few days announcements will be made on this matter."

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1943

'March' Movement Urges Branches To Come To Aid Of Winfred Lynn

NEW YORK CITY, April 1—From his National March on Washington Headquarters, A. Philip Randolph sent statements to members of the movement throughout the nation, asking them to support Winfred Lynn's case against the Federal government. Said Pauline Myers, newly appointed national secretary of the "March," "The Winfred Lynn case is one that should appeal to every Negro in America. For this case symbolizes the great struggle of our people against the armed might of the oppressors."

INDUCTED LAST FALL

Winfred William Lynn was a gardner out in Jamaica, L. I., until he was drafted into the U. S. Army last fall. He protested his induction on the basis of "it being undemocratic to serve one's country in a segregated unit, selected

the Jamaica, L. I., branch of the NAACP, filed suit against the local draft board 261 of Jamaica, L. I.

The judge refused to pass a decision on a case in which the defendant's status could be interpreted as a draft dodger. Winfred Lynn said on this occasion, "I am not interested in politics, and I have no quarrel with the economic [illegible] I feel strongly concerned [illegible]

In order to get a court test on the main issue rather than on the question of whether a draftee could bring habeas corpus action while resisting induction, Arthur Garfield Hays and Conrade Lynn persuaded Lynn to submit to induction. Randolph stated further that in addition to March on Washington Movement support, the Lynn [illegible] will have the support of [illegible] Civil Liberties [illegible] Workers' Defense

risk which a meeting such as this carries with it, is unwise. You know that I am deeply concerned about the rights of Negro people, but I think one must face situations as they are and not as one wishes them to be. I think this is a very serious decision for you to take."

Commenting upon the letter, Randolph said there is no question in the minds of Negroes that Mrs. Roosevelt is "a real and genuine friend of the race, a fact attested to by both her statements and actions from time to time."

Since the Friday conference with the First Lady discussed the viewpoint advanced in the letter, it was explained that both Randolph and White expressed appreciation for "the fine spirit" of Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia, but registered their difference of opinion on the matter.

The representatives held that the march is "certain to have a favorable and beneficial effect upon the American people, both black and white, since it will show that Negroes themselves have awakened to a definite sense of their mass power."

The New England Baptist convention, meeting last week in Philadelphia, endorsed the march and after hearing Randolph's speech Friday night, closed by singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" as an expression of the spirit of the convention.

Randolph loosed his attack upon the Communists following publication of an editorial in the Daily Worker pointing out that the parade could be utilized to express "the sentiment of the Negro people against the administration's entire war program."

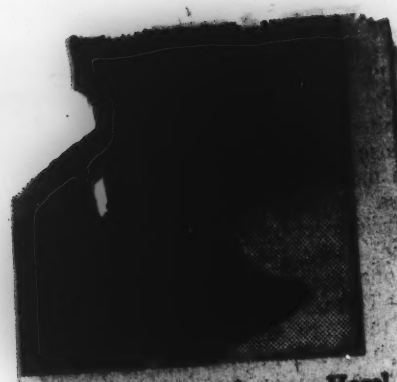
"The Communists, with their old Trojan Horse tricks, have sought to play the role of Greeks bearing gifts to the movement," Randolph asserted. In rebuttal James W. Ford, Communist leader, said this

At 7:30 Thursday evening a group of students and faculty members met in the parlors of Arnett Hall to discuss and summarize the findings of the week. Thorne Weatherby, junior in the college of liberal arts, acted as chairman of the group and was assisted by other students, Katherine Barker, William McClain and Nelloise Divers.

The students discussed with lively interest the programs of the week. Their conclusion was that in the fields of religion, literature, and music the Negro has made definite and outstanding

Columbus Conference of great importance. This paper further thinks that the three groups should combine into one. Next week's issue will comment editorially along this line.

This paper also intends to lend its full support to these various Ohio groups which are planning for a better state for all people. In line with this, we will publish next week the full report on the activities of the Columbus Vanguard League. When similar copy is prepared by the other state branches of these groups, we will assign adequate space to publicizing them, as well.—ART.



re than a year's absence, Hazel an of Harlem, Seventh avenue, in rs, just before leaving Honolulu,

ote Saves Prexy's Job

ate board hace a larger say in the iministration of university affairs ıcluding the selection of the presi-ent.

At Wilberforce there are two parate departments, one sup-rted by the state and one by the .M.E. church. The state depart-ent has grown to about two-thirds the physical plant and student ody. Through monies appropriated y the state of Ohio the university de of the school has also been aintained since the church has ever contributed sufficient funds pay its way.

Although this dual arrangement as never been satisfactory, previ-us presidents have managed to aintain harmonious relations be-veen the two sides. However, with ie advent of President Walker ate politics began to play an im-

See WILBERFORCE, Page 2

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The New York Age

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CANADA FOR ONE YEAR 3.00
FOREIGN COUNTRIES—1 YEAR .. 3.50

Entered as Second Class Matter, September 13, 1912, at Post Office at New York Under Act of March 3, 1933

Published and Printed By
THE FRED R. MOORE CORPORATION
Office of Publication: 230 West 135th Street
TELEPHONES: EDgecombe 4-3640-1

Interstate United Newspapers, Inc., National Advertising Representatives, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York

Address all matters and mail all checks and money orders payable to THE NEW YORK AGE

VOL. 57, No. 43

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1943

THE TORCH WE MUST BEAR

THE FIGHT FOR democracy is a painful and heart-rending struggle. True democracy in its purest form has never been achieved, but every step that is gained toward perfection in idealistic government is worth the struggle which gave it birth and momentum.

In connection with these thoughts, we are drawn to a statement made by Lawrence W. Kramer, executive secretary of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, last week. Mr. Kramer's main point was that the principle of the Double-V must be attained—democracy at home as well as abroad, and that the struggle against the ugly forms of jim-crow in this nation is a long-drawn out and tedious affair.

Some of the points made by Mr. Kramer and quotes from his statement are enlightening. They follow:

"The same passions which are aroused and inflamed in the international conflict lie at the bottom of domestic and internal tensions. They cannot be dismissed by refusal to recognize their existence. Permanent solution of these domestic tensions can be achieved within the frame work of our democratic system only when human and individual rights are made effective and operative without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

"If only because of the practical necessity arising out of manpower shortage, prejudices in employment must be eliminated".

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1943

Reorganized FEPC Due This Week

WASHINGTON, Mar. 18—Action on the organization of the Fair Employment Practices committee is expected this week.

According to "inside" reports, the new committee will consist of a paid chairman and an advisory committee. This advisory committee will probably include the remaining members of the old committee and a few additions.

Pressure for action grew last week when appeals were sent to President Roosevelt, Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and Attorney General Francis Biddle, urging immediate resumption of the postponed hearings on discrimination in the railroad industry.

UNIFORM DEMAND FOR ACTION

The NAACP, the March on Washington Movement, the FEPC Conference [illegible] and the American Civil Liberties Union

(Continued on Page [illegible], Col. 6)

To demonstrate the sure BUT SLOW progress in the offensive waged against discrimination, Kramer pointed up these facts:

In July, 1942, 2[illegible] per cent of aircraft workers were Negroes; by September, the number had risen only to [illegible] per cent.

In July, 3.4 per cent of workers in the gun industry were Negroes; in September, only [illegible] per cent.

In July, 2.2 per cent of those making tanks were Negroes. by September, the figure was only 3.1 per cent.

Enrollment of Negroes in defense training courses in July, 1942, was only 5.6 per cent of the total enrollment. Enrollment in supplementary training (for more skilled work) was only 1.6 per cent.

Deferment of Negroes from military service because of essential work is almost nonexistent, Mr. Kramer contended:

"In certain areas," he said, "Negro men have gained considerable acceptance but Negro women are excluded or limited to menial or custodial functions.

"The work of the FEPC in fighting discrimination has been effective beyond the small staff and limited powers granted it. The Committee is now in the process of reorganization with the expressed intention on the part of the President of strengthening Executive Order 8802."

These facts and statements from the lips of one qualified to speak on one of the most vital issues of the day merely bolster the argument that in the fight for social justice there is no room for the faint or the weak-hearted. It is intellectual argumentative and strategic rough and tumble and it needs the kind of champions who don't mind the embarrassment of being beaten as much as they hate the cry of "Enough".

The fight for democracy will be won if the Negro people and the leaders of the Negro people—and yes, the liberal friends of all races can stand to be knocked down but absolutely refuse to be dragged out.

Jimcro In Industry, Labor And Gov't. Snubs FEPC

America's distasteful luxury of prejudice-as-usual undermines our war efforts. It makes for widespread job discrimination in industry, labor, and even in federal agencies. It goes farther and adds other unnecessary problems, such as housing shortages and increasing labor turnovers. This is the sad state of affairs of employer jimcro in war firms against Negroes, Jews and Catholics, as outlined here last week at the National Conference of Social Work by Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC).

ACTION NEEDED, NOW!

At present FEPC is more or less taking a vacation, so far as activity is concerned, and with the many cases described by Cramer as in flagrant violation of the President's Executive Order of June 25, 1941 (there should be no jimcro based on "race, creed, color, or national origin"), there is an even greater need for a strong FEPC, to try cases and enforce decisions.

Non-cooperation in the aims of FEPC has not been surpassed, probably, since the days of prohibition when gradual, then out and out disregard of the law without interference brought back whiskey.

MANPOWER SHORTAGE?

Cramer said, "it might have been expected that our entry into the war would have brushed aside the luxury of prejudice-as-usual as it did to the complacence of business-as-usual. The evidence, however, does not support the assumption."

He also pointed out how the much talked of manpower shortage problem could be aided, if not completely solved, by tearing down all forms of jimcro in government and private concerns doing war work. To strengthen this point he referred to a recent War Manpower Commission (WMC) pamphlet begging employers to hire the 600,000 unemployed Negroes willing to work for Uncle Sam in defense plants of government setups.

AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED

In speaking of complaints reaching FEPC, Cramer said, "As might be expected, the great majority were submitted by Negroes." October thru December 1942 the percentages were 71.6 from Negroes and other non-Caucasians; 16.3 from aliens; 8.7 because of creed, and 3.3 because of national origin.

Even within this black picture painted by Cramer, one could see rays of hope. In certain areas Negro men have gained considerable acceptance, but Negro women are excluded or limited to menial or custodial duties.

IT CAN BE DONE

Cramer lashed away at nine unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) which, by constitutional provisions, bar non-whites from membership and warned that ". . . Wise leaders of labor recognize (the)weakness" of such an arrangement.

He issued no sweet words for those "Gentiles Only" ads, which do just as much to jimcro Jews as Negroes. The removal of racial and religious references, as done by the federal government after a hard fight, is the solution to this phase of the problem.

Using the Social Security Board setup in DC as an example, Cramer showed that Negroes and whites can work side by side on all types of jobs and allowed to advance according to ability without so-called race friction.

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1943

FEPC Secretary Feels Morale Of Workers Affected

NEW YORK, Mar. 18—Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, denounced the discriminatory practices now evident in the war industries and even in some Federal agencies in an address here last Thursday, at the National Conference of Social Work.

"It might have been expected," said Mr. Cramer, "That our entry into the war would have brushed aside the luxury of prejudice-as-usual as it did to the complacence of 'business-as-usual'." The evidence, however, does not support the assumption.

A JOB TO BE DONE

"There is still a big job to be done," said Cramer, "despite the fact that some practices have been discarded. From the purely practical approach of manpower utilization, discrimination in employment, is, in the present manpower shortage, of paramount importance.

"There is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment solely because of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers morale and national unity."

EXCLUDED IN SOME AREAS

Mr. Cramer also pointed out that despite the fact, that there are 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States, they among others have been discriminated against in employment in greater or lesser degree. "In certain areas," Cramer said, "Negro men have gained considerable acceptance but Negro women are excluded or limited to menial or custodial functions."

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1943

'Act Now Or FEPC Doomed,' Says White

NEW YORK, N.Y., Mar. 4—"If we don't make ourselves heard within the next ten days, the Fair Employment Practice committee is doomed," Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, declared this week in a special statement to the press.

"Determination of FEPC's fate will in large measure decide the fate of the Negro during and after the war," White declared. "The unity of the diversifid groups supporting FEPC has started and dismayed the enemies of the committee who are now working to scuttle it behind the scenes.

"Only one thing can prevent that disaster—an avalanche of pressure in the form of telegrams to the White House, pledging the President support against the reactionary forces in and outside of Congress, which are running wild in Washington today in destroying not only the FEPC, but every other agency to help the common man, and telegrams to Congressmen and Senators to go to bat for FEPC."

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1943

M'NUTT SAYS NEGRO HIRING HAS INCREASED

WASHINGTON, March 4 (ANP)—Great progress has been made in increasing the employment of Negroes and in breaking down discriminatory hiring practices, Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, said this week.

Asked at his press conference if he had seen the Fortune Magazine survey which showed that 47 per cent of employers had no intention of or plans for hiring Negro workers, McNutt said he had.

"Don't you think that figure is still pretty high?" he was asked.

"It is a much better percentage than you would have gotten six months ago," McNutt replied.

EXPLAINS INCREASE

McNutt said two factors—persuasion and necessity, had caused the increase in Negro hiring.

Several plans have been proposed for the reorganization of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, he announced, and are being studied.

THE [illegible]

Saturday, [illegible]

F. E. P. C. Is Doomed Unless Negroes Act Now, White Declares

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"Determination of FEPC's fate will in large measure decide the fate of the Negro during and after the war," Walter White declared. "The unity of the diversified groups supporting FEPC has startled and dismayed the enemies of the Committee who are now working to scuttle it behind the scenes.

"Only one thing can prevent that disaster— an avalanche of pressure in the forms of telegrams to the White House pledging the President support against the reactionary forces in and outside of Congress which are running wild in Washington today in destroying not only the FEPC, but every other agency to help the common man, and telegrams to Congressmen and Senators to go to bat for FEPC. We must make it known in the latter telegrams in no uncertain terms that these Congressmen and Senators cannot expect the votes of the Negro and other groups interested in FEPC unless they deliver the goods now. Every minister in the country is urged to preach on and pray for FEPC and to ask each member of his congregation to invest in one or more telegrams."

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

MARCH 20, 19[illegible]

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

Saturday, March 13, 1943

APPROVES BILL FOR STATE FEPC

The Constitutional Liberties Committee of the National Lawyers Guild: New York City Chapter, has approved in principle, the bill introduced by Assemblyman Jack providing for the creation of a State Board of Fair Employment Practices with power to investigate violations of public policy against discrimination on account of race, color, creed or national origin. "This bill deserves the approval, in principle, of all organizations which are interested in combatting discrimination in employment in New York State," states the report of the Constitutional Liberties Committee. The Committee points out, however, that the appropriation of $25,000 is inadequate.

Score Inaction On FEPC Issue

WASHINGTON—Delay of action on the Fair Employment Practice Committee conference, held here on Feb. 10 with War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and Attorney General Francis Biddle, caused the NAACP this week to call upon all participants in the conference to sign the following telegram to President Roosevelt:

"As participants in Feb. 19 conference with War Manpower Commissioner McNutt and Attorney General Biddle, called at your direction to consider your Fair Employment Practice Committee, we are gravely disturbed at apparent inaction and inability to reach a decision during three weeks since conference was held. General public and memberships of our organizations are increasingly anxious as time passes without action by yourself. We therefore ask you for immediate and satisfactory action with respect to the Fair Employment Practice Committee."

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

"DELENDA est Carthago," was spoken of Tunisia eighteen hundred years ago) and is still true.

The real problem of the survival of our current civilization will be posed when we begin to restore and re-build, without the youth now dying

Dr. Du Bois

Neither fireworks, threats nor phrases will save the Negro in America after this war; only patience, sacrifice, work and grim grit

Cannot someone propose a way in which we black folks can show our sympathy and deep condolence for the endless matyrdom of China?

Doubts Ghandi Plan

A proposal has been made that American Negroes consider "launching a broad national program based on non-violent civil disobedience and no-cooperation, modeled along the lines of the campaigns of Mohandas K. Ghandi."

I seriously doubt if this is a wise proposal.

First: So far as this partakes of the nature of a general strike, we must remember that while the Indians form practically the whole working class of India, whithout whose cooperation all industry would collapse American Negroes are but a fifteenth or at most a tenth of our workers, and could be and indeed often are, replaced and barred from work. A planned strike under these conditions would be playing into the hands of our enemies.

Mass breaking of low or deeply ensconced custom is a serious thing to be entered upon only in great extremity and after careful thought and will to sacrifice. Our case in America is not happy, but also it is far from desperate. Compared with the laboring masses of the world our progress in the last seventy-five years has been rapid and our outlook is hopeful.

This Is Not India

But beyond all this, we must in a proposal of this sort, carefully examine the psychological implications. Fasting, prayer, sacrifice and self-torture, have been bred into the very bone of India for more than three thousand years. That is the reason why the fasting to death of a little brown man in India today is world news, and despite every effort to counteract it, is setting four hundred millions of men a-quiver and may yet rock the world. A similar occurance in England or America, would be regarded as a joke or a bit of insanity. Our culture patterns in East and west differ so vastly, that what is sense in one world may be nonsense in the other. We cannot then blindly copy methods without thought and consideration.

Certain basic facts can be taken for granted among American Negroes: Resentment at the Color Bar; increasing willingness to contribute time and money for agitation and publicity; refusal on a wider and wider scale to submit to arbitrary and illegal discrimination. But beyond this, we not only are not ready for systematic lawbreaking, but are far from convinced that this is good policy or likely to gain our ends.

My own feeling is distinctly that Agitation and Publicity are still our trump cards, and that their possibilities, within bounds of law and order, are by no means exhausted; especially, Publicity Why not publish Hasties' explanation of his resignation as a full-page advertisment in the New York Times?

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

Saturday, March 13, 1943

Authors Clash Over Plan for Disobedience

Speak at Library On "Danger Spots" to A Nation at War"

In ringing down the curtain on the winter season's book forum of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library last Thursday, four authors clashed over the issue of civil disobedience. The topic of discussion for the evening was, "What Shall We Do About the South and Detroit as Danger Spots to a Democracy At War?" All of the speakers agreed that conditions were deplorable and that positive steps should be taken by the government and by various social action groups; however, there was sharp disagreement when the discussion got around to "civil disobedience," a technique recently endorsed by the leaders of the March-on-Washington-Movement.

Thomas Sanction, managing editor of **The New Republic** magazine, who is writing a book on the South and the Negro, declared that civil disobedience would result in the wholesale slaughter of Negroes by hoodlums and mobsters who would perhaps be supported by the State Troopers. B. F. McLaurin, of the March-on-Washington Movement made it plain that Negroes were not afraid and could perhaps hold their own if any clashes should occur. However, he went on to explain, that as yet, civil disobedience has not been adopted by the movement, but would come up for consideration in the national conference next May.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

Saturday, March 13, 1943

McNUTTS FALL HELD IMMINENT

Manpower Chief Under Fire From All Sides

WASHINGTON (ANP) — The name of Paul V. McNutt is getting an awful kicking around in certain important circles here with congress itself making overtures preparatory to removing the "great man" from his post of omniscience second only to Roosevelt.

McNutt's actions as manpower commissioner have not satisfied first, the war department; second, agriculture isn't at all pleased with the way the commissioner is handling the farm proposition, which now is growing serious.

Add to this, the irate citizenry which is aroused over McNutt's position on the FEPC and the picture for the silver thatched arbiter is not a pleasant one.

Mr. McNutt has done nothing to improve his position, indicating clearly he is taking orders.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1943

Women's Club Sues Over Negro Ban

A suit on file in Supreme Court today today asked an injunction to restrain the State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs from depriving the Midtown Business and Professional Women's Club, 17 E. 42nd St., of full rights as a member.

The Midtown Club charges that the federation withdrew its charter after it had admitted two Negro members.

The club offered in evidence a charter from the national federation, open only to members of state federations, and asserted that it had apparently been accepted as a member since last July, when it was organized.

Application Rejected.

On March 3, it was said, it was notified that its membership application had been rejected and the dues it had paid were returned.

The state federation, the complaint says, now asserts that the charter was issued through "a clerical error," a question which "came up only after it had been learned by the state president that we had admitted to membership two Negro women."

Decries Race Issue.

"The action of the state federation has been determined solely by virtue of the conduct of the Midtown Club in accepting Negroes into membership.

Frances K. Marlatt, president of the state federation, said it was "most unfortunate" that the racial issue had been raised and asserted that "every organization, under our democratic form of government, has the right to accept or reject any individual or group of individuals applying for membership whose inclusion might destroy good teamwork."

She said there had been Negro members in the organization as far back as 1919.

Called Clerical Error.

Annette Smith Lawrence, president of the Midtown Club, said that Miss Marlatt and Louise F. Bache, executive secretary of the National federation, had called on her, raised the racial issue and, after being told the Negro women had been admitted, told her for the first time that the national charter was "a clerical error."

She said they later called on her again and proposed associate membership for the Negro women, telling her there was no alternative.

Saturday, March __, 1943

Negro And White Leaders Send Telegram To President Roosevelt To Act On The FEPC

The March On Washington Movement, recognizing the great danger attending the delayed action of the railroad hearings of FEPC, sent the following telegram signed by representatives of leading organizations to President Roosevelt:

"Received telegram March 18 from Fowler W. Harper, Deputy Chairman, War Manpower Commission, stating: 'President Roosevelt has referred your telegram of March 8 to Mr. McNutt. We are doing everything possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem with which we are all concerned. We hope that within a matter of days an announcement will be made which will be satisfactory to all concerned. It will deal with the Committee and with the hearings.'

"Because it has been one month and four days since conference was called by Mr. McNutt and Attorney Francis Biddle under your order for organizations interested in FEPC to express their views on its work and future, the undersigned are greatly disturbed lest those forces that practice discrimination on account of race- color, religion or national origin become more emboldened and aggressive in treating your Executive Order 8802 as the proverbial scrap of paper, which will endanger national unity, and play into the hands of the Axis powers. Since the minority groups affected by discrimination have not had the honor and opportunity to discuss the status of FEPC with you face to face, the undersigned with herewith to request a conference with you at the earliest possible date to advise you of the new danger that threatens FEPC which has done constructive work for manpower mobilization and better race relations.

"We hope we may have the privilege of presenting to you a report on industrial and manpower conditions affecting minority groups which may be helpful in your selection of personnel. An immediate reply would be greatly appreciated

Signed:

Walter White, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Channing H. Tobias, National Council of YMCAs; Lester B. Granger, executive secretary, National Urban League; Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman, Negro Labor Committee; Morris Milgram, executive secretary, Workers Defense League; Dr. Sidney Goldstein, Commission On Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis; Dr. Max Yergan, president, National Negro Congress; Ann Arnold Hedgeman, member, Brooklyn Branch, NAACP; A. Philip Randolph, national director, March On Washington Movement.

Randolph Criticizes Princeton University For Racial Barriers

At a forum of the students and faculty of the Theological Seminary of Princeton University, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national director of the March On Washingtn Movement stated that the University of Princeton was a monument of indefensible racism expounded by Lietzsche, Treitchke, Bernhardi, Bismarck, DeGobineau, Sir Houston Chamberlain, Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard and Thomas Dixon who advocate the dominion of the world and all peoples by the Aryan race, and that this was a reflection and a disgrace to the cause of education and the spirit of free scientific inquiry.

This, he pointed out was the only logical consequence of the exclusion of students from Princeton University because of race or color.

PM, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1943

Dim-out Deadline Tonight . . . 7:36

NEW YORK

Business Women's Federation Accused of Barring Negroes

Mrs. Annette Lawrence and Mrs. Anna Hedgeman

Photo by Dan Keleher, PM

The State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has been accused in Supreme Court of refusing admission to the Midtown Business and Professional Women's Club because the latter organization has two Negro members.

The charges were made yesterday in a suit filed by Annette Smith Lawrence, president of the Midtown Club. She asks

¶ For a declaratory judgment that her club is a member in good standing of the State Federation.

¶ A temporary injunction restraining the State Federation from interfering with the affairs of the Mid-Town Club.

The two Negro members of the club are Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Regional Director for Race Relations of the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office and Marguerite Roache, a war plant stenographer.

Affidavit

In an affidavit, filed with other papers in the suit, Mrs. Lawrence declares that one can attain membership in the National Federation only if the club is a member of the State Federation.

She said the Midtown Club applied for membership in the State Federation in July, 1942, and until Mar. 3, 1943, was treated as a member and paid its dues. She says, also, that she received a charter from the National Federation in Septemer.

However, beginning last December, Mrs. Lawrence said, Miss Frances K. Marlatt, state president, and Miss Louise F. Bache, executive secretary of the National Federation, called on her a number of times to discuss the two Negro members.

When Mrs. Lawrence refused to cancel the regular memberships of Mrs. Hedgman and Miss Roache, she said, the two officials told her that it would be impossible for the Midtown Club to be accepted as a member of the State Federation.

Mrs. Lawrence pointed to the national charter [illegible]

club could be refused membership when she already was a member.

The two officials then said that the charter had been issued through a clerical error and that it was not valid.

Dues Returned

On Mar. 4 Mrs. Lawrence said she received from Miss Marlatt checks for the dues the Midtown had paid the State Federation, with a letter stating that the Midtown had been refused membership in the state organization.

When the state organization was informed of the suit, an official told PM:

"We never did vote the Midtown Club in. Before we had a chance to take action, they were sending us letters threatening suit if we refused them membership.

"We have no bias against Negroes. We had a Negro member in 1919 and we have one now.

"As for the national charter, that was just a clerical error."

Mrs. Hedgeman would not comment on the suit itself, but she did say that "it has been most inspiring to work with a group of women who saw clearly the relationship between the Four Freedoms for which we are fighting and the need for our practices to square with them."

Antioch Students Donate Blood

Thirty students of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, O. have each pledged a half-pint of blood to the Mount Sinai Hospital's blood bank. Ten have already made the donation. The students are in New York working at various jobs secured for them by the college. Under the unique Antioch system of education, a student attends classes for three months and is then required to supplement his academic work for three

NEW YORK AGE Saturday, March 13, 1943

Authors Clash Over "Civil Disobedience"

In ringing down the curtain on the winter season's book forum of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library last Thursday, four authors clashed over the issue of civil disobedience. The topic of discussion for the evening was, "What Shall We Do About the South and Detroit as Danger Spots to a Democracy At War?" All of the speakers agreed that conditions were deplorable and that positive steps should be taken by the government and by various social action groups; however, there was sharp disagreement and a clash when the discussion got around to "civil disobedience," a technique recently endorsed by the leaders of the March-On-Washington Movement.

Thomas Sanction, managing editor of The New Republic magazine, who is at present writing a book on the South and the Negro, declared that civil disobedience would result in the wholesale slaughter of Negroes by hoodlums and mobsters who would perhaps be supported by State Troopers. B. F. McLaurin, of the March-On-Washington Movement, made it plain that Negroes were not afraid and could perhaps hold their own if any clashes should occur. However, he went on to explain, that as yet, civil disobedience has not been adopted by the movement, but would come up for consideration in the national conference next May.

Charles R. Lawrence, who is taking his Ph. D. in sociology at Columbia University, emphasized the unity of the Negro people all over the nation. He denied that there was a southern Negro and a northern Negro, but that all Negroes stood together to fight for their rights. Claude Williams of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, pointed out that the peoples of the world were on the march and that the interests of all people irrespective of race, color or creed demanded the destruction of Hitlerism at home and abroad.

All of the people seemed to agree that the fight for Negro rights was the common fight of all the progressive elements in the world.

MARCH 6, 1943

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

A COLORED SOLDIER'S PRAYER
all those men who are fighting the double battle)
By CECILIA V. VIOLENES

— 1 —
Dear God, I'm asking you tonight
To keep me as I pray
I'd like to feel that as I fight
You're with me all the way.

— 2 —
The call to arms I followed,
Because I thought it right.
The cause itself seemed hallowed
In all my people's sight.

— 3 —
Perhaps I'm just a fool
To risk my life again;
Maybe I'm just a tool
For bigger, craftier men.

— 4 —
Maybe I'm cannon fodder
Some people say it's so,
They ask, "Why do you bother
When your glory will be woe?"

— 5 —
But I've a strong conviction
That this is our fight.
I'd give the lie to fiction
Two wrongs don't make a right.

— 6 —
Freedom will never be ours
If we stand idly by.
This is no time to cower
It's a case of do or die.

— 7 —
And when this war is over
For myself I want no glory,
But, Great God, I pray with fervor
That we'll have a different story.

— 8 —
That my people then may stand,
To face the rising sun,
In one great united band
And know a new day's begun.

— 9 —
That's why I fight, Dear God,
I hope that I'm not wrong;
And before I rest beneath the sod
May we all sing freedom's song.
AMEN

THE MILITANT
SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1943

Twenty-five years after the first "war for democracy" and in the middle of the second year of the second "war for democracy," the government is still playing around with the question of employment discrimination against the Negro. Two months after McNutt called off the the railroad hearings and six weeks after Roosevelt promised they would be held, the two of them, assisted by Biddle, are still trying to determine the fate of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, are still trying to work out some formula that will quiet Negro discontent and yet satisfy the poll tax Congressmen.

If this is progress, protect us from it!

OR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-
EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE
OR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS
ANDED" — KARL MARX.

o Struggle

Albert Parker

is Is Progress —

GANDHI THEORIES PRAISED BY SILVER

Independence for India Is Called Only Solution

Gandhi may die in prison or be released, but neither his death nor his release will solve the Indian problem, said Rabbi A. H. Silver, in a survey of the character and policy of Gandhi and his relationship to the Indian situation, at the Temple yesterday morning.

"Gandhi is a rare compound of mysticism, orthodoxy and political sagacity — a symbol of the rising Indian nationalism," Rabbi Silver said. "He is not only politically significant, but is one of the most heroic and spiritual figures of our day.

"In India, Gandhi has devoted himself to improvement of the condition of the Untouchables and to the unification of the Hindus and Moslems. His technique has been to take on his own shoulders the sins of his people and, by fasting and whipping himself, to shock his people into an awareness of their sins. He has carried this particular technique, which is part of his peculiar philosophy of 'Ahimsa,' the philosophy of non-violence and the overcoming of evil by soul force rather than physical force, over into the field of revolutionary activity, and he has been leading the British lion by the nose during the last 25 years to the goal he has set for him, the goal of full freedom and independence for India.

Independence Is Solution

"Whether you believe in Gandhi's technique or not, it is inspiring to know that in an age when the fist has been glorified to a degree never before known in history, here is a great leader who proclaims that the philosophy of brute force is all false, is all a lie, and that there is only one way in which a people can express itself greatly and that is through soul force.

"The inevitable solution of the Indian problem is full independence for India either within or without the British Empire, preferably within. The United Nations need the wholehearted co-operation of India in their war on Japan. China also needs that co-operation. A hostile or indifferent India is a terrible liability on the Allied cause, and the Indian people know it full well. The Indians do not like the Japanese. They fear them and will resist them. Nor do they like Hitler. Their sympathies are with the United Nations, but they want to know whether the war for the four freedoms also means the freedom of India.

"Promises of ultimate freedom after the war are not enough for them; they do not trust England or English promises. They have had the same experiences as the Jews regarding the Balfour declaration, and the explanation of the failure of the Cripps mission is the background of distrust in India arising from England's disencumbering herself of and circumventing her promises made in the last war.

"Friends of Great Britain wish that she will not permit the situation to drag on as it is today. India will be a greater asset to the British dominions as a free, independent state in the commonwealth. We hope a way may be found in which the genius of British statesmanship and the indubitable genius of Gandhi may co-operate for the benefit not only of India and Great Britain but for all humanity."

MARCH 13, 1943 THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

West Indian Leader Freed From Jamaica Internment

NEW YORK—(ANP)—After a period of 20 months in an internment camp for political prisoners in his native land, Jamaica, W. A. Domingo, president and founder of the West Indies National council, was released on February 19.

Domingo left New York for Jamaica in June 1941, at the invitation of the Peoples National party of Jamaica. Upon his arrival at Kingston, he was arrested and whisked away to the Up-Park internment camp on the orders of the governor, Sir Arthur Richards.

Domingo's activities on behalf of the working people of Jamaica striving to organize trade unions won for him the fear and hatred of that "small group of wilful men" who have a stake in perpetuating crown colony government throughout the British West Indies.

Page 14 The Afro-American, March 27, 1943

Americans, Too Congress Set for Chicago

CHICAGO—A call for the "We Are Americans, Too" Congress to be held here June 30 to July 4, has been issued by the March on Washington Movement.

Called for the purpose of answering the often-heard cry, "What shall we do?" the congress plans for a full discussion of discrimination in industry and in the armed forces in addition to a discussion of the place of the colored man in the post-war world.

The official call says:

"Here we will talk about the welfare of our sons and daughters and civil rights for colored Americans.

"Here we will register our protest to our government, our nation and to the world against injustices designed to inferiorate, degrade and exploit us.

"Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American freedom, the freedom of colored peoples everywhere and the freedom of the world.

Map Broad Program

"Here we will map out a broad national program in the interest of abolishing jim-crowism in America. Here we will work out non-violent techniques for mass action that may someday point the way for a foundation of peace for a free world.

"Colored Americans, head the call! Your destiny is at hand! Armaments alone can not bring this freedom — this brotherhood of man.

"Black America, your country calls you to defend its honor! Arise and save America for all free men and for God!"

SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1943

The Pittsburgh Courier

Authors Clash Over Civil Disobedience

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SAYS NEGROES WOULD BE SLAUGHTERED

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Charles R. Lawrence, emphasized the unity of the Negro people all over the nation. Claude Williams of the People's Institute of Applied Religion pointed out that the People of the world were on the march.

The Afro-American, March 13, 1943

Porters Want That F.D.R. Save the FEPC

WASHINGTON

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters urged the nation this week to prod President Roosevelt to save the FEPC.

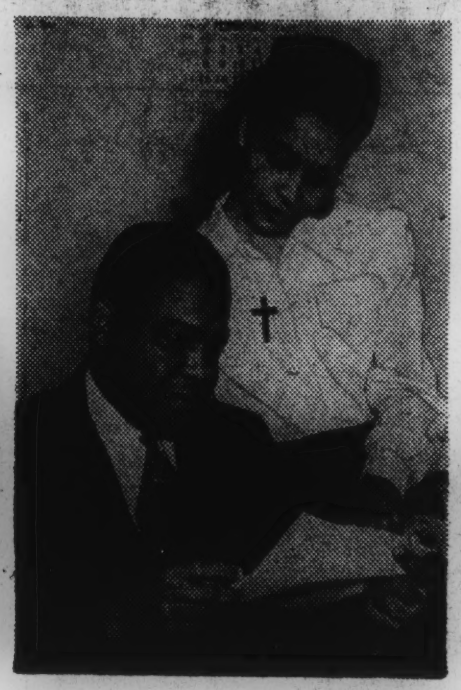
In letters to organizations, clubs and churches, requests were made that they send telegrams and cards to President Roosevelt—and perhaps even try for a conference with the Chief Executive, since no action has come from the conference with Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt and Attorney General Francis Biddle, held on February 19.

Randolph Behind Move

This is the beginning of a movement by A. Philip Randolph to save the organization, which was founded as the result of his "March on Washington" pressure movement.

The FEPC headquarters in Washington stated recently that no comment has been received

They Make the Wheels Go Round Behind the Scenes in the President's



Lawrence W. Cramer, executive secretary of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, gives reports to Mrs. Dorothy Alexander.

George Johnson, assistant executive secretary of the FEPC, goes over papers with his secretary, Miss Jeanne Clifton

Clarence Mitchell, left, principal fair practice examiner, Elmer Henderson, field representative, and Miss Vida Blanche, secretary, of New York.

Most people know something about the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee and about the fight to keep it alive. But behind the committee is a group of workers who do the routine labors, prepare the cases, conduct investigations, hear and file complaints about discrimination.

Here, for the first time, the AFRO photographer takes our readers on a tour of the vital agency which is helping to make democracy work at home to see that industry gives our boys the tools to prosecute the war abroad.

Act Now or FEPC Doomed -Walter White

NEW YORK.—"If we don't make ourselves heard within the next ten days, the Fair Employment Practice Committee is doomed,". Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, declared this week.

"Determination of FEPC's fate will in large measure decide the fate of the colored race during and after the war. The unity of the diversified groups supporting FEPC has startled and dismayed its enemies who are now working to scuttle it behind the scenes.

"Only one thing can prevent that disaster—an avalanche of pressure in the form of telegrams to the White House, pledging the President support against the reactionary forces in and outside of Congress which are running wild in Washington today," Mr. White said.

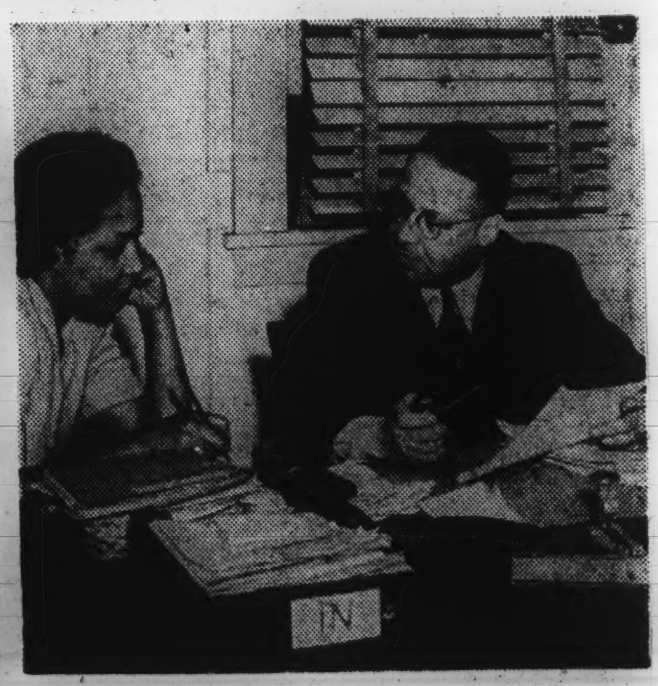
Urge Blitz on Congress

He urged that telegrams be sent also to Congressmen and Senators, asking them to go to bat for FEPC and making it known in no uncertain terms that they cannot expect the votes of colored and other groups interested in FEPC unless they deliver the goods now.

"Every minister in the country is urged to preach on and pray for FEPC and to ask each member of his congregation to invest in one or more telegrams.

"Every NAACP branch, the Urban League, the March-on-Washington Committee, labor unions, fraternal, political business and other groups must do the same. If we roll up an avalanche of expression to Washington that FEPC must be not only perpetuated but given complete independence we can win this fight," he declared.

Fair Employment Practice Committee



Theodore A. Jones, formerly of Chicago, administrative officer, dictates to Miss Harriet A. Foggie of Boston.

Eugene Davidson, deputy chief of compliance and analysis section, goes over material with Mrs. Joy P. Davis, research assistant of the FEPC.

The Afro-American, March 6, 1943

Lynn Case Goes to Court of Appeals

NEW YORK—The decision in the case of Winfred W. Lynn versus the commanding officer of the Army Reception Center at Camp Upton will put the United States Government on record as to whether jim crow is an official American practice or not.

It will officially answer the questions: Is a jim-crow army compatible with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims? And, Is segregation in itself discrimination?

Among other legal aspects of the case, an adverse decision would open the legal way to a separate Jewish army, too, if prejudice in America increases to that extent.

Case Began in June

The Lynn case began last June, when Winfred W. Lynn, a landscape gardener, was notified by his Jamaica, L.I., draft board that he had been put into Class 1A.

Lynn wrote his local board that he is willing to serve in any unit in the armed forces which is not segregated by race. He stated

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Lynn Case Goes to Court of Appeals

(Continued from Page 1)

that he would refuse to report for induction into "'a unit undemocratically selected as a colored group."

The legal basis of Lynn's case is to be found in Section 4(a) of the 1940 Draft Act: " . . . in the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

Lynn was ordered to report for induction on September 18 but failed to do so. Two months later he was indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of draft evasion and ordered held under $2500 bail. Lynn's attorneys sought and obtained a writ of habeas corpus which was later dismissed.

Main Issue at Stake

In order to get a court test on the main issue (violation of Section 4(a) of the Draft Act) rather than on the question of whether a draftee could bring habeas corpus action while resisting induction, Lynn's attorneys persuaded him to submit to induction.

Lynn is now in the army; thus his colonel, instead of his jailer, is being charged with illegal restraint of his freedom. At a hearing on January 4, the writ was again dismissed and the case now goes to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and after that to the Supreme Court.

While the U.S. Government has literally winked at the jim-crow social system of the South, it is now faced with the problem of whether or not it will sanction the practice when it is applied on a national scale to an army drawn mostly from areas where legalized jim crow has never existed.

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1943

N.Y. Firm Drops Anti-Negro Ban

NEW YORK, March 4—At least one New York City company is grateful for an investigation of its employment policies by the New York regional office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which resulted in that company's employment of Negro production workers for the first time in its history.

According to Edward Lawson, acting regional examiner-in-charge, a survey of the workers of a large firm manufacturing paper boxes for the armed forces, made several months ago, revealed that it was flagrantly violating both Executive Order 8802 and the New York State laws against discrimination by refusing to hire qualified colored workers who applied for jobs.

UNION FAVORS NEGROES

When company officials were called in to discuss this matter, they stated that whereas they did not object to colored workers, certain of their employees did, and the union with which they had a contract would not permit the integration of Negroes. Union officials, on the other hand, stated that they would accept to membership any qualified person the firm chose to hire, regardless of race.

A meeting of management and labor representatives was arranged, and within two days Negroes started work on the plant's production lines, turning out paper and cardboard products essential to the war effort.

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1943

Labor Sees No Reason For FEPC Changes

WASHINGTON, March 4—AFL and CIO representatives who attended the conference called by War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, February 19, to strengthen the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee said their position was that the committee should be continued without change of personnel.

They told the conference that the AFL and CIO see no reason for paid full time personnel, except for a chairman. Other than that they think the committee, with strengthened power, should continue and proceed with the railroad hearings at once. If reorganized, however, they asked it operate directly under the President, not the

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1943

FEPC Members Appeal To FDR

WASHINGTON, Mar. 4—Agreement was reached at a meeting of the Fair employment Practices Committee Monday to send a letter to President Roosevelt requesting that he re-establish the committee in terms of recommendations which committee members made to War Manpower Commission Paul McNutt in a conference February 8.

These recommendations called for immediate hearings into discrimination in railroad employment, retention of the old committee, added scope and power and increased funds.

Present at Monday's meeting were Earl B. Dickerson, John Brophy, Boris Shishkin, Lawrence Cramer and George

Authors Clash Over "Civil Disobedience"

In ringing down the curtain on the winter season's book forum of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library last Thursday, four authors clashed over the issue of civil disobedience. The topic of discussion for the evening was, "What Shall We Do About the South and Detroit as Danger Spots to a Democracy At War?" All of the speakers agreed that conditions were deplorable and that positive steps should be taken by the government and by various social action groups; however, there was sharp disagreement and a clash when the discussion got around to "civil disobedience," a technique recently endorsed by the leaders of the March-On-Washington Movement.

Thomas Sanction, managing editor of The New Republic magazine, who is at present writing a book on the South and the Negro, declared that civil disobedience would result in the wholesale slaughter of Negroes by hoodlums and mobsters who would perhaps be supported by State Troopers. B. F. McLaurin, of the March-On-Washington Movement, made it plain that Negroes were not afraid and could perhaps hold their own if any clashes should occur. However, he went on to explain that as yet, civil disobedience has not been adopted by the movement, but would come up for consideration in the national conference next May.

Charles R. Lawrence, who is taking his Ph. D. in sociology at Columbia University, emphasized the unity of the Negro people all over the nation. He denied that there was a southern Negro and a northern Negro but that all Negroes stood together to fight for their rights. Claude Williams of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, pointed out that the peoples of the world were on the march and that the interests of all people irrespective of race, color or creed demanded the destruction of Hitlerism at home and abroad.

All of the people seemed to agree that the fight for Negro rights was the common fight of all the progressive elements in the world.

Sadly Faltering FEPC Committee Totters on Last Working Legs

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—With the morale of the office force at a low state, and members of the committee itself perturbed over the present condition, the three members of the FEPC who met on Monday addressed a strong letter to President Roosevelt, expressing entire dissatisfaction at the manner in which Paul V. McNutt has handled the affairs of that organization recently. Present and presiding was Earl Dickerson; with him, John Brophy of the CIO and Morris Shiskin of the AFL. Etheridge, chairman, was absent, as was Milton Webster. Feeling that the President has deserted the group in the crisis, there was nothing for the members to do but express their sentiment to the man who originated the idea of the committee. With only routine work proceeding in the office, no policies established, no routines established whereby the committee will be able to see its way clear to do an effective job, there is little reason to expect anything except disgust and dissension. Some have said this will be the policy of the powers that be, to let the committee die a natural death unnoticed and unheeded.

The recent meeting of "leaders" from all over the country is being considered more or less a political gesture to soften the blow. It is felt in high places that nothing will come of this meeting, no matter what has been promised.

A similar case is pointed out in Maryland, where about a year ago there was a "March on Annapolis." Two thousand Negroes laid their grievances on the governor's doorstep. He promised to "look into all of the complaints." Election time was drawing near and some excuse had to be made. Since then, there has been nothing heard of the committee appointed by the governor to investigate the charges.

FEPC is in a similar spot. No one seems to know what to do. The original sponsors have deserted the group, leaving the entire matter in the hands of underlings who are constantly under fire and taking a severe going over because of their failure to comprehend the situation or attempt to do anything about it.

The contents of the letter to the President were not revealed, but it is known that a careful reading would show a complete dissatisfaction with both McNutt and Atty. Gen. Biddle, the latter too strongly influenced by the professional white solvers of Negro problems, who know only how to line their pockets off Negroes' earnings or live off their misfortunes.

"The Negro is determined not to let the FEBC die without holding a wake that will resound down to the very edges of the 'fourth term'," said one speaker when questioned on the matter. "If Mr. Roosevelt has any ideas about a fourth term ,he had better stop flirting with the unreconstructed south and stick with those who have carried him thus far. Surely, the Negro had an important part in his successes."

No satisfactory word may be had from the FEPC representatives, none of whom seem to know what is going on nor how long they will be functioning.

FEPC Scores McNutt in Letter to F. D. R.

(By ANP)

WASHINGTON

At their meeting on Monday, three members of the Fair Employment Practice Committee wrote to President Roosevelt expressing entire dissatisfaction at the manner in which Paul V. McNutt has handled the affairs of that organization.

While the contents of the letter were not revealed, it is known that dissatisfaction was expressed with both Mr. McNutt and Attorney General Francis Biddle, the latter too strongly influenced by the professional white solvers of race problems.

"The colored man is determined not to let the FEPC die without holding a wake that will resound down to the very edges of the 'fourth term,'" said one speaker when questioned on the matter.

"If Mr. Roosevelt has any ideas about a fourth term, he had better stop flirting with the unreconstructed South and stick with those who have carried him thus far. Surely, colored people had an important part in his successes."

No Policy Set Yet

Earl Dickerson presided at the Monday meeting, which was attended by John Brophy of the CIO, and Morris Shiskin of the AFL. Mark Ethridge, the chairman, and Milton Webster were absent.

With only routine work proceeding in the office, no policies or routines established whereby the committee can see its way clear to do an effective job, there is little reason to expect anything except disgust and dissension.

Some have said this will be the policy of the powers that be, to let the committee die a natural death unnoticed and unheeded.

Expect Little from Conference

The recent meeting of "leaders" from all over the country is being considered more or less a political gesture to soften the blow. It is felt in high places that nothing will come of this meeting.

A similar case is pointed out in Maryland, where about a year ago there was a "March on Annapolis," and two thousand colored citizens laid their grievances on the Governor's doorstep.

He promised to "look into all the complaints." Since then, there has been little heard of the committee appointed by the Governor to investigate the charges.

Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1943

WMC AT THE CROSSROADS

Just when speculation over the future of the Fair Employment Practices Committee is rife, we find the War Manpower commission, of which the FEPC is a part, also at the crossroads.

Last week the House Appropriations committee rebuffed the Administration by refusing to approve a budget of $2,454,000 which the War Manpower commission had submitted as absolutely essential for the discharge of its duties.

If the War Manpower commission is unable to get money it will have to close down business, and with it will go the FEPC, which is under its jurisdiction.

The WMC is at the financial crossroads because no one in authority seems to know what to do about manpower or possesses the courage to do it.

On the one hand, the Army and Navy are demanding a total of some 11,000,000 men by the end of 1943.

On the other hand, we are running dangerously short of food and consumer goods for the American people because of lack of farmers and workers.

The problems confronting the United States are so manifold that the situation calls for a statement of war aims so that a decision can be made relative to our strength on the war front and on the home front.

What kind of war are we fighting?

What is our goal in the post-war world?

How great a responsibility for the future of the human race are we willing to assume?

Until these questions are definitely answered, we cannot know whether our armed forces should total four, six, eight or twelve millions, and consequently the War Manpower commission cannot know.

The WMC is being assailed by Labor, by the Services and by the farmers, and this probably accounts for the disapproval of its budget. Powerful enemies want to destroy it.

The future of the FEPC will remain uncertain, even dark, as long as the WMC remains at the crossroads; and it is difficult to see how this important agency can do its job efficiently until the higher authorities decide upon and state our war aims and peace aims.

Act Now or FEPC Is Doomed, Walter White Warns Public

NEW YORK—"If we don't make ourselves heard in the next ten days, the Fair Employment Practices Committee is doomed," Walter White, the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declared this week in a special statement to the press. "The termination of FEPC's fate will in large measure determine the fate of the Negro during and after the war.

"The unity of the diversified groups which has startled and dismayed the enemies of the committee who are now working to scuttle it behind the scenes.

● "Only one thing can prevent that disaster—an avalanche of pressure in the form of telegrams to the White House pledging the President support against the reactionary forces in and outside of Congress which are running wild in Washington today in destroying not only the FEPC but every other agency to help the common man, and telegrams to congressmen and senators to go to bat for FEPC. We must make it known in the latter telegrams in no uncertain terms that these congressmen and senators cannot expect the votes of the Negro and other groups interested in FEPC unless they deliver the goods now. Every minister in the country is urged to preach on and pray for FEPC and to ask each member of his congregation to invest in one or more telegrams.

● "Every branch of the NAACP, the Urban League, the March-on-Washington Committee, labor unions, fraternal, political, and business organizations and other groups, is implored to do the same. If we roll up an avalanche of expression to Washington that FEPC must be not only perpetuated but given complete independence and personnel, we can win this fight. If we don't make ourselves heard, FEPC is doomed. In the final analysis we will then have only ourselves to blame."

by which is implied [illegible] Nutt's position on the [illegible] the picture for the [illegible] ed arbiter is not a [illegible]

McNutt has done [illegible] improve his [illegible] clearly he is [illegible] Whether he feels [illegible] safest policy was [illegible] Wednesday when an [illegible] Congress knocked out [illegible] McNutt's pet measure [illegible] Congress itself believes [illegible] homes for the [illegible] during the war [illegible] were working, while [illegible] give increases for [illegible] preferred to give [illegible] under the direction [illegible] other than McNutt [illegible] the strategy used in [illegible] against Leon Henderson.

Many will be glad to see the fall of the McNutt dynasty which true believers felt was a "synthetic thing" at best. His attitude toward Negroes and things vital to the interests of groes has not won him friends among that group nor whites who sympathize with gro ideals.

...he Afro-American, March 6, 1943

ANP Summary 1st Yr. of War

(By ANP)
WASHINGTON

The second year of the war finds three important bits of legislation apparently relegated to the scrap heap by both the Southerners who fought for them openly once and by the Northerners who depend upon colored votes to keep them in office.

In the matter of the poll-tax, there is a great lack of interest expressed by one of the foremost proponents of the bill in the last congress.

Sen. Pepper of Florida, who led a losing fight on the bill, now refuses to do anything at all about a new bill and Sen. Guffey of Pennsylvania says he will not co-sponsor the bill even if Pepper does introduce it.

There is no effort to resurrect the antilynch bill.

FEPC Betrayed

The FEPC which made an honest effort to see that colored persons were given jobs in war industries has been knifed in the back by its very sponsor until now the patient may not survive.

Opposition to giving colored people an opportunity to have decent housing has cropped up again in the committees where Southern congressmen rule the day and have their say behind locked doors.

All of these add up to a sorry picture.

Military Situation

In the army, colored combat units are still being "trained" while green whites are pushed all over North Africa by Rommel. Colored cadets in the air corps are more or less a dream now—what is the purpose of the 99th Pursuit squadron and the 100th Pursuit squadron unless it is window dressing?

Are all of the colored units going to be engineers to perform labor duties and build roads and airfields and service the white outfits?

What is happening in the navy? Where are the men who were trained up at the Great Lakes station? No one ever hears from

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1943

ABE LINCOLN

Religious News

Randolph To Speak In White Chicago Church

Promises to Launch Drive In Chi for National Negro Rights at World Peace Tables

CHICAGO, Feb. 25—(ANP)—Chicago is selected, as announced by A. Philip Randolph for the greatest assembly of "American Justice Now" meetings ever held in the United States. "We Are Americans, Too, Week" is the official name of the proposed gathering in Chicago during May as announced by Mr. Randolph in the course of his address before 3,000 Chicagoans of both races in Peoples' church of Chicago, Dr. Preston Bradley, pastor, Sunday night.

This was the annual race relations service held at Peoples' church. The public began assembling in the huge auditorium at 5 o'clock for the services starting at 7:30.

Mrs. Zenobia Laws-Baxter, noted organist, gave a 30-minute organ prelude. Mrs. Baxter has been guest organist at Peoples' church on several previous occasions.

Mrs. Fostine Neal Bostick, directress of the famed Monumental Baptist church choir, was paid a public tribute by Dr. Bradley for the special numbers, the organ playing of Miss Marienne Jeffry and the entire ensemble.

Mr. Randolph described world conditions of today minutely. He then announced that "the March on Washington" group will visit Chicago in May for a "We Are American, Too," conference. Civil disobedience will be urged to bring America's attention to Negro injustices.

The FEPC must be continued inclusive of present set-up, except replacing the resignations of Mark Ethridge, David Sarnoff and Malcolm McLean, he said. President Roosevelt and Paul V. McNutt will be fully informed of plans and results. There will be a world-wide assembly of peoples of color in London or Paris, at the peace conference or before, declared Randolph.

Dr. Bradley said in his closing remarks, "I could make a real and lengthy address. Mr. Randolph delivered an address that will be told in history, and we are happy that he gave it in Peoples' church.

"What is wrong with our ministers, daily newspapers and radios? The condition of the 15,000,000 Negroes in America should be the big subject of the day with all of them.

"These are serious times in America and the world. Fear of controversial subjects! I hope these groups will not wait too long; it may even now be too late.

"We do not want any riots in Chicago and the nation, but I have had many years in the back of my head the thought of civil disobedience where injustice is done the minority groups in the United States."

The Y's Man

VOL. 19 — Indianapolis, Ind., February 6, 1943

POPULAR DEMAND RETURNS RANDOLPH

When A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, appeared as a Monster Meeting speaker here last year he made a deep impression upon his audience. Since that day the speakers committee has received a continuous line of requests for his re-appearance.

On Sunday, February 7, at 3:30 p.m. the pubilc's request will be satified when Mr. Randolph discusses the subject "Where Do We Go From Here?"

This message is indeed timely in view of the fact that certain forces are now working to sabotage Executive Order No. 8802, and its functional agency the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The speaker has been vigorously toiling in the effort to save what has been termed the "second emancipation."

Music will be furnished for this occasion by Riley Gibson, baritone soloist and the "Whitted Family Quartet."

Come early!

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1943

The Pittsburgh Courier

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 6)

dell R. Smith, Des
Charles L. Smith, St. Louis.

Conferees Disagree On New FEPC Set-up

WMC BLASTS JOB BIAS!

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 25—In addition to urging an all-out drive for "stepped up" war production thrpugh all legitimate channels, the planning bureau of the War Manpower Commission, in a report submitted last week to Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, warned that "the nation's manpower needs for 1943 cannot be met unless job-discrimination against Negroes, women and other available workers is eliminated."

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 25—The knotty problem of revising and strengthening FEPC as an instrument to stamp out job discrimination in war industry was thoroughly explored in a three-hour conference, held here last week between War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, Attorney General Francis B. Biddle and the invited representatives of 22 minority groups, labor and religious organizations.

The conference called by Commissioner McNutt at the direction of President Roosevelt was invited to discuss proposals for sanctions to give FEPC power to enforce its decisions; proposals for reconstituting the Committee on a full time paid basis; and, proposals to give the Committee an independent existence with power to establish its own policy and procedures.

PRESIDENT WILL GET REPORT

The conference was closed to the press, but it is known that a summary of the discussion will be reported directly to the President by Commissioner McNutt and Attorney General Biddle.

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

THE FEPC CONFERE

Last Friday representatives of several organizations and groups met in Washington at the behest of War Manpower Commissioner McNutt to discuss the future of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The meeting convened at ten o'clock and Mr. McNutt left at twelve.

The conferees talked through the rest of the day and decided at dusk that the FEPC should have more independence, more money and more power.

They were entirely right, but it remains to be seen, what Mr. McNutt will decide since he is the President's agent in the matter and carries out the instructions he receives from the White House.

We do not know what purpose this conference served because it merely expressed what liberal-minded people all over the country think but possessed no power to do more than suggest.

We still think the best solution to the FEPC deadlock is passage of the Marcantonio bill which grants the FEPC punitive powers to whip discriminating war contractors into line.

When we have such a law, Mr. Biddle can do the rest.

CONFEREES DISAGREE ON NEW FEPC

(Continued from Page 1)

Judging from reactions of the organizations involved to McNutt's letter of invitation, it is clear that there must have been a general agreement that FEPC should be restored to its independent status as a Committee directly responsible to the President and that public hearings on discrimination in the vital railroad industry be immediately rescheduled.

CONFEREES DISAGREE

The positions taken by the organizations on the question of sanctions to put teeth into FEPC decisions and as to the question of whether there should be a paid or volunteer Committee indicate some disagreement. It was learned that the American Federation of Labor is vigorously opposed to giving FEPC power to enforce its decisions against Jim-Crow AFL unions. The March On Washington Movement was known to insist that the present volunteer membership of the Committee be retained. Other organizations, such as the Southern Conference on Race Relations and the National Urban League, are understood not to attach great importance to the question of a paid or non-paid Committee but do insist that ample funds and personnel be provided to enable FEPC to accomplish its objective of bringing hundreds of thousands of minority group workers into war industries.

A statement released by the NAACP showed its position to be one favoring action by President Roosevelt to give FEPC power to intervene in any Railway Mediation Board or National War Labor Board hearing involving a union found guilty of discrimination and to prevent payment of government funds to employers guilty of unfair labor practice.

MAY DRAFT DR. GRAHAM

Whatever comes out of the conference and the presentation of its findings to the White House, it is certain that the future of the Committee will depend on the selection of a chairman to succeed Dr. Malcolm MacLean. No likely prospects have been added to those announced last week. The previous statement by Dr. Frank P. Graham that he could not accept the post was met this week with reliable reports that efforts will be made to draft him for the chairmanship.

The complete list of persons who attended the FEPC conference is as follows: Sidney Hollander and George Segal, Co-ordinating Committee of Jewish Agencies; P. B. Young Sr. and Dean Gordon Hancock, Southern Conference on Race Relations; A. Philip Randolph, March On Washington Movement; Mrs. Maudelle Bousefield, Women's Advisory Committee to the War Manpower Commission; Mrs. Dorothy K. Funn, Negro Labor Victory Committee; Lester Granger, National Urban League; Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Morris Milgram, Workers' Defense League; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Synagogue Council of America; Abner Green, American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born; Samuel Rosenwein, National Lawyers' Guild; Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; George Sanchez, League of United Latin American Citizens; Rev. Francis W. McPeek, Federal Council of Churches of Christ; Willard Johnson, National Conference of Christians and Jews; John W. Davis, Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges; Warren Brown, Council for Democracy; I. N. Ornburn, American Federation of Labor; Willard Townsend, Congress of Industrial Organizations; John P. Davis, Southern Conference for Human Welfare; William Johnson, Negro Labor Leaders' Council; Monsignor John Ryan, National Welfare Conference; Fow[illegible] War Manpower; Charlotte Carr, [illegible]power Commission; [illegible]es, Assistant to

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE — FEBRUARY 27, 1943

McNutt Walks Out on FEPC's Crucial Meet in Washington

WASHINGTON—Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt, conferring with some 20 or more leaders of organizations and movements here Friday, Feb. 19, heard a solid barrage of arguments against any weakening of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The conference, from which even the press was barred, was held to discuss the "future of the FEPC." Definite outcome of the meeting has not been announced.

McNutt himself did not remain thruout the session. After opening the conference and presiding for a while, the manpower czar left, his deputy, Fowler Harper, taking over the chair. Harper, Charlotte Carr and Attorney General Francis Biddle, representing government, listened to the rest of the arguments, offered the promise that they would be given consideration.

Organizational representatives attending the session were from groups which had protested the sudden cancellation, Jan. 9, of the scheduled FEPC hearings on railroad employment racial discrimination. One after another, these speakers urged

- immediate re-scheduling of the cancelled hearings;
- restoring FEPC to its independent status under the White House and removing it from the War Manpower Commission (WMC);
- giving the FEPC sanctions in the form, not only of public hearings but of money penalties and liquidated damages;
- keeping in service the members of the present committee who have not resigned.

The entire group emphatically opposed establishment of a paid committee such as has been suggested on occasions by government spokesmen.

EDITORIAL

Barring of the press, from meetings usually results in distorted reports in newspapers because the papers get only second-hand versions of what went on. PV has already been informed from one source that Paul McNutt actually stayed in the FEPC discussion conference about 20 minutes, then left his deputy, Harper, to listen, promise, but make no commitments. From another source, we understand McNutt stayed some two hours—but made no commitments nevertheless. We don't think that those who realize the importance of continuing an unhampered FEPC had better let down their campaign yet —STB.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1943 — THE CHICAGO DE

[illegible] Challenged On 'Negroes And The War'

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON— "Negroes and the War," the propaganda publication of the Office of War Information, edited by Chandler Owen, threatened to become a boomerang to the OWI last week.

Reps. Hamilton Fish and John Taber, both Republicans from New York, attacked the publication on the floor of the House. They expressed an intention, while talking with the Defender, of devoting their intention to keeping the OWI from getting any more money for such purposes.

Rep. Fish called the 36-page publication "both tripe and baloney." He added: "Certainly it is not in the interest of the Negroes and the war, because in the first paragraph it contains a gratuitious insult to all Negroes, which reads in this way:

"'Some Negro Americans say that it makes no difference who wins the war; they say things could not be worse under Hitler.'

"That is a dastardly reflection and a slander and a libel upon 13,000,000 Negroes. It is malicious to start his political propaganda off with a sentance of that kind, questioning the patriotism, the loyalty, and the Americanism of the Negro."

In his office, Rep. Fish told the Defender that he intended to do everything in his power to stop any further slandering of this sort against Negroes.

Rep. Taber said to the Defender that "the first sentence of that thing is enough to make anybody boil."

He declared that if Negroes are not insulted by it, then they have "far less intelligence than I have given them credit for having."

"Only the last few pages show anything about the Negro and the war," he stated. "The rest is only the poorest kind of propaganda tripe."

"Negroes and the War" is on official publication of the Office of War Information. Two million copies have been printed for distribution primarily to Negroes. It has been praised and condemned by various Negro groups.

It has been stated that the agency has been giving consideration to having a similar publication prepared on the Negro and the Japanese, to be edited by the same Chandler Owen.

"The Century of the Common Man":

Tri-City Group Has Conference

Special

One of the most important conferences ever to be held in the state of Ohio took place last Friday, Saturday and Sunday at the Second Baptist Church of Columbus, when three state groups—the Columbus Vanguard League, the Cincinnati Double V Club and the Cleveland Future Outlook League—held a combination Columbus Conference to discuss the status of the Negro in this war situation, with principal speakers being A. Philip Randolph of the March on Washington Movement and Bayard Rustin, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Both speakers keynoted the theme of the conference, touching on the highlited points stressed thruout the conference.

According to the host group—the Columbus Vanguard—"this conference marked the first time that all militant and action groups, black and white, have been called to meet jointly to discuss the problems of racial tension in Ohio and to work toward a united plan to eliminate those tensions."

Friday and Saturday were given to panel discussions, hearing many speakers from over the state, plus members of the three groups, who presented reports on activities achieved. (Ed Note: while the three groups have separate setups and varying names, the aims of the three are identical.)

The program adopted by the conference took in these major points:

- **private housing** — the groups will fite restrictive covenants, neighborhood agreements on jimcro; will assist in developing and beautifying property in colored communities,
- **public housing** — the group will adopt housing studies for intelligent action; urged representation on housing boards, asks inclusion of colored tenants in publicly-financed housing; condemned jimcro public housing, endorsed cooperative housing, recommended slum clearance, condemned FHA discrimination in making loans to colored property owners, urged that Negro financial institutions support the financing of Negro property,
- **employment and labor unions** —urged Negroes to join labor unions and actively participate in all phases of unionism, called for an end to union jimcroism, condemned jimcro war industry hiring, supported by some unions; urged support of the pending Marcantonio FEPC bill now in committee in Congress,
- **public conduct, social welfare and health** — Negroes should form part of the personnel of all institutions supported by public funds; that local Negro organizations foster and support our own welfare and social agencies; urged expansion of existing social agencies; that existing agencies campaign for improved public conduct, and discourage the wearing of exaggerated apparel such as zoot suits, zoot hats, etc.
- **legislation**—urged support of House Bill 11, the Gillespie-Day-Turpeau (the three Ohio Negro legislators) non-discrimination-in-industry bill which makes unlawful in war industry all jimcro, urged letters to legislators asking that the bill be brot out of committee and passed by the Assembly; urged that registered lobbyists be set up, to work on measures affecting colored citizens; asked the support of union labor to pass this bill; warned against relaxation of the state work laws affecting women and children; opposed House Bill 15 (Ohio State Guard bill which would set up a "vigilante" band of terrorists); opposed House Bill 193, which creates a three-man commission to regulate labor unions,
- **mass education, formal and technical education** — urged that colored teachers be taken into school systems without jimcro; urged steps be taken to present the problems of Negroes to white groups wherever possible; urged that textbooks in schools be re-edited with reference to Negroes; urged that Negroes concentrate on taking business and technical courses due to increased demand in those lines,
- **military service** — urged test court cases against armed forces jimcro; decried jimcro in military service centers, such as USO centers,
- **post-war planning**—that Wilberforce set up courses to train young people for post-war reconstruction; that committees stimulate interest in such planning for the post-war world; that the governor's commission on employment problems of the colored man be extxended and strengthened.

SPIELD MOVIE THEATRES HAVE DROPPED JIMCRO; FOL ADVISES, "ATTEND"

COLUMBUS CONFERENCE held in that city at Second Baptist Church, Friday, Saturday and Sunday of last week, produced these pix. At right is Edward Welsh, CIO organizer of NY now stationed in Cincinnati, as he summarized the work of the conference and offered resolutions. Seated in background is A. Philip Randolph, one of the main speakers and head of the March on Washington Movement. Left pic shows Eugene Stanley and Wylie Reiss, displaying SRO (standing room only) signs as the crowd overflowed the church auditorium. Center is Bayard Rustin, the other main speaker, of NYC, executive secretary of the Future Outlook League and a Wilberforce graduate and courtesy Ohio State Journal.

Randolph Says FEPC Fight Must Continue

CHICAGO — The President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice is not yet saved, and the fight must be continued to have the railroad hearings held by FEPC as now constituted, since the present Committee made a brilliant and constructive investigation of race discriminations in the railroad industry and is best prepared to conduct the hearings, states A. Philip Randolph, Chairman of the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen.

The fight must also continue for an unpaid FEPC since an unpaid Committee will be free and independent, observed Randolph, who doesn't believe the conference called by Paul V. McNutt is necessary, but that the President should appoint a chairman to take the place of Dr. Malcolm McLean and members to replace other members who have resigned from FEPC.

NEGRO LABOR NEWS, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1943

NEED IS NEW TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

By LOWELL M. TRICE

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. —(ANP)— Bitterly assailing the United Nations for their insincerity of purpose in their dealings and treatment of colored minority groups residing within the confines of their democratic structures of governments, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, addressed an overflowing crowd at a monster mass meeting held at the Senate Avenue YMCA, last Sunday afternoon.

"Some of our friends will say that the Negro is organized," he declared, "Yes that is true. They are chiefly organized into fraternal lodges, churches, and social clubs. Each has a special purpose. But in addition to them, we need fighting organizations like the NAACP and the March on Washington Movement that were created to struggle for Negro rights. Power lies with the masses. Organization is the source of power, and no fight can be waged effectively without power."

Declaring that certain defeatists among us are spreading the seeds of disunity with claims that the Negro masses cannot be organized, Randolph shouted, "But this is not true. Uncle Sam organized them into the army to fight for democracy abroad —a democracy which they have never known. Capitalists organized them in industry to work to help make profits at home—profits which they never get.

"A name band, Satchell Paige, the wonder Negro baseball pitcher, and Joe Louis, the miracle man-boxer, can attract thousands of Negroes for a jitterbug contest, a baseball game, or a prize fight. Why can't the Negro masses be organized to fight for their rights?

"However, to organize the masses, you must go to the masses, in the hovels and shacks across the railroad tracks, in the slums and huts of poverty and want," he pointed out. "It cannot be done by erudite speeches, brilliant editorials, alone, if at all. It can only be by personal contact sacrifice, struggle, and suffering with the people to the end of having them share in the organizing process. It's a door bell ringing problem which will give the beget dignity, discipline, and mutual respect among the Negro people for the organizing effort."

PM, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1943

Radio Discusses Rights of Negroes

BY RADIO

The Union for Democratic Action sponsored yesterday a radio forum on *Negro Right—America's Blind Spot* (WEVD).

Louis Yagoda, radio chairman of the UDA, said:

"The strength, the skill, and the democratic devotion of all are the least we can bring to the battlefronts. If we forget the Negro in the factory, at the polling place, and on the battlefields, we are being false to both democracy and the war effort."

John F. Finerty, corporation attorney, criticized continuation of the poll tax in the South. He said:

"For poll tax senators to claim that for Congress to prohibit the payment of poll taxes as a qualification for voting in . . . elections is an invasion of States' rights under the Constitution is strangely reminiscent of the devil quoting Scripture.

"The present poll tax laws are a direct violation of the acts of Congress of 1870. . . . These acts forbade these States to deprive any person or class of persons then having the right to vote of that right. Their subsequently enacted poll taxes are a direct violation of the solemn compact of these states with Congress itself."

Alfred Baker Lewis, member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said:

"Negroes have to fight in the U. S. for both the right to live and the right to die. They have had to struggle unsuccessfully thus far for passage of a Federal law against lynching; and they have had to struggle for the right to join the armed forces on the same basis as whites."

Miss Layle Lane, teacher of social studies at the New York Benjamin Franklin High School listed three methods for eliminating job discrimination:

¶ Opening training facilities to all, regardless of race or creed.

¶ Maintenance and strengthening of the FEPC so that there will be a regularly functioning Government agency to break down discriminatory practices.

¶ Planning now for a post-war co-operative economy rather than a competitive economy.

THE BUCKEYE REVIEW

Friday, February 26, 1943

HASTIE TELLS ... AIR FORCE DISCRIMINATION

Says There Never Was Need For Separate Field

There is not now and never has been any good reason for the segregated training of Negro flyers at Tuskegee.

There are two stages in the training of a soldier to be an Army flyer. The first stage teaches the new cadet how to fly, using small light aircraft adapted to the training of a beginner. This part of the program is carried out by private operators who contact with the Army to give preliminary flying instruction to aviation cadets. The private contractor furnishes the field and the instructors, while the Army selects and assigns the cadets prescribes the course of instruction and supervises training. There are a great many such contact schools scattered in various sections of the country.

The cadet who sucessfully completes the elementary flying course at such a school is next assigned to an Army field for further basic and advanced training. From this point on, the Army takes complete charge of the training program.

No Need for Jim Crow

There was no need to segregate Negro cadets in either stage of training. Newly appointed Negro cadets could have been assigned to beginning classes at any one of the many contract schools just as white cadets are assigned. In fact one or two Negro cadets were so assigned by mistake. But when they arrived for training, arrangements were quickly made to reassign them to Tuskegee. Similarly in the more advanced training, Negroes who had completed the primary course could have been sent to the various Army flying training centers. But the Air Command was determined to separate Negro and white cadets at every stage of training.

Tuskegee Institute was awarded a contract to provide Army primary training for Negro Army aviation cadets. Under this contract the Army enlisted and appointed a small group of Negro cadets every few weeks and sent them to the Tuskegee contract school where Negro instructors employed by Tuskegee Institute gave elementary flying training under Army supervision. Incidentally, this caused some confusion because Tuskegee Institute also has a civilian pilot course which is not connected with the Army. Some young men enrolled in this civilian course under the misapprehension that by doing so they were getting into Army aviation.

For the more advanced training of Negro cadets, the Army invested millions of dollars in the construction of a new Army Air Base for Negroes located a few miles from the town of Tuskegee. Tuskegee Institute has no connection with this Army flying field or with the advanced training conducted there. However as to this also there has been some confusion and misunderstanding in the public mind.

Expense and Delay

But why in the name of common sense should all of this elaborate special machinery be set up to train Negro flyers. It was expense. It caused a delay of six months or more in the beginning of flying training for Negroes. It was not flexible, since it was adapted only to the training of Pursuit Pilots. Only by setting up additional Negro training centers for bombardment and observation, or by abandoning segregated training could the program be broadened.

The idea of a separate training base for Negro pilots is indefensible, if Negroes are actually to be an integral part of our combat Air Forces. It is not possible to train flyers in one small area as foot soldiers can be trained. Even in training men must fly from field to field. After a flyer is commissioned, his flying in this country will necessarily take him in and out of a large number of flying fields. If he goes into combat abroad one thing is certain He will not just fly out of a Jim-Crow base with his own Negro unit and fly back again. Even infantrymen traveling on their own two feet get scattered in combat. How much more are aviators bound to get into unexpected places and undergo regrouping from time to time during the course of a campaign. It is simply impossible to maintain racial segregation of pilots in a combat

...dual Understanding

Since such contacts and mingling are unavoidable, the only sensible thing to do is to prepare men for them by providing interracial associations in training such as they are bound to have later on. If we want white and colored flyers in combat to get along well with each other, the best plan is to build mutual understanding and self-respect by training them together from the time they begin learning to fly. The worst plan is to keep them apart until they are forced together under the stress of circumstances in combat. Prejudice is based on ignorance. Let men get acquainted with each other in training and there is no great problem of their harmony later on.

All of this has seemed simple and obvious to me. The Air Command, however, cannot see it. The Air Command is not even influenced by the fact that the Ground Forces have been training white and colored officer candidates together with excellent results ever since the beginning of the present Army expansion.

There are none so blind as those who do not want to see. And the Air Command just does not want to see the advantages of training white and colored flyers together. I believe this blindness will continue until public criticism and condemnation of the segregated training policy becomes so strong that it can no longer be ignored.

ICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE

DISCLOSE ARMY'S NEGRO MEMBERS EXCEED 450,000

60,000 Are Overseas; 2,000 Officers.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Feb. 27.—The war department today announced that Negro personnel in the army, enlisted and commissioned, now totals more than 450,000, serving in every arm of the service.

More than 60,000 are serving outside the continental United States with other American forces, it was said. More than 25,000 Negro soldiers are on duty in the far Pacific, and approximately 10,000 are in North Africa.

A completely organized and well trained army air forces pursuit squadron composed of Negro personnel will be committed to combat soon, it was disclosed.

Officers Near 2,000 Mark.

Negro officers now on duty with troops number nearly 2,000. This number is being augmented from time to time as additional Negroes are graduated from officer candidate schools.

The 25,000 Negro soldiers in the far Pacific comprise combat as well as service units, including infantry and artillery organizations.

More than 70,000 Negroes are in the infantry, the department said, and there are two Negro infantry divisions. Activation of a Negro cavalry division, having among its elements the famous 9th and 10th cavalry regiments, was announced recently.

40,000 in Artillery.

There are also more than 40,000 Negroes in field and coast artillery units. In addition, many air base security battalions—mobile, hard hitting combat units—have been and are being activated in the army air forces with Negro personnel.

Negro soldiers are being trained as fighting men, and it is the considered judgment in the war department that they will acquit themselves on the battlefields of this war with the same courage, distinction, and valor that their forefathers displayed in all the wars in which this country has been engaged.

THE EXPRESS

Sketchbook

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

ONE COULD hardly make a less original statement than the observation that President Roosevelt is one of the most controversial personalities who has ever appeared in American life. He inspires almost religious devotion among his followers and excites intense hatred among his opponents. The clash of opinion is as passionate among Negroes as it among other groups.

I have acquaintances, ordinarily judicious and temperate men, who become wild-eyed and incoherent in speech at the mention of the President's name. Other friends of mine choke with rage when one dares to offer the slightest criticism of New Deal policies. It is clear that only a man of extraordinary force of character could inspire such extremes of loyalty and antagonism.

An objective appraisal of the effect of the President's policies on the condition of Negroes would not justify the extreme partisanship of either his supporters of his enemies. In his first term Roosevelt improved the condition of the Negro race more than all other Presidents since Lincoln put together. I am referring, of course, to our advances because government policy was favorable to our interests, not to the progress made by our own efforts. In the first four years of the New Deal, more Negroes found more work for higher pay than at any time since the Emancipation, and there was an almost phenomenal increase in white collar employment, mainly in the WPA setup and the social adjustment agencies. The benefits which resulted from the President's innovations were tremendous, compared with those received from any other recent administration, but they left us still far from our goal of unqualified and unrestricted American citizenship, with the longest and hardest part of the road ahead of us.

This is the nub of the violent disagreement between the President's admirers and his critics. The former exaggerate the improvement in our position caused by the New Deal while the latter deny that there has been any improvement. Each side has taken an irrational attitude, not warranted by the facts, and refuses to budge.

The difference of opinion about Roosevelt is a matter of no intrinsic importance. But there is a danger that its violence may influence our political thinking in the future, causing us to make wrong decisions and unwise choices. A good insurance against that danger is an occasional review of the President's record in the cold light of facts.

It is worth remembering that none of the President's reforms during his first two terms was designed to remove the special disabilities which retard our progress. Those measures were intended to improve the condition of labor, the lower middle class and the underprivileged, and were incidentally beneficial to Negroes only because most of us are included in those groups. The reforms which were most helpful to us were emergency devices which were not incorporated into the social structure of the nation. The benefits derived from those temporary measures could continue only so long as the agencies created to administer them were permitted to function. Several of those agencies have been abolished.

When the President issued Executive Order 8802, forbidding discrimination against Negroes in defense industries, he acted with evident reluctance at a time when to act otherwise might have caused him embarrassment. The Fair Employment Practices Committee, which was created to implement the Executive Order. has proved itself a useful fact-finding body and has opened some new fields of employment for Negroes. But whenever the FEPC has encountered stubborn management or a tough labor union, the President has failed to give the Committee effective support. His failure to put real teeth in FEPC makes it easy to assume that the President is indifferent to the success of the Committee, and only created it to placate Negroes. That assumption is hardly convincing, when one remembers that he has treated practically all his other committees, commissions, boards and projects the same way. He seldom backs them up when they meet formidable opposition. It is his tendency to make step-children of his own policies, and for throwing his followers to the wolves, that has caused the decline in the President's popularity shown in the last election. But we must not confuse Roosevelt's policies with Roosevelt methods. Those policies, on the whole, were favorable to our interests and we should endeavor to retain or revive them [illegible] New Deal [illegible] good to us [illegible] door, but [illegible]

Negro Loyalty Certain:

We Demand Rights Equal to Loyalty

A. Philip Randolph, international president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, insisted that it was the American Negro's right to fight against discrimination whenever it may appear at present, when he spoke before a conference, Thursday, Feb. 4, under the auspices of the women's division of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, held at New York Times Hall, 240 W. 44 st.

Randolph criticized the discrimination against the Negro by governmental agencies and departments, including the army, and said: "It is my position and the general feeling of practically all the Negro leaders thru-out the nation that the Negro must fight against discriminations wherever they appear at this time and to insist upon the status of a first-class citizen."

The Sleeping Car Brotherhood head emphasized that even though the Negro had the right and must insist upon the right to fight for his status as a citizen of this country, it in no way affected his loyalty to his country.

NEGRO GIVES HIS BEST

"We stand for all-out support of the war by the Negro. This he is giving with his life, blood and treasure. We also stand for a fight not only against hitler in Europe but hitlerism in Washington, D. C., the South, and Chicago."

Other speakers at the conference which urged a "scientific approach to race prejudice," were Ruth Benedict, associate professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, and D. Clyde R. Miller, associate professor of Education at Teachers College. Mrs. Harold R. Sleeper, president of the women's division. presided.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1943

Biddle And McNutt To Confer Friday With Leaders On FEPC

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18—Representatives of 15 minority group organizations, with a direct stake in strengthening the powers of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, will meet here Friday with Attorney General Francis B. Biddle, War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, Deputy Commissioner Fowler Harper and possibly other government officials in a conference ordered last week by the White House to attempt to iron out the present difficulties preventing resumption of FEPC railroad discrimination hearings and continuance of normal anti-employment discrimination activity of the Committee.

Among the groups invited to send "representatives of their own choosing" to the conference are the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Association of Negro Land Grant colleges, the recently formed Southern Charter Group, the March on Washington Movement, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Civil Liberties Union and other groups representing Catholic, Mexican and similar religious and racial minorities.

Representation along these lines is expected to bring to the conference table such individuals as Walter White of the NAACP, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, A. Philip Randolph of the MOW, Dr. John W. Davis of the Land Grant colleges, Dr. George E. Haynes or Dr. James Myers of the Federal Council of Churches and Tuskegee's Dr. F. D. Patterson or Fisk's Dr. Charles S. Johnson from the Southern Charter Group.

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

BIDDLE, McNUTT TO CONFER WITH

(Continued from Page 1)

NEGRO PRESS NOT INVITED

No representatives of the Negro press have been invited to the conference, nor have any members of the present FEPC been issued invitations. The reason advanced for the exclusion of the press is that government representatives wish to have a full and frank discussion of the whole problem unhampered by publicity. The decision not to invite the Committee is said to be based on the desire to have the conference free to discuss reorganization of the entire Committee and replacement of its present personnel.

PRESENT JOB TO HOLD DR. GRAHAM

Meanwhile the crucial question of a full-time paid committee chairman to take the place of Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, who recently resigned, remains unsolved. Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and member of the National War Labor Board, who has been frequently mentioned for the post, told the **Pittsburgh Courier** this week that while he had no personal reluctance to becoming chairman, members of the National War Labor Board were unwilling for him to leave his present duties.

Dr. Will Alexander, also mentioned as a possible choice, similarly indicated to close friends that he was not available. Left in the field is former Lieutenant Governor Charles Polletti of New York. While recognizing his marked ability, certain labor and government circles have questioned the wisdom of his selection both because of the storm of protest his choice is apt to raise among poll tax congressmen and because of the frequent mention of his name as a candidate for mayor of New York City.

OLD COMMITTEE MET WITH BIDDLE

Preliminary to Friday's conference Biddle, McNutt and Harper met here ten days ago with Mark Ethridge, Milton P. Webster, Earl B. Dickerson, John Brophy and Boris Shiskin, comprising the present committee membership.

After a lengthy afternoon's discussion all members of the committee agreed with Attorney General Biddle on the proposal for a full-time, paid chairman of the committee, but with the exception of Ethridge, the committee insisted that its present personnel be retained on a non-paid, part-time basis. No agreement was reached on the proposal for a full-time, paid committee. It is to be expected that this question will be a central point of discussion at the conference.

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1943

Citizens Protest Exclusion Policy To WMC, FEPC

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 18—(ANP)—Negro citizens of Birmingham prepared for an all-out battle against discriminatory hiring practices in war industries as the Bechtel-McCone Parsons Airplane corporation announced extensive training plans for prospective workers in its $15,000,000 modification plant now under construction adjacent to the municipal airport.

A delegation representing the Negro Citizens Committee on Jobs and Training, reporting an interview with Kenneth Hawkins, manager of industrial training, and G. S. Hammill, personnel director of the corporation, stated that the results of their discussions were "unsatisfactory in the extreme."

Headed by Wilber H. Hollins, local president of the NAACP, the delegation includes James E. Jackson Jr., secretary of the committee, and Louis E. Burnham, organizational secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Hollins reported that the corporation gave no evidence of the intention of training and hiring Negroes and that the citizens committee has placed the matter before the regional office of the War Manpower commission in Atlanta and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

USING WHITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

On the same day of the interview, Hawkins and Hammill issued an announcement to the press indicating that 2,500 Birmingham men and women will be trained by March 15. Approximately 1,500 workers have been inducted into the training courses already—but not one Negro. The corporation, which has its headquarters in California, will eventually hire 17,000 people in the Birmingham plant, 60 per cent of them women who have had no previous industrial experience.

The corporation officials announced that the facilties of Paul Hayne, Phillips, Ensley, Woodlawn, Bessemer and Fairfield high schools—all white instutions—are to be used in the training program. Vernon Douglas, city director of the state vocational training system, is charged with the task of supplying the company with skilled personnel from these schools. They are expected to devote 48 hours a week for a period of four weeks to three months, depending on the skills in which they are being instructed. After training they are to be immediatley placed on production jobs as aircraft welders, assemblers, armament mechanics, sheet metal workers, and in many other capacities.

PLAN MASS MEETING

Hollins stated that in order to give the appearance of compliance with the provisions of Executive Order 8802 the corporation has been issuing applications to Negro job seekers. "However," he declared, "these applications have been placed 'on ice' for to date not a single Negro has been assigned for training. The immediate job of our committee is to 'unfreeze' these applications of hundreds of Negro applicants so that this discriminatory trend may be nipped in the bud. We also feel that the time for War Manpower commission and the FEPC to act is now, rather than waiting until an all-white labor force has been recruited to bring charges of violation of federal policy."

The citizens Committee on Jobs and Training is preparing a mass meeting in order to bring the facts in the case before the attention of the entire Birmingham community.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1943

'Packed' D.C. Parley Set To Doom FEP

By HARRY McALPIN
(Chief, Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Sweeping proposals for an entirely new but far weaker Fair Employment Practices Committee were to be laid in the lap of a hurriedly-summoned conference in Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's office here on Thursday, February 18.

The parley of "leaders of those groups opposing discrimination in war employment" called by President Roosevelt was being rushed with "undue haste" this week as administration officials sought to get the FEP "hot potato' off their hands before Dixie poll taxers spring their threatened blase against the committee in Congress.

Emasculation of the FEP, advised by a trio of so-called Southern liberals consisting of former Supreme Court Justice James Byrnes, now head of economic stabilization, Presidential Secretary Marvin McIntyre, and Raleigh, N. C. Editor Jonathan Daniels, has been further spurred by a congressional black jack wielded by the Southern bloc.

'Stacked' Parley

Introduction of a bill to deprive FEP of all funds, similar to the action taken against Dean William Pickens by the Dies Committee, has been threatened by a trio of Senators. The Defender learned these were Sens. Theodore Bilbo of Mis-

See FEP, Page 4,

(Continued from Page 1)

sissippi, Tom Connally of Texas and Walter George of Georgia.

A veil of secrecy has hung over the names of those invited "for obvious reasons," according to a WMC spokesman. It is presumed the group will not be very large. McNutt is reported to have had his "fill" of large groups discussing the FEPC, after his experience with the Detroit delegation a few weeks ago.

Walter White and A. Philip Randolph will be among the Negroes invited to attend the meeting. The others will be representatives of organizations interested in minority group problems, Negroes and whites.

The parley on Thursday has been "stacked" with a fistful of passive organizations from whom little opposition is expected to the new plans for the FEP drawn up by Attorney General Francis Biddle, the Defender learned. It is expected, however, that loud protests will follow announcement of the list of groups invited and far more representation demanded for labor and Negro organizations primarily concerned with the discrimination problem.

While the March on Washington movement, N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League have been asked to attend, these groups have been more than countered with such groups as the Southern Conference on Race Relations and other less militant Southern groups.

Only One Negro

The plan to be proposed will ask a full-time five-man committee probably to be headed by Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina. Only one Negro will be on the new committee in contrast to two at present. Labor will have no representative. Newest men mentioned for the committee are Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago and Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university.

It was learned by the Defender that the proposal for the new committee was met very coldly by the present five members of the FEP at their last meeting Monday here with McNutt and Biddle. The narrow representation at the proposed conference was also assailed.

Several FEP members charged openly that Biddle and McNutt were trying to create a "safe" committee to appease Dixie poll taxers. If there were any weaknesses in the FEP, they pointed out, it was not due to the part-time nature of FEP but rather to the deliberate scuttling of the group by the failure to provide it with an adequate budget, the refusal of the Manpower Commission to cooperate with FEP, and the shackling of FEP by depriving it of its independent status.

FEP Program

The five FEP members, consisting of Milton P. Webster, Mark Ethridge, Boris Shishkin, Earl B. Dickerson and John Brophy proposed a program to maintain the FEP's status quo with the following conditions:

1. A million dollar budget to push its investigation.
2. Immediate, rescheduling of the railroad hearing, using the mass of evidence the FEP has gathered in months of investigation.
3. Provision for penalties on employers and unions who refuse to bar discrimination after they have been found guilty by the FEP.
4. Complete independent status for the FEP as a part of the executive branch of the government.

These proposals, given to McNutt and Biddle through Acting Chairman Dickerson, were turned down.

The Afro-American, February 20, 1943

Labor

Suggestions for FEPC Wide Interests of Colored Make Unified Leadership Unlikely

By EDWARD S. LEWIS

For Independent FEPC

NEW YORK — The March on Washington Committee held an Action Conference on February 16, to consider next steps in connection with the FEPC crisis. The leaders of the movement, Randolph, McLaurin and others have agreed on the following program:

1. Independent status for the committee.
2. Secure a new chairman and two additional members on a volunteer basis.
3. Appropriate $2,000,000 for the work of track to down jim crow war employers.
4. Make the work of the committee a permanent function of the government.

Delegates spent more than an hour debating whether members should receive pay. McLaurin said:

"We know what will happen if we have paid representatives of the committee who have to make decisions with one eye on patronage and the other on the plight of their people."

On the other hand, a local NAACP representative held that no member of the race needs to sacrifice principle for policy even though he stays on the government pay roll. He cited William Hastie's resignation as a pertinent illustration.

Prepare for Conference

A group representing all views will meet the President next Thursday to reach some agreement on what will be done with FEPC.

It is far more important to have unanimous opinion on the necessity of holding public hearings than it is to worry about paying the committee. Above all it is imperative for our leaders to agree beforehand on first and second choices for chairman. But if they go to Washington without preparation they are certainly going to leave on the short side of the bargain.

THE Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1943

MARCANTONIO DOES IT!

In the eyes of the growing number of reactionaries in Congress, Representative Vito Marcantonio, sole American Labor Party member, is a menace, and that is why they compelled the Committee on Committees to withdraw his name as a member of the potent House Judiciary Committee.

To show that the reactionaries' fears were justified, Representative Marcantonio the other day introduced in the House a bill which would give broader powers to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices to prevent discrimination in employment because of "race," color, creed or national origin.

The Marcantonio measure would prohibit all forms of employment discrimination by any employer furnishing or manufacturing any goods used by any agency of the Federal Government.

The FEPC, under this measure, could issue orders to cease and desist and could assess fines of $500 for each day's continuation of a violation of a cease and desist order.

Employers found guilty of discrimination could also be barred from receiving government contracts for a maximum period of three years.

Now this is the kind of law THE PITTSBURGH COURIER has time and again insisted should be passed if the FEPC is going to be able to do its job effectively.

There is still not enough real patriotism among the war contractors of the United States to cause them to abolish color discrimination voluntarily regardless of where they may be located, and patting on the wrist by the FEPC will do little good, especially in certain sections.

What is needed is a punitive law with plenty of teeth, and that is what Marcantonio's bill possesses.

Significantly enough the daily newspapers have "buried" news of this bill's introduction on far inside pages and none has espoused it editorially. But the reception given this bill will indicate more than anything else at this time whether those in places of wealth and power are sincere about the ideals for which we are making such sacrifices.

In the meantime, every colored organization in the land should get behind this Marcantonio bill with every resource at its command.

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13 1943

Clergymen Petition FDR On FEPC Status

NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 11—Prominent Clergymen here are much concerned over the life of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and have sent a memorial to the President urging him to reaffirm his executive order forbidding race discrimination in the war industry and that he reconstitute the Committee. The memorial also asked the President to move the Committee from the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission and reschedule hearings on reported discrimination on Southern Railways.

Announcement of the memorial was made by Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Church, the Rev. John LaFarge, Chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council and Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbies.

LEAD FIGHT TO "SAVE" FEPC

Thurman L. Dodson, D.C. attorney; Miss Natalie Moorman, Minorities Workshop representative, and A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are shown as they discussed the results of the "Conference to Save the FEPC," which met in Washington Friday.

The 150 delegates from all sections of the country who attended the conference formed delegations which visited Congressmen and Senators, passed resolutions calling for the strengthening and perpetuation of the FEPC, and drafted plans for permanent organization. — Courier Photo by Shephard

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1943

FEP Future At Stake In Parley Called By FDR

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—A conference summoned by President Roosevelt to discuss the future status of the government battle against discrimination in war industries was set early this week by the Fair Employment Practices committee.

The President's stand on the future status of the group and then decided on the makeup of the parley proposed by Mr. Roosevelt.

Public opinion, and united and determined mass action evidenced by delegations and letters of protest brought from the White House an announcement concerning strengthening of FEPC and the resumption of the railroad hearings.

In a brief statement last week, the President announced that he had requested Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, after consultation with the members of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to call a conference of leaders of those groups opposing discrimination in war employment to consider a revision and strengthening of the committee's scope and powers.

Lauds Work of FEP

For nearly two years, the President said, "the Fair Employment Practice committee and its executive director have done an excellent piece of work, placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicapped by the fact that the members of the committee were working on a part-time voluntary basis, and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

"The President said he considers it advisable, therefore, to review the situation, and that when the machinery has been established to meet the problem the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been postponed will be continued."

In compliance with the President's request, McNutt met with the FEP committee Monday to discuss the proposed conference of leaders.

The announcement has not been as enthusiastically received as the White House no doubt wished.

Sees Need For Action

Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P., commenting on the announcement, said: "It is gratifying to know that the President wishes the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to

See FEP, Page 4

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1943

FEP—

(Continued from Page 1)

have more power and more personnel. But it is not clear why a conference of organizations is necessary to accomplish these ends.

"The N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations have already stated their positions. The war is not waiting for conferences. Workers are needed in industry now. Let the President, without further delay, give the committee such power and personnel as may be necessary for the accomplishment of its vital task."

Pauline Redmond Coggs, executive secretary of the Washington Urban League, told the Defender: "The President's statement merely indicated that the protest from various Christian, Negro, labor and liberal groups in this country had been needed, and that the President recognizes that the present dissatisfaction expressed concerning postponement of the railroad hearings were symptomatic of the ineffectiveness and lack of authority of the committee.

Need More Pressure

"I do not believe, however, that this statement of the President ought to be considered as a guarantee that the things various groups have asked will be done. These same groups ought now to indicate the changes which they see necessary in the reorganization of the committee.

"The forces in this country who looked with approbation on Executive Order 8802 are concerned that the strongest possible mechanism be set up to effect the provisions and spirit of the order.

"I think it has been a mistake, and almost a ruse, on the part of administrators to call in leaders to discuss administrative problems which the experts already in the government, if sincere in carrying out 8802, could do just as well."

Dorothy Height, secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., declared that she felt that the President's giving the matter of the FEPC his consideration so immediately following his return to the country is based upon the fact that he senses the dissatisfaction and the firm conviction of the Negro that he will stop at nothing less than full integration into all phases of government and war industries.

"It would be much more heartening, however," said Miss Height "to have reaffirmation of the Executive Order."

Fear 'Stalling'

A. Philip Randolph, in Washington to preside over a "Save FEPC Conference" sponsored by the Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen, told the Defender:

"We all welcome the statement of the President on the FEPC and the railroad hearings. But we have got to be careful that there is not a whole lot of stalling and delaying action adopted which may cause such an interval of time between the reorganization of the committee and the holding of the hearings that the public will become disinterested, and a full and complete public hearing on discrimination in the railroads may be sacrificed."

Randolph presented the "Save FEPC Conference" with several "must demands,' among which were that: (1) The railroad hearings be held immediately and by the present committee, which made the investigation and has a backlog of nearly two years of experience handling such cases of discrimination in the government and defense industries;

(2) The principle of the public hearing be adhered to as one of the chief sanctions, along with the power to assess penalties and fines upon recalcitrant employers and trade unions;

(3) The committee be an unpaid committee—believing that when the members are unpaid they are free and independent and will not necessarily cater to administrative whims.

Seek Independence

"I believe that Negroes have reached the point," said Randolph, "where they must be able to turn down even big jobs representing $10,000 a year when a vital principle is involved affecting the Negro masses."

(4) FEPC be taken out of the War Manpower Commission and restored to its independent status, with responsibility only to the President;

(5) An adequate budget of $2,000,000 or more be provided the committee, with complete personnel necessary to do the job.

In the meantime, plans for the reorganized FEPC have not yet been officially revealed. The only definitely established fact is that the committee will be reorganized, that the drafting of reorganization plans is being supervised by Attorney General Biddle, that a full-time paid committee of three or five members is receiving support in these deliberations, and that suggestions are being received as to who should be on the committee.

The President's announcement seemed to be setting the stage for several things.

Limit Power

First, the language used "to consider a revision and strengthening of the committee's scope and powers" is believed to forecast a decision by Biddle that the committee should restrict its activities to firms engaged in war production rather than taking in all concerns engaged in efforts essential to the war effort. This would place railroads and local transportation and communications systems outside the committee's scope.

In this same connection, the announcement seems to make a studied use of the phrase "war employment," rather than "employment essential to the war effort."

Second, the announcement makes specific reference to the part-time, voluntary status of the committee as a handicap. This is regarded as a feeler put out on the full-time, paid-committee proposal.

A peculiar twist noticed in the whole reorganization plan is that none of rumored personnel for the new committee includes any member of the presently constituted committee. No objections have been expressed to Earl Dickerson, Milton Webster, John Brophy or Boris Shiskin. In fact, the President's announcement praised the work done by them as the present committee. But they are apparently being ignored entirely in considering the reorganization.

FDR Tells McNutt to Prepare to "Revise, Strengthen" FEPC

Complaints of Minority Groups over Recent Muzzling of Body Cause of White House Action

WASHINGTON

President Roosevelt instructed War Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt this week to prepare to revise and strengthen the Fair Employment Practice Committee and to also be prepared to conduct hearings on alleged discriminatory practices in the railroad industry as soon as revision of the committee has been effected.

Apparently taking cognizance of the complaints of numerous colored organizations as well as those of other minority groups over recent Federal inaction on discrimination in war work employment, the President indicated that the committee is to be strengthened both in power and in personnel.

It is understood that an executive order creating a five-man commission as a branch of WMC Chairman McNutt's agency has been drawn up and will be submitted at a conference on Monday at which leaders of groups opposing discrimination in war employment will be in attendance.

Much of the indictment of Federal inaction on job bias stemmed from Mr. McNutt's literal scuttling of the FEPC when he called off hearings in the railroad case, but it is now reported that Mr. McNutt himself recommended the conference plan now sponsored by the President.

Past Work Praised

In announcing his decision to retrench the FEPC, the President praised the past performances of the body in fighting racial discrimination, but inferred that the committee's work had been handicapped by the fact that its members were working on a part-time voluntary basis.

He asserted that they did not have power or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities and went on to say that he therefore considers it advisable to review the situation and, when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any others which may have been postponed will be continued.

Should Be Independent

The railroad hearings called off by Mr. McNutt on January 11 were to have been held on January 25-27. Among groups condemning the action was the CIO and innumerable colored organizations which have contended ever since the FEPC was placed under WMC jurisdiction that it should be an independent agency.

The FEPC was established June 25, 1941, by Executive Order 8802 after the threatened March on Washington.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1943

Permanent FEP Asked In Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Congressman Vito Marcantonio (ALP) New York, this week introduced into the House a bill which would cloak the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice with broad powers to stamp out discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed, religion.

The Marcantonio Fair Employment Practice act establishes as the public policy of the United States the repudiation and prohibition of all forms of employment discrimination by any employer furnishing or manufacturing any goods for use by any agency of the federal government.

It gives the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, created by President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, power to inquire fully into any alleged instance of discrimination and to issue orders to employers found guilty to cease and desist from continued violations.

The bill gives the committee discretionary power to asses a guilty employer a fine of $500 for each day's continued violation of a case and desist order; to order the hiring or reinstatement of a person

See CONGRESS, Page 4

Congress—

(Continued from Page 1)

kept from employment because of discrimination; and to bar any contractor, who after hearing has been found guilty of unfair employment practices from receiving any government contracts for a maximum period of three years.

All orders of the committee are made subject to review and are enforceable by the federal courts. A penal provision for persons willfully interfering with the execution of the act, carries a penalty of $5000 fine or one year's imprisonment, or both.

Commenting on his bill, Congressman Marcantonio stated, "This bill is designed to put an end to all question as to the status and powers of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. The critical need for more manpower to win the war, makes it imperative that Congress act firmly and promptly to stop un-American discriminations against Negroes, Italians, Jews, Puerto Ricans foreign born, aliens and other groups who are hindered from giving their full energies to war production. I shall press for speedy action on this vital war measure."

The Afro-American, February 13, 1943

Delegates Map 5-Point Program at "Save the FEPC Conference"

WASHINGTON

Campaigns to make the FEPC a permanent agency, publicize its activities and insure open hearings in the cases of colored locomotive firemen were mapped Friday by more than 150 delegates from thirteen States attending a "Save the FEPC Conference," at the Twelfth Street YMCA, 1816 Twelfth Street, Northwest.

After calls and visits to several Congressmen revealed that the legislators were uninformed on the FEPC controversy, delegates to the meet returned to their session and, in a frenzy of activity, raised funds, appointed a planning committee and planned a flood of publicity and pamphlets to instruct legislators and the public.

No Victory Yet

"You may depend on it this is not a complete victory for FEPC," declared A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who presided at the meeting sponsored by the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, said in referring to President Roosevelt's recent order to re-schedule the original FEPC railroad hearings.

"You may depend on it, this is not a complete victory for the FEPC. The hearings will be fair only in proportion to the pressure which we can bring to bear on the authorities, because the same forces which caused the postponement of the railroad hearings are still active and will do all in their power to prevent exposure."

Maltreatment Described

John W. Daniels, Tampa, Fla.; S. A. Dawson, Rocky Mount, N.C., and M. Maxwell, Charleston, S.C., all firemen, told how colored men had been replaced by whites, maltreated, and gradually edged out of their jobs.

A 5-point program, adopted by members of the 42 organizations represented, will seek:

$5,000,000 Budget

That a budget of at least $5,000,000 per year be provided to carry out FEPC programs;

That the FEPC be again made an independent agency by removal from the War Manpower Commission;

That the railroad hearings be held as scheduled by the original committee which prepared them;

That the FEPC remain a body of voluntary and not paid workers; and

That public airings be maintained as one of the FEPC's most effective weapons.

A planning committee of twenty-five national and local leaders was appointed by Mr. Randolph to organize a permanent committee to safeguard the wartime FEPC and to insure the continued existence of the committee in legislative form in the postwar period.

Delegates attending the meet included:

National Organizations

Sleeping Car Porters: A. Philip Randolph, B. F. McLaurin, NYC; Mrs. R. C. Tucker, Ladies' Auxiliary, Washington, and E. J. Bradley, St. Louis, Mo.; Workers' Defense League: Morris Milgram, NYC, and Henry G. Babcook, Great Neck, L.I., N.Y.; Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance: George Brown, New York; Association of Colored Railroad Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen: Joseph C. Waddy, Washington.

Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen: H. A. Dawson, Rocky Mount, N.C.; Citizens' Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen Jobs: Winifred Raushenbush, New York; Socialist Party: Harry Fleischman, New York; Union for Democratic Action: James Loeb, New York;

National Association of Railway Employees: Arthur Lewis and J. E. Roberts, Memphis, Tenn.; United Automobile Workers, CIO: Horace Sheffield, Detroit; United Government Employees' Union: Edgar G. Brown, D.C.; United Transport: George Weaver, D.C.

Religious

National Young People's Baptist Union: the Rev. W. H. Jernagin, D.C.; National Council of Negro Churches: the Rev. J. T. McClennon.

Fraternal

Elks: J. Finley Wilson and W. C. Hueston, D.C.

Local Organizations

Sleeping Car Porters: A. C. Speight and W. S. Anderson, D.C.; John W. Daniels, Tampa, Fla.; M. Maxwell, S.C.; Mrs. Elizabeth Craig, Mrs. W. C. Austin, Mrs. Maizie Sandle, Mrs. Gertrude Davis, Duey Ulmers, T. W. Moore, D.C.; Robert D. Elliott and C. R. Bell, Va.

Department Store Employees, CIO: David Chaney, Detroit; Federal Council of Churches: the Rev. Francis McPeek, D.C.; Civil Liberties Union: Robert E. Sher, D.C.; Bar Association, R. R. Atkinson, D.C.; Negro National Defense Committee: Thomas A. Webster, E. V. Suitt, Mrs. Hayden, Mo., and Kans.; Metropolitan Council on Fair Employment Practice: A. W. L. Brown, Detroit; Citizens' Committee for Jobs in War Industry: Judah Drob, Detroit; Post War World Council: William Lovell and U. S. A. Heggbloom, Detroit.

March-on-Washington Committe: Theodore Brown and Charles W. Burton, Chicago; Howard U.: James M. Nabritt, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Charles Howard, and Pauli Murray; Atlanta University: Hugh Gloster, Ga.; Press: Ralph Matthews, Miss Margaret Lewis, Joseph Shephard, Michael Jones, Alexander Barnes, Robert A. Pelham, Alvin White, C. A. Franklin, Harry S. McAlpin.

Washington Urban League: Mrs. Pauline R. Coggs, Mrs. Julia W. Hamilton, Miss Dorothy Height, J. C. Arnold, Frank Reeves, and Ruth Weyand.

Socialist Party: Albert W. Hamilton; Youth Committee for Democracy: William Worthy, Philadelphia; Minorities Work Shop: Natalie Morrman; Trade Union League: Mrs. J. H. Stone; Relief Association, Baptist Church: James H. Lee; National Postal Employees: James B. Cobb; Federation of Citizens: Dr. William Howard; Self-Culture Club: Miss Grace Addison; Tabor Union: Lawrence Owens;

UFWA, CIO: Robert Robinson; Baptist Ministers: the Rev. J. H. Marshall; Bates College: Miss Valeria Savings; Dining Car Waiters: Jasper Turner, NY, and J. M. McConnelly; NNC: the Rev. M. C. Mills; Civil Association: Alice Allison; Charles A. Houston, William A. Kirk, Bertha Lomack, Lawrence A. Shepherd, the Rev. J. H. Peters, Oby Berks, the Rev. O. D. Henry, Passaic, N.J., and A. B. Martin.

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

FEBRUARY 13, 1943

FDR 'Revives' Fading FEPC, Bill Would Make It Fool-Proof

WASHINGTON—A conference to consider a revision and strengthening of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the possible re-scheduling of the postponed Southern railroad discrimination hearings were on the Executive docket here this week.

A White House statement released last week contained the following announcement:

"For nearly two years the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its executive director have done an excellent piece of work placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicaped by the fact that the members of the committee were working on a part-time volunteer basis and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

"Therefore the President thinks it advisable to review the situation and that, when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been temporarily postponed will be continued."

MARCANTONIO SPONSORS BILL

Meanwhile, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) introduced a bill which would give the FEPC broad powers to stamp out discrimination in employment by any contractor or subcontractor holding a Government contract.

Also under the Marcantonio bill the FEPC would be empowered to order the hiring or reinstatement of any person found to have been kept from employment because of dis-

Negro Is Indispensable Says Secretary Ickes

Sir: In fields and factories and the armed forces, American Negoes are working and fighting for the common cause. They are an indispensable part of our total war effort, and their devotion is beyond praise. Their contribution to the war—their war and our war—is of such a nature that it should go far towards the eradication of race prejudice once and for all.

HAROLD I. ICKES,
Secretary of the Interior
Washington

The Afro-American, February 13, 1943

FEPC Muddle Is Not Settled Yet

WASHINGTON

Although an exhaustive exploratory conference was held between members of the FEPC, Attorney-General Biddle, who represents FDR and has the matter in charge, and Manpower Commissioner McNutt Monday, no decision on the final disposition of the body was reached.

A conference of representatives of organizations interested in racial and religious discrimination will be called some time next week at which time the administration hopes to convert leaders to the wisdom of a paid committee.

No explanation was given for the persistent rumors which call for the exclusion of all members of the present body in the new setup.

Why FEPC Failed

Committee members insist that they were not handicapped either by lack of pay or enthusiasm for their work, but by failure of the White House to delegate them sufficient powers, personnel or funds. There is nothing in the new plan which will correct these evils.

They insist that the committee requested 113 field operatives and got only two. They demanded a quarter of a million dollars and received less than $50,000. They demanded powers to subject penalties and had the little power they had when created, curtailed by the transfer to the War Manpower Board.

The agreement to transfer the personnel of Dr. Robert Weaver

Continued on Page 20, Col. 1

The Chicago Defender—FEBRUARY 13, 1943

THE CONFERENCE ON FEPC

President Roosevelt is taking steps to change the present situation surrounding the Fair Employment Practice committee. In a meeting with Paul V. McNutt, he asks that a conference be called to which members of the FEPC are to be invited as well as leaders of other groups opposing discrimination in war employment.

We were fully confident that this would be the President's position once he recognized that the public was in full support of his order 8802 and the machinery which he has created for putting it in action. Many are stampeded into rash criticism of the administration whenever the struggle to end discrimination comes up against a stiff barrier. The fight to make the FEPC a real weapon for democracy in our country is not President Roosevelt's alone, but the fight of all who want to destroy Hitler and Hitlerism. This must be recognized particularly by Negro America.

Let us see the administration in its correct light—it is an ally of all minority groups fighting to make of our country truly an arsenal of democracy. On the other hand, we must be its ally recognizing that there are difficulties which willl be overcome only through united action. If we have no faith, we will get no results.

The Afro-American, February 13, 1943

FEPC Muddle Is Not Settled Yet

(Continued from Page 1)

and Will Alexander to the FEPC, made last October, has never been carried out, due to what is branded as "behind-the-scenes scuttling" by these officials. Unless these issues are corrected, no FEPC, whether paid or unpaid, can function, members insist.

A bill to grant the committee sufficient power to combat effectively discriminatory hiring by war contractors was introduced in the House, Friday, by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.).

Known as the Marcantonio Fair Employment Practice Act, the measure would strengthen the FEPC through the following provisions:

1. A fine of $500 for each day's continued violation of an FEPC cease and desist order;

Could Force Hiring

2. FEPC authority to order hiring or reinstatement of a person bared because of race, creed, religion or national origin;

3. Denial, for periods up to three years, of government contracts to persons or firms found guilty of unfair employment practices;

4. A fine of $5,000 and or a year's imprisonment for persons guilty of wilful interference with the act's execution.

5. Back pay from the date a victim of discrimination was refused employment, discharged or otherwise denied fair working conditions.

MEET IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO—The national conference of the Pullman laundry workers was held Tuesday, during which a national wage and working agreement was prepared to be presented to Pullman Company officials.

The Afro-American, February 13, 1943

Randolph Calls Paid FEPC a Meatless Bone

NEW YORK.—Commenting on a statement attributed to President Roosevelt last week that the FEPC had been handicapped because of part-time voluntary services of its members, A. Philip Randolph, director of the March-on-Washington Movement, stated that the FEPC has suffered more from an inadequate budget and insufficient personnel.

He said that the immediate need of the FEPC is not re-organization but the appointment of a chairman and the replacement of the members who have resigned and asserted also that the March-on-Washington Movement believes that a paid committee will not be free and independent.

Appeasement Measure

Mr. Randolph charged that the paid committee would be made to provide a big job for one colored person as an appeasement to the masses — a meatless bone — but that the race is ready to forego jobs for one or two big persons for the interest and benefit of the larger and broader masses.

He considers as "must" demands on the FEPC:

(1) That the railroad hearings be held immediately; (2) that the hearings in Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore and other places also be held; (3) that an adequate budget be provided; (4) that the principle of public hearings be adhered to with other enforcement sanctions including the assessment of penalties and fines upon recalcitrant employers and trade unions;

(5) That the FEPC be taken out of the Manpower Commission and restored to an independent status with responsibility to the President; (6) that a personnel which is complete, to meet the needs of the national scope of the problem, be employed; (7) that the committee be unpaid; (8) that labor and the colored Americans be represented on the committee.

SOLID FRONT AGAINST [illegible] OF FEPC PRESENTED BY LEADERS IN WASHINGTON

Conference Opposes Plans To Weaken Committee, Asks Hearings Go On

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A solid front against any weakening of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC) was presented to Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt [illegible] February 19 by a conference of 50 or more leaders of organizations and movements which had protested against the sudden cancellation on January 9 of the scheduled hearings of the committee into racial discrimination in employment on railroads.

Speaker after speaker at the conference urged (1) restoring FEPC to its independent status under the White House and removing it from the War Manpower Commission; (2) an immediate re-scheduling of the cancelled railroad hearings and also the cancelled hearings on discrimination against Latin-Americans in the Southwest; (3) Giving the committee sanctions in the form not only of public hearings, but of money penalties and liquidated damages; (4) Giving the Committee an adequate staff and budget; (5) Keeping in service the members of the present committee who have not resigned. The entire group was against a paid committee such as has been suggested from time to time by government spokesmen.

Regarding independent status for the Committee, the conferees said that it should be sufficient [illegible] from the veto power of government officials, other than the Chief Executive." It said the Committee should be set up in the Office of Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President," they said. "This would give the committee stature as the President's Commitee' and independence from vetc power of government officials. The difficulty with the present organizational arrangement of the Committee on War Manpower Commission is that the Committee is subject to the direction and supervision of the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. In actual practice, this has meant that the Committee's activities are subject to direction, supervision and review by the whole heirarchy of the War Manpower Commission offi-

Should Hold Hearings

Going on record for a rescheduling of the railroad hearings, and the Latin-American hearings, the conferees said: "No reason has yet been given for the peremptory postponement of the Railroad hearings. Similarly, no valid reason has been given for postponing the hearings in the Southwest. Only by their re-scheduling can the Administration demonstrate its good faith. The members of the Commitee who have had charge of the preparation for these hearings should complete the work to which they have devoted much of their time, energy and effort for the past ten months."

On the point of sanctions for the Committee to make its work effective, the conferees met the government objections that sanctions would require Congresional action by stating:

"Without Congressional action, the Chief Executive has ample authority to direct the contracting agencies of government, such as the War Department, Navy Department and Maritime Commission, to recognize the findings of the Committee as binding upon such agencies and require such agencies to insist upon compliance by their contractors with the Committee's directives. The contracting agency might be required by Presidential directive to withhold payments due under a contract where the Committee has made a finding that the contractor is no conforming to the provisions of Executive Order 8802. If this requires modification of future contracts, such modification should be ordered forthwith.

"The President might direct that war contracts hereinafter executed contain express provision for money penalties for violation of non-discrimiration clauses in such contracts.

"The President might direct the government agencies with authority over training programs financed in whole or in part by federal funds to withhold funds or with-

(Continued on page Seven)

PM, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1943

Negro Group Turns to FDR

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20.—The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People today urged establishment of an independent anti-discrimination agency directly responsible to President Roosevelt.

In a statement outlining the NAACP's program for revival of the anti-discrimination fight, the organization recommended that the new agency be given "independent status sufficient to protect it from the veto power of Government officials other than the Chief Executive."

The NAACP proposal was laid before Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and Attorney General Francis Biddle at a closed meeting yesterday at which Government officials discussed the future of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) with representatives of 19 organizations. At the conclusion of the session the Government representatives pledged full consideration of the ideas advanced.

It is expected that a definite decision on the whole issue will be reached shortly by President Roosevelt. FDR intervened after widespread protest against McNutt's action in ordering indefinite postponement of the FEPC's hearings on discrimination against Negro railroad workers.

Tentative plans formulated by Government officials call for creation of a full-time commission operating along the lines of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to replace the virtually-defunct FEPC. One issue that has been raised by some groups is whether the members of the commission should be paid appointees or volunteers.

The NAACP statement proposed that the new agency be linked to the Office of Emergency Management of the President's executive office, with liaison established between the President and the committee through an executive assistant. This was the status enjoyed by the FEPC prior to its merger with the War Manpower Commission.

FDR Orders Reopening of FEPC Rail Case

McNutt Called to White House for Parley On Revising and Strengthening Committee

By Kenneth G. Crawford
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4. — President Roosevelt yesterday instructed War Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt to call a conference "to consider a revision and strengthening" of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC).

In announcing his decision to reconstitute the FEPC, the President praised its past performance in fighting discrimination against Negroes and other racial groups in war industries and said the new agency should be more effective.

He also said that hearings in the railroad case should be resumed as soon as the new agency is set up. This case, involving the refusal of established unions to accept Negro workers, is considered a test of Government good faith in its anti-discrimination campaign.

So the President's order seemed to be a complete victory for groups aroused by McNutt's recent order scuttling the FEPC. McNutt himself is understood to have recommended the conference plan now sponsored by the President.

The White House announcement said:

"The President announced that he had requested Mr. Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, after consultations with the members of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to call a conference of leaders of those groups opposing discrimination in war employment to consider a revision and strengthening of the committee's scope and powers."

For nearly two years, the President said, "the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its executive director have done an excellent piece of work, placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicapped by the fact that the members of the Committee were working on a part-time voluntary basis, and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

"The President said he considers it advisable, therefore, to review the situation, and that when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been temporarily postponed will be continued."

It is understood that an executive order creating a new five-man commission as a branch of McNutt's agency has been drawn up and will be submitted at the conference for the approval of interested groups. Under this plan, all members of the board would be full-time officials and the board would adopt rules of procedure similar to those followed by the National Labor Relations Board.

Frank P. Graham, president of the Unisity of North Carolina, now a member of the War Labor Board, has been suggested for chairmanship of the new commission. He is an outstanding progressive.

THE BLACK DISPATCH, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY [illegible], 1943

Parley In Washington Thursday May Solve Riddle of F[illegible]

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—The riddle of the [illegible] remains unsolved. Action on future developments is believed waiting for a proposed meeting of some national Negro leaders. The date, unofficial, set for this [illegible] gether is Thursday, Feb. 18. At that time [illegible] Nutt, Atty. Gen. Francis Biddle and others are expected to meet and attempt to reach some agreement as to the FEPC.

Two meetings were held Monday. In the morning the committee met alone and went very carefully into the recent release on the committee.

Late that afternoon, the committee met with McNutt and Biddle. Here they presented the findings of the earlier session, much to the astonishment of Mr. Biddle, who apparently was ignorant of what had transpired.

Prior to July 5 the committee had understood it was to remain on an independent basis with added powers and an enlarged staff.

Then the committee was suddenly shunted to McNutt in the War Manpower commission where for several months nothing was done.

Parley in D. C.

(Continued from Page 1)

Finally the group was told [illegible] could work out a budget. The committee plans called for [illegible] field workers. To date, the committee has two field workers, [illegible] being stenographers in the New York office.

Two staffs, one from Dr. Weaver and one from Dr. Alexander were supposed to be transferred to the FEPC. This has not been done to date.

Therefore the committee in discussing the recent press release is at a loss to understand how as a voluntary group it was "handicapped" because the members were on a part time basis.

No further ahead than before, the committee is at a loss as to the sincerity of the orders and directions, since original plans were allowed to be sabotaged by underlings in War Manpower commission.

The slashing of the proposed budget was evidence of this, members of the committee believe. Now await the final action resulting from the meeting of Ne[illegible]

Rogers Says:-

WALTER WHITE LISTED SOUTHERN DEMAGOGUES AT NEW YORK PROTEST RALLY.

BY J. A. ROGERS

I WENT to Madison Square Garden last Tuesday to the March-on-Washington Rally and not since the days of Marcus Garvey have I seen such a crowd. The Garden was not full, there was some 6,000 seats to spare. That many New Yorkers fell down on the job, probably wiseacres who felt that they knew all about it. Well, they were fooled. This meeting was different, and the 19,000 who were there knew it.

Mr. Rogers

I have never seen a livelier or more enthusiastic crowd. It had come to hear a Hitler called a Hitler whether he ruled in Germany or Mississippi, whether he bowed to a Nazi swastika or a Christian cross, and they heard it. Yes, it would have done your heart good to hear the boys go down the line, not missing anything from ghetto housing to discrimination in the army and navy. Dr. Lawrence Ervin, Frank Crosswaith, Adam Powell, Jr., Lester Granger, Philip Randolph, Rev. Thomas Harten, Dr. Jemison, Baptist leader, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Rev. W. O. Carrington, Channing Tobias, Arthur Reid, they all went to town.

WHITE FRIENDS FAILED TO SHOW

The white friends of the Negro were conspicuous by their absence. Invitations were sent to the principal ones, but only one showed up, Rev. John LaFarge, S. J. of "America", Catholic publication, who gave an excellent address. Mayor LaGuardia wasn't there. Did the good white folk who stayed away smell there was going to be fireworks, they didn't want to be mixed up in it? If they did, they smelled right. You see so many good white folks, and Negroes too, feel that when the Negro stands up for his full rights in this crisis it smacks of disloyalty, and that when he yields to the Hitlers here at home that is being loyal.

AND the crowd was as loyal as any American crowd could be. It went all out for democracy. Statements that Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had nothing to offer us, that we neither wanted nor could expect any salvation from them brought most enthusiastic response. President Roosevelt was wildly cheered; and Westbrook Pegler, Cotton "Ed" Smith and Carter Glass were vigorously hooted.

SAW SATIRE ON BIGOTRY

The highlight of the evening was a play on the various kinds of discrimination in the unions, the federal service, in the army, the navy, and the treatment of the Negro Gold Star mothers, written by Dick Campbell, and acted by the Blanche Thomas' Choral Group. The crowd went wild on that, and when I say wild I mean wild. It was what Negroes wanted to hear. Any Broadway play cheered like that could hold the boards for the next five years. And the most amusing thing about it was that the parts of the white folk who refused jobs to Negroes on account of color were all acted by Negroes, who looked like white folk, and took off their mannerisms to a tee. Yes, it was satire at its richest. I paid twenty cents to go in, and got twenty-five dollars worth.

WALTER White's speech too, deserves special mention. It went to the mark. Mr. White placed his finger squarely on what I have long said is the very root of the evil. What he said is eminently worth quoting and I can think of nothing better than to devote the rest of this column to it.

SCORES DIXIE BOURBONS

"The plain bitter truth," said Mr. White, "is that the thinking and action on the problem of race in our own country are determined almost completly by the most fascist-minded elements in the deepest and darkest South. This element—which practised Nazism long before Hitler was born—almost completely dominates our federal government. Our President, our Army, our Navy, and our government, generally, are afraid to challenge or offend these southern demagogues by eliminating the color line. Disfranchisement of black people has inevitably brought about the disfranchisement of an overwhelming majority of the white people of the deep South. Thus, today, the South with only a little over one-fourth of the population of the United States, holds more than 50 percent of the chairmanships in the House and the Senate. They have achieved this under a Democratic administration through the ridiculous ease by which demagogues can get themselves elected and re-elected through the rotten borough system of the South.

"I INVITE you to go down the list of Senate chairmen of important committees: Chairman of the Appropriations Committee is Carter Glass of Virginia. Of Agriculture, Cotton "Ed" Smith of South Carolina. Of the enormously important Foreign Relations, Tom Connally of Texas, who, Life recently said would be the most influential of Americans at the peace conference in trowelling out the new world. I invite you to read his bitterly sardonic comments on Negroes during the seven weeks' filibuster which he led against the anti-lynching bill in 1937. Having read them, I ask you to consider the kind of new world Connally would trowel out with his attitude of contempt for colored people."

SUMNER BOASTED NO LYNCH BILL

Mr. White went on to name other enemies of the Negroes who head committees in the House and Senate as George of Georgia; Reynolds of North Carolina; Byrd of Virginia; Tydings of Maryland; McKellar of Tennessee; Doughton of North Carolina; Steagall of Alabama; Fulmer of South Carolina; Vinson of Georgia, who heads naval affairs; May of Kentucky, in charge of military ones, and Sumner of Texas, head of the Judiciary "who openly boasted he would never permit even a hearing on any anti-lynching bill as long as he was chairman, and today his committee refuses to report out the anti-poll tax bill."

"IN THE light of the control of our government by these men who spit upon democracy whenever the Negro is involved," he added, "is there any wonder that meetings like this are tragically necessary at a time like this? Or that, irony of ironies, we Negroes must fight for the right to fight when the world is threatened with destruction? But fight we must", he said, "and we are getting an increasing number of white people who really believe in democracy to fight on our side. Hundreds of thousands of these," he said, "have denounced the Red Cross and the army and the navy brasshats."

LaGUARDIA SUPPORTS PROTEST MARCHERS

NEW YORK CITY, June 25 While New York's fiery little Chief Executive was not on the platform of the March-On-Washington Meetmg Tuesday night, a strong telegram echoed his approval of the drive and his encouragement of the fight of Negroes to obtain their rights.

LaGuardia's message addressed to A. Philip Randolph, read:

"Regret as I have already written you that special duties will keep me too late to attend your meeting this evening. I need not attend a meeting to express my views and sentiments on the subject of discussion".

The Mayor also took the opportunity of announcing that he had appointed labor leader, Frank Crosswaith to the New York City Housing Authority, an honorary position which carries no salary, but a great deal of prestige and responsibility. The announcement was revealed in the following words:

SPEAKS FOR MAYOR

"I have asked Mr. Frank Crosswaith to attend for me. I have appointed him a member of the New York City Housing Authority in the place that you regretfully were not able to take because of your multitudinous activities which take you away from the city so much. I will swear in Mr. Crosswaith some time this week. He will speak this evening as a member of my administration."

One of the nation's best known Negro leaders, Crosswaith was born in St. Croix, Virgin Islands, age, worked as an elevator operator and graduated from the Rand school. He became interested in the labor movement and prominently aligned with the Socialist Party. A brilliant and impassioned orator, the Mayor's appointee is organizer for the powerful International Ladies' Garment Workers'

South ... Roosevelt in Employing Colored in War Plants

[Excerpts of testimony at FEPC hearings, Birmingham, Ala., held June 18-20. Committeemen who put the questions were Dr. Malcolm Mac Lean, president of Hampton Institute, chairman; Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago alderman; Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; David Sarnoff, president, RCA; Mark Ethridge, publisher of Louisville Courier-Journal; Frank Fenton, A.F. of L. John Brophy, CIO, was absent. Dr. G. V. Trimble was interviewer.]

* * *

Vultee Aircraft Co.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.

Engaged in assembly of aircraft for U.S. Army. Employs only twenty colored as janitors.

One thousand white employees are getting in-plant training, but no colored. Company has preferential hiring agreement with Local 735, International Association of Machinists, A.F. of L., which refuses to admit colored.

J. M. SHELTON—

Representative of International Association of Machinists:

Q.—If colored were employed on production line and it came to knowledge of your union, what would be your reaction?

A.—I couldn't say. We don't have a closed shop agreement.

Q.—Would you walk off?

A.—No.

MARK M. LATTING, 39, Nashville—

A mechanic of twenty years' experience, educated at Langston University and A. and I. State University. Former employee of Ford and Chrysler Companies.

"I applied June 1, as a bench mechanic at the Vultee plant and was told I didn't have 'enough training.' I presented my credentials and was told they were good but I still did not have 'enough training.'"

GEORGE S. HASTINGS—

Manager of industrial relations:

Q.—Wouldn't you say a man with twenty-two years' experience as a mechanic could in two or three weeks catch on to airplane riveting?

A.—No.

Q.—Suppose he applied now. would you give him a chance?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Would you accept his application now for the first opening?

A. Yes.

FENTON—Prepare the application now so you can give it to him.

Testimony of Dr. Emory Hawk, of the Regional Labor Supply committee; W. H. Day, editor, Nashville Globe; S. E. Freedman, State director, vocational education, showed that superintendent of Nashville schools refused for the past two years to put airplane riveting and mechanics and blue print reading in defense schools. Colored could only get blacksmithing, molding and auto mechanics.

* * *

Gulf Shipbuilding Co.

MOBILE, Ala.

NEWMAN BRAZIER—

Machinist's helper for sixteen years, a former employee of the Alabama Drydock Company:

"I applied at Gulf on April 16 and was told by a personnel officer that the company did not hire colored. When I asked for an application blank, I was denied and the interviewer told me an application didn't mean a thing."

22 Colored Out of 9,600

HARRY HILL—

Vice president and general manager of Gulf:

Q.—What is your policy?

A.—The company is owned by the Waterman's Steamship Company. The question of hiring colored is a sociological matter. It ceases to be a question of management or labor unions but one which must be handled by the individual members themselves. We have twenty-two colored out of a total of 9,600.

Q.—Do you hire colored workers?

A.—No. We have no segregated facilities for hiring colored and it presents a number of problems.

Q.—If you needed twelve mechanics, would you then hire the twelve men who trained at Tuskegee?

A.—I'd be fearful of the consequence.

Q.—Have you read the Executive Order 8802 recently?

A.—No.

Q.—Discrimination is an ordinary word, meaning to prefer one over the other in hiring for certain reasons. Suppose you need 200 workers, 75 white and 25 colored apply. Would you hire the 75 white and refuse the 25 colored?

A.—Yes.

To Follow Order

LEO CARTER—

Representative of the Metal Trades Council:

"We're going to comply with the President's order. We're willing to place workers, if we can get the training courses, but the U.S. Government is participating in the worse case of discrimination I know of anywhere. It refuses to do at Brookley Field where it employs as many as Gulf, what it wants employers to do. The only colored at Brookley Field are the classified laborers."

SARNOFF—It is not the purpose of this committee to leave government plants out where discrimination exists and bring in private employers.

* * *

Ala. Drydock and Shipbuilding Corp.

MOBILE, Ala.

E. G. SMITH—

Mobile licensed electrical contractor for thirteen years, trained at Tuskegee and electrical schools in Philadelphia and Providence, R.I., applied for a job on May 27. W. T. Daly, personnel manager, told him that it wasn't traditional to hire colored skilled men.

J. M. GRISER—

Vice president of the Alabama Drydock:

Q.—What is your policy concerning employment of colored?

A.—The company's policy has always been to use colored wherever we could use them.

Q.—Do you have any skilled men?

A.—No, we don't have any electricians or machinists.

Q.—Do you have any upgrading procedure?

A.—No, no procedure at all. It just has never been the policy to upgrade colored.

Q.—Would you give Mr. Smith a chance if he applied?

A.—Yes, if he qualified.

* * *

Honeycutt Co., Inc.

Birmingham contractors, relative to Brookley Field Construction at Mobile.

Complaint is that this company refused to hire qualified colored carpenters.

J. L. GILCREASE—

Member of Local No. 92, A.F. of L.:

"I, a carpenter of twenty years' experience, applied at Honeycutt on May 5 and was told by personnel manager that the company didn't hire colored but that if I secured permission of white carpenters' union I would be hired. White carpenters' union refused permission."

T. C. WELLS—

Office manager, Honeycutt:

"The policy of the company is to hire colored skilled and unskilled wherever they are available. We draw our labor through the A.F. of L. The union would not permit us to hire colored unless they worked on a separate project and it would have cost us too much to operate two separate projects.

"We were willing to let the colored and white carpenters work together but the refusal of the union forced us to look for other men. We still have a large turnover and can still use them. We use colored on all types of work."

DICKERSON—"We have just ruled in the case of the Stone-

without including colored?

A.—I can't say.

* * *

Delta Shipbuilding Co.

NEW ORLEANS, La.

LOUIS B. DAPREMONT—

Carpenter of twenty-seven years' experience:

"I was at first registered as white and hired and when I discovered this I returned and asked that the race be changed. The union saw that I was fired."

PAUL DIXON—

Shipbuilder of twenty-two years' experience:

"I applied at Delta for job for myself and 1000 members of a colored union I organized. I was told by personnel man that I might as well get my mind off the Delta Shipyard.

"My organization is an auxiliary of the International Boilermakers,' Shipbuilders' and Welders' Association. We pay dues to the national body but have no vote. In the last war I was a quarterman in charge of 600 men and 22 foremen in a shipbuilding yard."

R. B. ACKERMAN—

Vice president of Delta:

"The policy of our company is determined by the traditions of the South. We're from Cleveland and we rely upon the South because this is a problem and we don't know how to handle it.

"Ten per cent of 6,250 of our employees are colored janitors, chauffeurs. We have been open a year."

Q.—Do you feel that you're complying with the President's order if you employ colored solely as laborers when there are colored skilled men available?

A.—No.

Q.—Do you read into this order any tradition of the South?

A.—No.

Q.—Will your company put this order into effect?

A.—We'll try to.

ROBERT QUIN—

President, New Orleans Metal Trades Council, A.F. of L.:

"The introduction of colored skilled men into Delta would cause friction which wouldn't be worth the company's trouble."

Q.—Why would colored workers cause friction?

A.—I've lived in New Orleans since 1907 and that's my feeling and the feeling of most of the people in New Orleans.

Q.—Don't you know that the president of the bricklayers' union in New Orleans is colored and that the treasurer of the council is also colored?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Don't you know colored and white bricklayers in New Orleans work together and without friction?

A.—Yes.

JOSEPH P. McCOLLUM—

International representative of Boilermakers' Union, A.F. of L.:

"The policy of our union is no discrimination."

Q.—If your organization has no prejudice, why set up colored in a separate unit? Isn't it a fact that there's a clause in your constitution barring colored members?

A.—Yes, that's right.

WEBSTER—"I want the record to show that I am opposed to the segregated policy of the A. F. of L.

* * *

Birmingham National Defense Training Program

EMORY O. HAWK—

Member of regional labor supply committee:

"The population of Birmingham is 267,000 and colored form 40.5 per cent."

AUSTIN BENNETT—

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DICKERSON—"We have just [illegible] that responsibility of hiring persons, regardless of race and color, regardless of any exclusive agreement, implied or written, with the union, is up to the employer."

L. M. COOPER—

Business manager, Carpenters' Local No. 89 (white), A.F. of L., has 1800 members:

"I told Honeycutt we'd be willing to work with them but in segregated buildings."

WEBSTER — "The national president of your union, during hearings in Los Angeles, said he would see that all work together."

* * *

Bell Aircraft Co.

And the Atlanta National Defense Training Program, Atlanta, Ga.

ROSWELL JACKSON—

"I sought defense school training in welding, was told there were courses at Washington High, the colored school, but I found only auto mechanics and woodwork. Visited school officials but still have been unable to obtain training."

E. A. ADAMS—

Acting director, U.S. Employment Service:

There are 15,140 applicants on the active files of the USES and 36 per cent are colored. Bell will probably hire fifteen to eighteen housand when the plant opens.

Q.—Will you be able to supply he needs of the Bell Company

Manager USES.

Q.—What would you do if someone sent for ten whites?

A.—If he insisted, we'd send them according to our regulation.

SARNOFF — "I've read the USES regulations, and they specifically forbid you to do that."

CRAMER—"That applies only to New York. The national office doesn't send such orders out to the Southern USES."

V. J. DOUGLASS—

Director of defense training, Birmingham:

"Alabama's allotment for training has not been adequate."

Q.—Assuming that $100,000 is allocated for training in Birmingham, on what basis do you allocate funds for colored?

A.—On the basis of need for training.

Q.—Then if a company fails to hire colored, you refuse to train colored, is that it?

A.—Yes, that's the present policy.

* * *

MacEvoy Shipbuilding Corp.

SAVANNAH, Ga.

HENRY MILLER, JR.—

Electrical contractor of ten years' experience:

"I applied on June 1 for job as electrician at MacEvoy through W. L. Ferrell, Local 508, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, and was told that

A.—We'll try to.

ROBERT QUIN—

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Southeastern Shipbuilding Co.

SAVANNAH, Ga.

THAD EUBANKS—

President, NAACP, S

"The total population o
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supply is colored, but
colored are enrolled in
training compared t
whites."

William H. Smith, pre
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Randolph hits Communist program for Negroes

Striking boldly at the Communist program for Negroes, which urges them to submerge their fight for democracy at home in the struggle abroad, A. Philip Randolph, identified among the "distinguished leaders of this generation," urged

(Continued on Page 13)

Randolph speech

(Continued from Page 1)

the Race to continue the struggle for power to "win freedom" and "exact justice," in the stirring address which followed his acceptance of the Spingarn medal here Friday night before the NAACP convention.

Answering the attack of Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, local newspaper editor, in her address before the 33rd annual convocation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Wednesday night at Second Baptist church, Randolph, who was awarded the 27th Spingarn medal in "recognition of the dramatic culmination of his years of effort in the mobilization of Negro mass opinion in the March on Washington," declared that the Communist line which Mrs. Bass had advocated, is opposed to the best interests of Negroes and "designed only for the salvation of Soviet Russia."

The handsome Spingarn medal suspended from a gaily colored ribbon about his neck, Randolph raised the crowd to a fever of enthusiasm as he urged them to fight conditions of discrimination and segregation in the Government and defense industry, the while they did their part in this country's war on the Axis.

"Negroes with a sense of self-respect and manhood have no other alternative except to fight this condition. The Negro's fight for his rights is not intended for the embarrassment of the Government. We consider that the Government has already embarrassed itself—by failing to practice what it preaches about democracy . . . ," Randolph declared.

CHEERED AND APPLAUDED

Attacked by Mrs. Bass for his program of mass protest against Government sanctioned oppressions, which she said is leading the Negro astray and crippling the war effort, Randolph was cheered and applauded in his reply by the crowd of almost 4,000 which overflowed to the sidewalks surrounding the church, almost a thousand being turned away.

Entitled "The Negro's Struggle for Power," Randolph's speech was a conclusive document on the Race in this country and in relation to the world. Read, for the most part, the original text of the speech was departed from occasionally by the speaker as he extemporized on more important

and prejudices, are not inherent; . . . . they are acquired" he asserted.

"Different races, nationalities . . . . do not fight each other because they hate each other; they hate each other because they fight each other.

"Monopoly capitalism had its birth" . . . . in the inability of the worker, because of "competitive wages" to "buy back the full product of his labor, increased because of scientific and industrial revolutions. Failure of capitalism to provide for the exploitation of the national market by higher wages created surplus capital, which sought new markets.

"That," the speaker explained, "is why Great Britian went into Hong Kong, Singapore and India; France into Morocco; Japan into Manchuquo; Italy into Ethiopia; Germany into the Cameroons, and America into the South and Central Americas, and demanded an open door in China.

"Missionaries, commercial adventurers, soldiers and sailors with their bibles, booze and bullets softened up, intimidated and murdered countless millions . . . . of Africa, Asia . . . . to acquire the new world markets for monopoly capitalism," Randolph charged.

"The darker races were taught by word and song, blood and fire, sword and gun that all non-white peoples were and are inferior . . . This psychological and propaganda barrage was indispensable to breaking the spirit and resistance of the colored nations to imperialism.

"However, times have changed," the labor leader declared. "Verily, imperialism contains the seed of its own destruction. Now the darker races are not only fighting for the right to live and the right to be free, they are entering the struggle for power, world power. They are out to build world power because modern imperialism has taught them that power alone is the grounds and assurance to the right to live and to be free."

This, he said, "is the meaning of the declaration of Japan of 'Asia for the Asiatics, ... a Monroe Doctrine of the Pacific, a sort of imperialistic correlative of our own national policy of hemispherical invisibility of the Americas; of England's "Britannia Rules the Waves" of Germany's Deutchland Uber Alles

Chinese attempt to "achieve internal unification to expell Nippon from their war-torn country" is contained in the struggle of the darker races for power.

"Yes," he went on, "not only does China seek to rid herself of the grueling yoke of Japan, but as sure as night follows day, will turn upon her socalled white [illegible] imperialist benefactors . . . and point them to the gate. This is destined to be the inevitable phase of China's growing nationalism. It is the mandate of the law of survival.

"It is the meaning," he went on, "of the challenge by India of British Dominion and the distrust of Ghandi and Nehru of American Democracy.

"It is the meaning of smouldering fires of revolt of African peoples against white supremacy and the growing and insistent demand of Negroes in the West dies and the United States for

cause, with it alone, can we batter down the citadel of racial bigotry, intolerance, discrimination, segregation and jim crow.

"It will be power, air-power, sea power, land power, and not justice or right . . . . which will determine who will dictate the Peace. It was so in World War I and it will be so in World War III unless the economic basis of wars is removed."

Offering a blueprint for the acquisition of the power with which to secure freedom and justice by the American Negro, Randolph urged organization, unity, solidarity; as an example of the success of this technique, pointing to Christianity which "became the force it is today through the organized church"; labor, business which "became ascendant when individual and partnership units were merged and transformed into giant cartels, corporations, holding companies and trusts"; education; government.

NEED UNITY

The need of the Negro is unity, the labor leader outlined further.

"The condition from which the Negroes in America and all over the world suffer most is not because they are not white but because they are not organized . . . . The strong will invariably oppress the week . . . The law of the "Survival of the Fittest" prevails. The fit are the organized and educated . . . . The white race does not hold power and prestige solely because it is white, but mainly because of organization and education.

"Ireland," he illustrated, "though white, felt the brutal heel of imperial Great Britain for some 800 years. The oppression only stopped when Irishmen stopped fighting each other; united and fought their common enemy. Japan was kicked around by the imperialistic powers until she became a united nation. China and India will be either the happy hunting ground of white or yellow imperialists until they forge the unity they need.

"Negroes need to build organizations that can assemble and mobilize into great masses to struggle for economic, political and social power," Randolph advised. Bemoaning the late start of the Negro in manifesting an interest in organizing his labor power, he blamed Negro leaders who, not only opposed unions because of their discrimination against

low wages and long hours of unrepresented workers.

"Others," he went on, ". . pampered intellectual and professional pimps of white angels who must have some objects for their paternalism to salve their hurt consciences, idealized the talented tenth and considered their removal from the working Negro tribute to and evidence of their great culture, prestige, position.

"The leaders did not see that while art and culture were necessary for the good and beautiful life, they do not create power, that power resides in the working man, and that the possession of power is a condition to the securing of justice and liberty and equality.

This portion cheered by the audience, Randolph declared:

"The failure to go to the so-called common, working Negroes wherever they are: in the saloons and poolrooms, the shacks and hovels, and if, perchance there be the gutters to improve them

made. The division and chasm between the uneducated and educated, the poor and relatively comfortable Negro, has bred suspicion and distrust on the part of the former and a cynical, patronizing attitude on the part of the latter toward each other. This internal racial condition of disunity has been and still is the best invitation to victimization and exploitation of the Negro people."

MASS ACTION

Turning to the policy of mass action, which is his program, Randolph advocated mass action "in the form of parades, strikes, picketing, demonstrations in huge public meetings, mass petitions, telegrams, and letters" as the most effective strategy for a minority.

"This is labor's weapon," he recalled. "Strikes and picket lines have raised the workers from slaves and serfs to free workers.

The workers have met the challenge of power centralized in the hands of a few, "with national and international unions and federated bodies," he went on, "and thrown their economic, financial and moral weight back of strikes and picket lines along the far flung industrial battle front.

"That the Negro must also create and build great mass movements for offensive and defensive struggle, in our modern world of mass production, mass consumption, mass labor struggles, mass political demonstrations, mass religious and educational efforts, is written in the stars of his destiny.

"All people who are without financial resources, have no other way of focusing attention upon their problem except through the use of mass power. Moreover, the centers of business, labor and government only respond to pressure of definite challenge and no pressure is a challenge unless it is the result of tremendous organized efforts.

Arriving at the relation of the Negro to the world at war, Randolph bluntly asked and answered the question which all had come to hear asked and answered:

"Should the Negro marshall his forces in colossal demonstrations for his rights during this war?

"The answer is yes," the labor leader thundered. "Now is his greatest opportunity. Why?

"The country and the nation need the Negro now [illegible]

[illegible] the demand for goods or services increase, the price of that goods or service increases also." There was much laughter at this point.

'It is a matter of common knowledge that a political party always promises the Negro more during a campaign than at any other time . . . . because it needs his vote. When the campaign passes, no more promises are made and few are fulfilled.

"The Government recognizes this principle itself. Note the increase in the pay of soldiers to $50.00 per month."

There was a gale of laughter as he went on:

"Why did Great Britain offer India a greater concession in self-government during this war than ever before? Because Great Britain needs India. Why did Ghandi and Nehru refuse the offer? Because they know that since Great Britain needs India, India can get more than Great Britain offered to give.

what the battle for democracy is all about.

RACE'S PATRIOTISM

Taking up the question of the Negro's patriotism, Randolph declared that the Negro, in demanding his rights during the war would only be unpatriotic if granting democratic rights to the Negro were against the country's best interest and the victory of the United Nations . . . "Instead of hindering the war effort, granting the Negro his full-fledged rights as American citizens will aid the war effort by consolidating national unity. If granting the Negro his democratic rights . . . is not against this country's interest since it is fighting for the very thing Negroes are demanding, then the Negroes' fight for democracy is not against the country's interests. It doesn't make sense for one to contend that it is not to the interests of the country for that which is proper and democratic, just and fair for the country to give. Is it wrong to a baby to cry for milk because it may disturb the household though it is to the interest of the household for the baby to live?

"Negroes, moreover," he added, "are not challenged to be loyal to the Government and democracy. The Government is challenged to be loyal to the Negro and democracy.

"It is the solemn obligation of the Negro," he went on, "to make this issue of fighting for his democratic rights now, without hesitation or equivocation.

"Better that the Negro face extermination than the life of insult, humiliation and degradation."

Turning to the Communists, Randolph charged them with "hysterically calling upon Negroes to forget their grievances and abandon their fight for their democratic rights. They want only a second front for the salvation of Soviet Russia," he asserted.

"While it is to the interest of America and the Negro that Russia defeat Hitler, Negroes," Randolph declared, "will not permit the Communists of Russia or the Communists of America, who get their orders from Russia, to tell them what to do about the problem of the Negro in America.

"This new line of Communists on the Negro makes them allies of Talmadge in Georgia."

Randolph was [illegible] by [illegible] A. Green

[illegible] "in the subjugation and oppression of the darker races in the undeveloped countries of the world by the great white power nations, and the exploitation of their land and labor.

"Upon a black, yellow and brown pillow of flesh, the old colonialism and modern world imperialism have been built," he declared.

An admission tactfully avoided by white and Negro leaders, the basis of "the present struggle for power of the great imperial nations of the earth" in the battle ofr "the lands and natural resources of the people of color," was cited by the leader.

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Exploding a theory that color oppression and hatred is based on racialism, Randolph declared "monopoly capitalism" to be the "motivation of the march of imperialist powers in to the territories of the darker races."

"Racial, like national hatreds [illegible] or," Randolph declared that the Chinese attempt to "achieve internal unification to expell Nippon from their war-torn country" is contained in the struggle of the darker races for power.

"Yes," he went on, "not only does China seek to rid herself of the grueiling yoke of Japan, but as sure as night follows day, will turn upon her socalled white [illegible] rialist benefactors . . . and point them to the gate. This is destined to be the inevitable phase of China's growing nationalism. It is the mandate of the law of survival.

"It is the meaning," he went on, "of the challenge by India of British Dominion and the distrust of Ghandi and Nehru of American Democracy.

"It is the meaning of smouldering fires of revolt of African peoples against white supremacy and the growing and insistent demand of Negroes in the West dies and the United States for racial equality."

The reins of his eloquence firmly held by wisdom and reason, Randolph declared, ". . . . We struggle forward for power be- [illegible] low wages and long hours of unrepresented workers.

"Others," he went on, ". . . pampered intellectual and professional pimps of white angels who must have some objects for their paternalism to salve their hurt consciences, idealized the talented tenth and considered their removal from the working Negro tribute to and evidence of their great culture, prestige, position.

"The leaders did not see that while art and culture were necessary for the good and beautiful life, they do not create power, that power resides in the working man, and that the possession of power is a condition to the securing of justice and liberty and equality.

This portion cheered by the audience, Randolph declared:

"The failure to go to the so-called common, working Negroes wherever they are: in the saloons and poolrooms, the shacks and hovels, and if, perchance there be, the gutters, to impress them with their importance, necessity and common kinship in the struggle for power to strike down jim crow in America is the greatest blunder Negro leadership has [illegible] goods or service increases also." There was much laughter at this point.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that a political party always promises the Negro more during a campaign than at any other time . . . . because it needs his vote. When the campaign passes, no more promises are made and few are fulfilled.

"The Government recognizes this principle itself. Note the increase in the pay of soldiers to $50.00 per month."

There was a gale of laughter as he went on:

"Why did Great Britain offer India a greater concession in self-government during this war than ever before? Because Great Britain needs India. Why did Ghandi and Nehru refuse the offer? Because they know that since Great Britain needs India, India can get more than Great Britain offered to give.

"That is just good horse trading sense. For any people to refuse to demand and fight for that which they need at a time when they are most likely to get it is to admit that they don't know

THE DETROIT TRIBUNE

DETROIT emerges from the bloody ordeal through which it recently passed and stands bleeding and shamed before the world, thousands of citizens of both races are asking themselves these questions:

If police brutality toward colored citizens had been less severe, if adequate housing facilities had been made available for members of the race, if job opportunities had been more equitably distributed to colored workers, and if full American justice and opportunity had been given colored citizens the same as other citizens, couldn't this awful riot have been averted? They also wonder that even during the rioting, couldn't the conflict have been quelled sooner and without the intervention of state and federal troops, if Detroit police had not seemingly assumed that the issue was between the colored people and themselves?

Even though some of our white fellow citizens express opinion that the riot was caused by subversive influences to sabotage the war production effort, we share the viewpoint of many other thoughtful citizens who believe that the Detroit riot this week was caused by an organized effort to prevent colored people from participating freely in defense work and enjoy increased economic and social benefits. There is cause to believe that such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan have been involved in these activities, as demonstrated in the recent strike at the Packard plant.

After the Civil War, history records that it was the Ku Klux Klan which was organized in the South to terrorize the newly emancipated colored people and to keep them suppressed. These measures subsided in course of time, but just before the close of World War I, the Klan was revived in Georgia and spread to other states, for the avowed purpose of intimidating the colored soldiers who were returning from France. Many lynchings occurred during this period and numerous race riots flared up, including the bloody riots at Chicago, Atlanta, Washington, D.C. and other cities.

We are in the midst of another World War in which many thousands of colored servicemen are enlisted. Other thousands of colored men and women are now employed in defense plants and earning high pay. At the same time, minority peoples all over the world are demanding the right to share in the Four Freedoms expressed in the Atlantic Charter. Klan leaders in this and other parts of the nation realize these facts and are active again. Other anti-Negro influences are also active, otherwise the recent rioting would not have occurred in Beaumont, Texas, and in the shipyards at Mobile, Ala.

The Detroit riot was not an isolated incident, neither was it spontaneous. It was made to order by anti-Negro organizations which have long been active in this community and nation. The riot storm clouds have been gathering for months. Sporatic clashes between small groups of white and colored Detroiters have flared up at various times in different sections of the city. More than a month ago, one of the early incidents took place in northwest Detroit. A gang of white youth stoned several colored homes, but police prevented a gang of colored youth from retaliating. Racial disturbances have been flaring up at some of the local defense factories, where white workers protested against the hiring of colored workers. The recent strike at the Packard plant was a glaring example. Then came the attack recently made at Eastwood Park by a gang of white youth who sought to drive colored people from the amusement park.

Sunday night, just one week prior to the latest Detriot riot, several hundred white and colored people participated in a racial clash at Inkster, Mich., a few miles west of Detroit. Yet, in spite of these various outbreaks which foreshadowed approaching riots, little was done by public authorities to avert the thing which happened.

An unfortunate feature of the Detroit riot is the fact that so many innocent people had to suffer. Aside from the loss of human life, the property destruction and time lost by war workers who remained home to defend their families, will total millions of dollars and seriously retard the nation's war production program.

What has happened cannot be changed, deplorable as it is and perhaps all do not agree as to where the blame lies. But Detroit citizens, colored and white, can dedicate themselves to the task of eradicating the sinister influences, the injustice, the brutality, and the intolerance which breed race hatred and rioting.

THE PRINCIPAL reason why colored Americans do not enjoy more freedom and a fuller citizenship is because so many of them are still in BONDAGE.

It is true that all colored Americans are LEGALLY free and full citizens of this great republic, but it is also and unfortunately true that most of them are MENTALLY enslaved.

All that any man is or ever BECOMES is determined by his state of MIND.

If he BELIEVES that he is free and ACTS like a free man, then he will soon be free, if he is not already free.

Men are judged by the way in which they ACT, and they never have and never can be judged as free men or accepted as such if they persist in ACTING as slaves.

A man may SAY that he is free but that does not MAKE him free nor does it make him ACT as if he were free.

He may PRETEND to be free but unless he actually feels and BELIEVES that he IS free his reactions to life will not be those of a free man.

Unfortunately while man's ENVIRONMENT in the modern world changes in geometrical progression, his habits, appetites, preferences—his whole CULTURE changes in arithmetical progression.

That is why we find people working on dynamos who believe in GHOSTS and "evil eyes"; men and women operating automobiles and trains who believe in the race-blood theory; and chemical workers who consult dream books and ASTROLOGERS.

These people are living just about a millenium BEHIND their times.

So it is with far too many of our colored brethren who loudly proclaim their FREEDOM and full citizenship but reveal by their actions their link to the shameful PAST.

The most OBVIOUS examples of this mental slavishness are, of course, the LOUD TALK, constant profanity and vulgar exhibitionism of so many of our people, who in this way give release to the feeling of uncertainty and INFERIORITY within them, which is the product of the slave status.

The description of Negro slaves in Rome by Galen, the great physician of the ancient city, is an EXACT picture of uncouth, loud mouthed, violent Negroes in any of a hundred cities in modern America who do more to discredit their people in ten minutes than all our GOOD deeds can remedy in ten years.

On public conveyances, in public places, on the job and wherever two or more of them get together, their VULGARITY, profanity and notoriety reign supreme; and the tragedy is that they do not REALIZE that they are thereby revealing the chains that bind them to the age of bondage.

The better EDUCATED are far from free of evidences of mental serfdom, for these, too, in far too many instances are uncouth, loud, ostentatious, amoral, egotistic, selfish and uncharitable.

There are the people who refer to a dark skin as if it were an affliction; who regard AFRICAN features as "bad" and European features as "good"; who bemoan the possession of "BAD" HAIR; who think anything which WHITE people approve is automatically excellent; whose attitude toward Africa is warped by the same ignorance and PREJUDICE of most white people; who will accept NOTHING a Negro does as good unless white people have endorsed and acclaimed it.

These are all evidences of SLAVISHNESS, regardless of how vehemently these people may CLAIM to be free men and women; and it is this mental bondage which makes them willing to accept second-class citizenship whenever put to the test.

These slaves posturing as free people are our greatest problem. What they say and DO echoes the clank of SHACKELS. If we can solve THIS problem, all others will be easy.

More Colored Police Needed

FOR SEVERAL years, responsible colored Detroiters have appealed to the present and previous mayors and police commissioners to increase the number of colored police on the Detroit force. It is argued that the presence of larger numbers of colored police in areas where members of the race reside, would tend to a great degree to reduce the lawlessness and stimulate increased cooperation and confidence on the part of colored citizens.

During the recent rioting in the Paradie Valley area in which so many stores were wrecked by rioters and so many colored victims shot by white officers, much of this unnecessary death and destruction could have been prevented, if the city officials had assigned colored police to that section, instead of using white policemen only.

The need for placing more colored men on the Detroit Police force is still as urgent as ever, not only in the present crisis, but for future safety and public protection. Detroit is a metropolitan city with a colored population of about 170,000. We have at present only about 40 colored policemen. We should have at least one hundred [illegible]

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1943

A REPLY TO MY CRITICS

Randolph Blasts Courier As 'Bitter Voice Of Defeatism'

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The noble editorial pose of the Pittsburgh Courier as the High Command and Infallible Arbiter on the grand strategy of organization for the solution of the Negro problem during these times of storm and stress, would be humorous were it not so tragically disastrous.

With a mere flourish of flippancy the strident voice of the petty black bourgeoisie, buries the March On Washington under a mountain of words and bids it ever to be silent. Yes, strange as it may seem the Pittsburgh Courier disposes of a movement as simple as that, as it innocently thinks, which has staged the greatest anti-discrimination and anti-segregation demonstrations in the history of the Negro people, and won the biggest economic victory for the masses in securing Executive Order No. 8802 which has been the means of securing thousands of jobs for Negroes.

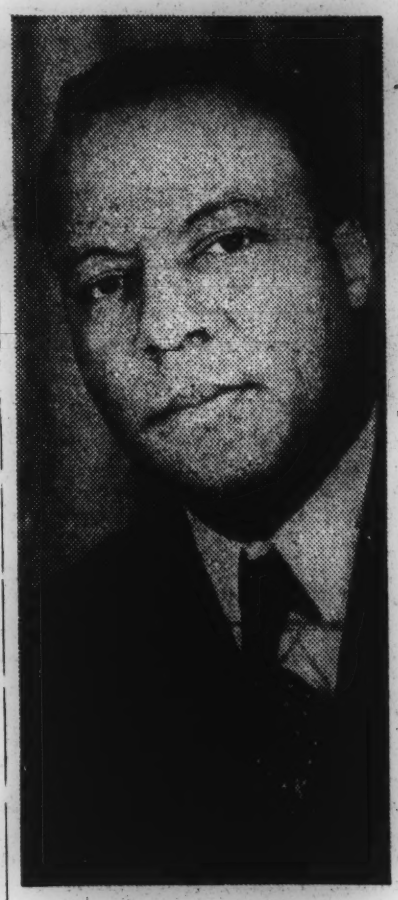
Says the Courier in the issue of May 8: "The March On Washington leadership is completely visionary and has succeeded merely in staging a few giant mass meetings and stirring indignation and unrest which it lacks the administrative genius to constructively canalize. The measure of this leadership is evidenced by irresponsible talk about suicidal civil disobedience and mass marches which never materialize."

Value of Meetings

And so giant mass meetings against jim-crow don't count, although the government of the United States uses them to whip up patriotism to increase war bond sales Labor stages them to safeguard its rights and to win new ones; the Jews and other minority groups spend thousands of dollars and give months in sweat and toil to build them. From the very foundation of our republic and among all of the free and oppressed peoples of the world, the public meeting has been the chief agency for creating cause consciousness for freedom and peace. But to the Courier great public meeting demonstrations mean nothing.

Thus, despite these solid and constructive achievements, the Courier which would claim credit for every step of progress the Negro people make, elects hysterically and frantically to deride, berate and decry the March On Washington Movement, its leadership, and all its works. If something isn't done to cause M.O.W.M. to do a disappearing act, this self-proclaimed incomparable paragon of journalistic wisdom will simply go beserk and possibly pass out.

The Courier is hell-bent upon selling the people a bill of goods to the effect that the March On Washington is going to cause our



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

despite its material affluence. And why? It lacks something.

We can understand why it cannot comprehend the deeper spiritual implications of the March Movement and the inescapable challenge of moving masses for a free world.

It lacks a cause.

It lacks a mission.

It lacks dedication to an ideal or principle bigger than itself.

It has no faith in the masses. black or white.

Its editorials breathe the lifeless air of defeatism, cynicism, supersophisticationism and futilitarianism.

It sneers and snubs the people's struggles for economic, political and social righteousness.

With all of its ink and paper, it is the victim of editorial frustration.

Gestapo Journalism

Obsessed with its editorial personality inadequacy, it manifests homicidal tendencies toward the March On Washington Movement and militant struggles for social justice, believing with a sort of cruel religious faith that it is ordained to serve as the propaganda Gestapo of the M.O.W.M. But the March On Washington Movement is certain to survive the ravings of this commercial champioin of comfort and conservatism.

Listen to the Jesuitical casuistry of the editorial Solon of the Courier and one would think that the March On Washington Movement is a throw-back to Neanderthal Man and withal even without

This is the first of a series of articles by A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington, in reply to a number of criticisms of the tactics of the movement. In publishing these articles, the Defender's editor in no way endorses the views expressed by Mr. Randolph but believes they are of sufficient public interest to merit the attention of our readers. At the conclusion of the series, the editors will comment on the articles and give the views of the Defender.

conference in Chicago June 30 to July 4, to proclaim that jim-crow must go and march to help make it go.

Only because M.O.W.M. proposes to ponder and to discuss as a form of strategy, to fight jim-crow, nonviolent, good-will direct action, which is a modified expression of the principle of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation set forth by Gandhi in India.

Only because M.O.W.M. proposes that the Negro people no longer rely solely upon the Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Communist parties but that they should build a powerful non-partisan political block without the benefit of the flesh-pots of either of the parties, but that they depend upon their own right financial arm.

Only because the March On Washington Movement is an expression of mass pressure as a technique of action and socio-racial instrumentation for the achievement of Negro rights.

Only because the M.O.W.M. is an all-Negro movement, though not anti-white or anti-semitic or anti-American or anti-labor or anti-democratic.

Only because the M.O.W.M. preaches the doctrine of self-reliance to the Negro people, but with collaboration with other groups, white or otherwise, that seek to wipe out jim-crow.

How It Started

But a word now about how the March On Washington came into being and how it functions.

The present crisis gave birth to the March On Washington Movement. It was formed in protest against a wild and reckless exhibition of racial discrimination and segregation in defense industry and the government. Although the United States was working feverishly to become the arsenal of democracy, and hence needed skilled and unskilled manpower, Negroes were shunted from pillar to post, given the run-around and oft-times insulted when they applied for war jobs to help make our country an arsenal of democracy.

Young Negro men and women who had passed civil service examinations with unusually creditable ratings, found a cold, if not hostile reception when applying for jobs even in government departments.

Negroes were turned down by still are segregated in the Army, Navy, Marine Service Air Corps, WAACS, and rejected by the WAVES and SPARS.

Parleys Fail

Efforts to correct this outrageous, unjust and undemocratic condition through the ordinary conference technique with President Roosevelt and government department heads failed and failed miserably Top government spokesmen gave generously of their charm and courtesy in receiving Negro leaders but no jobs. They went to great pains not to offend Negro leaders in these conferences. In fact, their impeccable politeness without action was definitely boring, especially when everybody knew that Negro workers were being kicked around and Negro soldiers called "nigger" by bumptious, Negro-hating southern white officers.

Yes, the conference method of handling Negro problems collapsed. The truth is, it never had worked. Negroes simply thought it worked. Negroes had never realized that a conference does not amount to a picayune unless there is power behind the representatives in the conference. The so-called good-will, interracial conferences don't mean a thing. They are chloroform for the masses. When the chloroform wears off, the passions of the beast of race prejudice flare up again.

Organized labor has long since learned the lesson of the value of organized power behind its leaders in conference. If the words of leaders cannot be backed by the deeds of the people, they are empty and futile and the leaders are useless and helpless.

Desperation Apparent

A sense of utter helplessness came over the Negro leaders when nothing but glowing unfulfilled promises came out of conference after conference with government heads. Negroes became disillusioned and desperate.

While Negroes wanted to join the armed forces and produce ships and planes, guns and ammunition to help defeat the Axis nations, opinions were expressed from jitterbugs to Ph.D's alike, to the effect that there was no difference between Hitler of Germany and Talmadge of Georgia or Tojo of Japan and Bilbo of Mississippi so far as Negroes were concerned. This was the outcry of bitterness and resentment. Negroes were wounded.

In the midst of these conditions

...siness—Fr. Haas

...ives First Conference After Accepting FEPC Chairmanship

By MARGARET LEWIS
WASHINGTON

"A filthy situation," was the expression used by Father Francis J. Haas, new FEPC chairman, to describe racial discrimination in industry on Friday afternoon during his first press conference at committee headquarters, Tenth and U Streets, Northwest.

That the Capital Transit Company hearings would again be postponed and that discriminatory issues are going to be faced squarely, were the implications to be gathered from the genial-faced Catholic priest.

"Here we have a war—a fighting war—and some of the manpower is not being used because of discrimination, and that is a filthy situation," he said. "It is not only a matter of prosecuting the war, but it is a matter of fairness and decency to all American people."

CTC Case "Tight Spot"

Referring to the Capital Transit Company, which is accused of refusing to hire colored bus and street car operators, Father Haas said: "We are not going to dodge anything," and termed the case "a tight spot" on such short notice, but admitted that he was ignorant of the facts.

He intimated that the transit company hearings, which were set for Wednesday, could not go forward until a new committee was settled upon.

Complimenting the former committee by declaring it "has done a good job," the churchman refused to be inveigled by newsmen into admitting that any of the former members had been retained or would be retained on the new committee.

He granted that he had the power to recommend members to appointment on the committee, but insisted President Roosevelt would do the actual appointing.

The Afro-American, June 5, 1943

Roosevelt Issues Order

Text of the Executive issued May 27 further amending Executive Order No. 8802 by establishing a new committee on Fair Employment Practice and defining its powers and duties:

In order to establish a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices, Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, as amended by Executive Order No. 8823 of July 18, 1941, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"WHEREAS the successful prosecution of the war demands the maximum employment of all available workers regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin; and

"WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the war effort by all persons in the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Reaffirms Policy

"WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in war production solely by reason of their race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of the prosecution of the war, the workers' morale, and national unity:

"NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States and commander in chief of the army and navy, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in Government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin;

"And I do hereby declare that it is the duty of all employers, including the several Federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this order, to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"It is hereby ordered as follows:

of the Government of the

"1. All contracting agencies United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

"2. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Part of OEM

"3. There is hereby established in the Office for Emergency Management of the executive office of the President a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, hereinafter referred to as the committee, which shall consist of a chairman and not more than six other members to be appointed by the President.

"The chairman shall receive such salary as shall be fixed by the President not exceeding $10,000 per year.

Pay for Members

"The other members of the Committee shall receive necessary traveling expenses and, unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed by the President, a per diem allowance not exceeding $25 per day and subsistence expenses on such days as they are actually engaged in the performance of duties pursuant to this order.

Duties of Committee

"4. The committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various Federal departments and agencies and to the President which it deems necessary and proper to ... effectuate the provisions of this order.

"The committee shall also recommend to the chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"5. The committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination forbidden by this order. It may conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

"6. Upon the appointment of the committee and the designation of its chairman, the Fair Employment Practice Committee established by Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, hereinafter referred to as the old committee, shall cease to ...

"All records and property of the old committee and such unexpended balances of allocations or other funds available for its use as the director of the bureau of the budget shall determine shall be transferred to the committee.

To Assume Work of Old FEPC

"The committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matter pending before the old committee and shall conduct such investigations and hearings as may be necessary in the performance of its duties under this order.

"7. Within the limits of the funds which may be available for that purpose, the chairman shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel and make provision for such supplies, facilities, and services as may be necessary to carry out this order.

... the services and facilities of other Federal departments and agencies and such voluntary and uncompensated services as may from time to time be needed.

"The committee may accept the services of State and local authorities and officials, and may perform the functions and duties and exercise the powers conferred upon it by this order through such officials and agencies and in such manner as it may determine.

"8. The committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this order.

"9. The provisions of any other pertinent Executive order inconsistent with this order are hereby superseded."

Establishing New FEPC

Eighty Years" . . . By John Beecher

"You will have to hire a bunch of camp guards
white men
and have them patrol the camp
with clubs and pistols
or the Negroes
won't pay the rent
they will stop working entirely
and they will take the camp to pieces"

Let me tell you what happened
I know
because I was there
and I was in charge of the camp

When the day came to open
we just opened the gate
and let anybody in that wanted to come in
no hand-picking no references or anything like that
it was enough for us
that a family wanted to live there
and not on the canal bank

We didn't hire any white guards either
and nobody carried a club or a pistol
in all that camp that held a thousand people

We just got them altogether in the community center
and told them it was their camp
and they could make it a bad camp
or they could make it a good camp
that was up to them
and there wouldn't be any laws or ordinances
except the ones they made for themselves
through their elected council

Then for a week
they had a campaign in camp
with people running for office the first time in their lives
and after the campaign
people voted for the people they wanted to represent them
for the first time in their lives
and after it was over
they celebrated with a big dance in the community center
and nobody got drunk and disorderly
and nobody cut anybody with a knife
and the only reason was
they had themselves a Council . . .
after that
the Council made the laws and ordinances
Council said
nobody's dog could run around loose
he had to be tied up
Council said
a man couldn't beat his wife up in camp
and when a man came in drunk one night and did
he was out of camp by morning
Council said
people had to pay their rent
because out of that rent money
came baseball equipment
and it kept up the nursery school
so when people wouldn't pay
Council put them out . . .
finally Council said
it's a long way to any store
we ought to have our own store
and that's how the co-op started
without a dollar in it
the people didn't put up . . .

Some of the men and women on that Council
couldn't so much as write their names
remember these were just country Negroes
off sharecrop farms in Georgia and Alabama
just common ordinary cottonpickers
the kind

Lowndes County planters say
would ruin the country
if they had the vote . . .

All I know is
my eyes have seen
democracy work

III

Freedom
is a whole lot more
than just not being owned by somebody.
Lincoln knew that.

Freedom starts with not being owned
but it also means
having a say in how you are governed

" . . . A tumbledown tenant cabin . . . "

a home you can call yours
land if you're a farmer
that you can stay on year after year
hold it and improve it and get the benefit of it
either working for yourself alone
or a lot of farmers altogether working one big farm
for the good of all
and freedom means if you're a worker
the chance to learn the job of your choice
and the right to work at that job

Now
the United States government is putting up hundreds of millions of dollars
to teach new trades to citizens
both men and women
so they can build the planes the tanks the ships and guns
we must have to win
I was down in Georgia
looking over this government training program
and I saw fine new shops
full of the most uptodate machinery
millions of dollars worth
and I saw where thousands of white people
men and women
were being taught at the expense of the government
how to weld ships and rivet airplanes and the rest
but I didn't see any Negroes in the shops
though Negroes are more than one out of every three
of Georgia's people
so I asked where were they . . .
this was kind of embarrassing to the authorities
they admitted they weren't training many
and said the reason was
the Negroes couldn't get jobs
even if they were trained
so there wasn't any use training them . . .

I had to go a long way in Georgia
to find any Negroes getting training
and when I found them
this is what I saw . . .

bare classrooms with benches and blackboards
not a lathe nor a drill press nor a welding machine in the place
men trying to learn through their eyes
what could only be learned through their hands

In all of Georgia
not one Negro woman
was getting even this kind of training
and when I asked why not
the authorities said to me surprised
"If Negro women could get war jobs
what would people do for cooks?"

Then there were the Negro carpenters
I talked to in Houston Texas
two hundred of them in Houston
men who had been carpenters all their lives
and the white carpenters wouldn't let them in the union

" . . . Spread the light of freedom . . . "

and that meant they couldn't even work
on the Negro housing project
or on any kind of war building that was going on
and since there wasn't anything else left to work on
they were getting desperate . . .

There was a Negro welding class in H[illegible]
just like the whi[illegible]
the whites got [illegible]s welding in the shipyards
they day the[illegible] their course
but the Negro welders
if they are still around Houston
are working at common labor
or at nothing . . .

So it goes
all over the South
in munitions at Memphis
aircraft at Dallas and Nashville
at the Macon arsenal and the Pascagoula shipyard
no skilled jobs for Negroes
and in many places
no unskilled ones either . . .
just whatever happens to be left over
when the white people are used up
or whatever work is too heavy or nasty
for white people to do
is what the Negroes get . . .
that's the way it still is
after eighty years

IV

"Thenceforward and forever free"
were Lincoln's words
but he didn't stop there
no
he said more:
"and the Executive government of the United States,
including the military and naval authority thereof,
will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons,
and will do no act or acts to repress such persons,
or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their
actual freedom."

Isn't it about time
after eighty years
to make good on this
and to make good on
the Thirteenth Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments
to the Constitution of the United States?

I know there's a war on
but what is this war about anyway
how can we believe
how can the world's people believe
we mean to spread the light of freedom to the world's four corners
when there is such darkness
in America's own house?

Soon
it will be too late

Freedom

In Remembrance of Lincoln: "After

" . . . Being the Lincoln we remember . . . "

John Beecher, great grandnephew of Henry Ward Beecher, follows the tradition of his crusading ancestor in advocating tolerance and a better life for negroes.

To mark the 80th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Beecher wrote the following poem, "After Eighty Years."

In recognition of Lincoln's Birthday anniversary next Friday, the Post Weekly Picture Magazine herewith presents Mr. Beecher's poem:

Lincoln was pushed into it
they are still telling us
yes
after eighty years
they are still handing us that

I'd put it this way
Lincoln was just slow to catch on
slow to take hold
like many another man
trusting the experts but not himself fully
not really believing
in what he was fighting for
because he hadn't made his own mind up

Once Lincoln made his mind up
and wrote:
"thence forward and forever free"
he started being the Lincoln we remember
and the war for Union
turned into a people's war
that could not be lost

Emancipation
kept England off the South's side
because the English working people
could not be made to fight for slavery

Emancipation
brought the Negroes in on the North's side
and turned the scale
Lincoln said so then
but after eighty years our school history books
still have nothing to say
about the 200,000 Negro soldiers and sailors
who lost a third of their number
fighting for their freedom and the Union
while the South warned
"none will be taken prisoners".
A Memphis slavedealer turned general
Nathan Bedford Forrest
captured Fort Pillow on the Mississippi
having ten men to the Union's one
and there under the white flags of surrender
bayoneted to death or buried alive
the Negro wounded
penned the Negro prisoners in wooden buildings
then burned them down.
It was another story
at Port Hudson, Ship Island, Fort Wagner and
Nashville
where Negroes fought on even terms
and it was a [illegible]
That day the [illegible]
When [illegible]
[illegible] story.

"...Publicly whipped the two or three . . ."

Behind these black fighters
were black workers for freedom
in hundreds of thousands
on the docks where munitions were unloaded
on Union fortifications from the Red River to the James and Potomac
builders teamsters cooks and nurses of the wounded
while by the hundreds of thousands
Negroes left their plows in the fields of slavery
seeking refuge in the camps of the blue armies
seeking work in freed [illegible]
then having found it
they plowed to feed and clothe the blue armies
while gray armies
went bare and hungry
After eighty years
we ought to know these things
better than we do

II

Eighty years
are a long while to be waiting
for somebody to finish
what Lincoln began.

Starting in 1863
Negro Americans with their own blood and toil
have bought and paid for freedom
full and unconditional
ten times over
and now in 1943
Negro Americans
in the army and the navy
by the hundreds of thousands
are fighting for the world's freedom
as well as their own . . .

In Lowndes County Alabama
Negroes are more than 85 per cent of all the people
but in all that county
not one Negro votes
not one Negro is called Mister by white people
and the few Negroes who own land
don't dare build themselves decent homes
for fear the white folks would resent it.
I saw a tumbledown tenant cabin in Lowndes
from which three dark boys had gone North
two of them are college deans now and the third a scientist.

A few years back
the sharecroppers down in Lowndes tried to organize
because somebody from the outside
came in and told them
the President of the United States said they had a right to.
They counted the bodies they found afterward
the ones shot on dry land
and the ones that washed up bound hand and foot
on the Alabama River bank
[illegible]

he just called a meeting of his croppers
in the church
and publicly whipped
the two or three that got mixed up in the union
that taught the rest of them a lesson
he told me

Between 1935 and 1940
400,000 farms were wiped off the southern map
400,000 families had to pull up stakes
more than 2,000,000 people cut adrift,
You've hear about the white farmers
from Oklahoma, Texas and Arkansas
and who went to California
and maybe you saw "The Grapes of Wrath"
but did you know
40,000 families were tractored out in Alabama
mostly Negroes
more people than lost out in Oklahoma?

No
we don't hear about them
nor about the 35,000 families in Georgia
who lost their chance to make a crop
they were mostly Negroes too

Where they all went
nobody exactly knows
some lived on where they were
in their little shacks and cabins
catching what wagehand work there was
sixty cents a day from can till can't
or picking cotton at 75c a hundred
some moved to town and went on relief
some hit the migrant trails
from Louisiana up through Arkansas and Kentucky on into Michigan
from Florida on up the coast to Lake Ontario and Maine

I got to know these people
down in Florida
and I would like to [illegible]mething about them

They were living [illegible]mal banks
in stinking quarters and barracks
sometimes thirteen people in a room
or in tarpaper huts and shelters in the weeds
and every morning before dawn came
they climbed onto trucks in the quarters
bound for the beanfields
where all day
everybody that could pick
down to the five and six year olds
picked
kneeling in the black Everglades muck.
It would be dark night again
when they got back to quarters
and all night long
the jook joints stayed open
so whiskey dice and women
could eat up the earnings of the day

That was the white growers' idea
of how to hold labor —
keep the Negroes broke
they said
and instead of a church or a school
a grower would build a jook joint
at the center of his quarters
to get back at night
what he paid out in the day

When the government came in
and started building a model camp for the Negroes
with screened shelters and shower baths and flush toilets
an infirmary a community center a school and playgrounds
laundry tubs and electric irons
the growers raised hell
what was the government's idea anyway
ruining the rental value of their canal bank quarters
and fixing to ruin their labor with a lot of useless luxury
besides the Negroes wouldn't use the camp
they liked to be dirty
they liked to be diseased
they liked to be vicious

When the growers saw
[illegible] anyway

...No Choice In Air But As Combat Pilots Failure Means All Is Lost"

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the following statement, William H. Hastie, who recently resigned as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, in protest against the shortcomings of the military aviation program as it affects Negroes, discusses some additional aspects of racial discrimination and segregation in the Army Air Forces.)

* * *

By WILLIAM H. HASTIE

It was not until March, 1941, that the Army Air Corps began accepting applications from Negroes for aviation cadet training. The actual instruction of Negroes to be flying officers did not begin until several months later. But even then, and to this day, there was and is only one type of combat aviation—namely, pursuit flying—for which the Air Command will train a Negro.

How did it happen that the training of Negro aviators was started in the field of pursuit flying? It is common knowledge that grave doubts were expressed from the beginning as to whether the Negro was capable of making good as a combat aviator. The Air Command described and still describes the training of the Negro in aviation as an "experiment." Yet, in the face of this expressed skepticism, the Air Command saw fit to begin with the training of Negroes for pursuit flying, the most difficult type of combat aviation. The single pilot in his pursuit ship has the most exacting of air tests, handling his fast plane, manouvering it at terrific speed in actual combat, mastering the technic of accurate and properly directed fire in aerial dog fights, and exercising split second judgment in unexpected situations and emergencies. Why was the Negro whose ability was in doubt, not started off with observation flying or in bombardment where co-pilots and other crew members assist each other and share and divide responsibility?

Negroes Have Proven Mettle

Only the men who made the decision know the answer. They may have reasoned that through pursuit flying Negroes would demonstrate their ability to perform any air combat task. Fortunately, it seems to be working out that way. They may also have reasoned that Negroes were less likely to succeed in pursuit flying than in somewhat less exacting work. Yet, in all fairness it should be said that the best of facilities and thoroughly competent instructors were provided for the segregated training program for Negro pilots. And the men in the field who started this training did so with enthusiasm and determination to make it a success.

Statistics already released by the Air Command show that, during the first year of Negro pursuit pilot training, 42 percent of the Negro trainees successfully completed their course and earned their wings as pursuit pilots. During the same period 39 percent of white aviation cadets who entered training qualified as flying officers.

made the grade in the most difficult assignment is a significant accomplishment.

Qualifications Are Rigid

Beyond the fact that the Negro must have the ability for pursuit flying, or else not fly at all, he must meet the special physical specifications of the pursuit polit. If he is too tall or too heavy for pursuit flying, he cannot be an army flyer, however competent he may be for some flying job other than pursuit work.

In wasted manpower, it is difficult to say how much is being lost by imposing such restrictions upon the Negro. It seems probable that some 200 Negro pursuit pilots will earn their wings in 1943. But the Air Command has never undertaken a campaign of publicity or promotion designed to get young Negro men with superior training into flying training. When the Air Forces set up their college reserve program, no Negroes were wanted.

Small Quota Filled One Year Ahead

The small "Negro quota" was already filled for a year in advance. So, while the Ground Forces were welcoming Negro college men into their college reserve, the Air Forces refused to accept them.

Even earlier the Air Corps had undertaken the recruiting of groups of men from the individual college campus who would go into training as a unit with the group spirit and enthusiasm developed through their association at college. The Negro was excluded from this also. Thus, only the Negro who went forward on his own initiative, determined despite hell and high water to be a combat flyer, ever became an aviation cadet. Even then, he was accepted only within limited quota restrictions and for one type of training.

Change In Policy

Within the past two months, restrictions upon the acceptance of volunteers in the army have been extended to aviation cadets. Apparently, aviation cadets will be chosen almost exclusively from men already in the army.

A new problem faces the Negro. He must apply for aviation cadet training through his commander and his papers must survive a journey through military channels.

It remains to be seen whether his application will be encouraged and faciliatated to the same extent as the application of the white soldier. In this connection, one recent experience is disturbing.

For more than a year the Air Command has been selecting young soldiers, high school graduates, to be taken from the ranks and trained to become enlisted pilots. They become master, staff and technical sergeants with flying rating.

Negroes Have Only One Choice or Chance

Of course the number of Negroes was small and the statistics are therefore not conclusive. More important is the fact that Negro candidates have no opportunity at any stage of training to be assigned to some other branch of combat flying, if they seem not to be well adapted to pursuit work. The Negro cadet must become a pursuit pilot or nothing.

White cadets are sorted out and placed according to their apparent aptitudes. Uuder these circumstances, the fact that 42 percent of the Negroes who had the physical and educational qualifications for aviation

New Problem In Offering

So far as I have been able to discover, Negro enlisted men have not been accepted in this program. How different will the situation be now that both prospective flying officers and prospective enlisted pilots will be selected from the ranks of the army?

Two hundred Negro pursuit pilots a year is something more than token representation. Certainly, 200 pilots can make a big difference in almost any of the present theatres of war. Yet the failure of the Air Command to encourage or even permit the full participation of the Negro in flying training and service prevents the number of Negro pilots from being several times 200 per year.

If the Air Command should decide to use Negro flying officers and enlisted men without racial restrictions, 1000 pilots would be a conservative estimate of annual production.

Of course there would be serious practical difficulties in developing segregated training fields and segregated organizations of many various types in such an expansion.

From a military point of view all of this new segregated set up probably would not be worth the time, expense and diversion of personnel.

But if the war lasts long enough, it is not too much to hope that those

VOL. 24—NO. 45 CITY EDITION Kansas City, Missouri, Friday, February 26, 1943 PRICE 10c

Randolph Here Sund

To Speak At Paseo Baptist

Will Appear at Annual Urban League Meeting

The Kansas City Urban League will hold its annual meeting Sunday afternoon, Feb 28, at the Paseo Baptist church, with A. Philip Randolph as the principal speaker.

Mr. Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the leader of the March-on-Washington movement and regarded by many persons as the No. 1 Negro of the day.

The meeting will begin at 3 p. m. with George M. Husser, president of the Urban League and director of the Better Business Bureau, presiding.

TO HONOR RANDOLPH

A special feature of the meeting will be the presentation of a plaque or scroll to Mr. Randolph on behalf of the citizens of Kansas City in appreciation for his leadership and service in labor and race relations.

Kansas City has been associated with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters ever since its beginning. This was one of the few cities which gave Randolph an audience back in the days when the leader, now welcomed in the White House and in government circles, was considered a "radical".

Randolph often says that the Rev. D. A. Holmes was the only pastor in this section who would permit him to speak from his pulpit and that the Kansas City Call was the only newspaper of any size which supported the Brotherhood.

TRIBUTES FROM 3

Because of their early association with Randolph, three men have been asked by the Urban League to make three-minute speeches telling what Randolph has meant to the Negro race and

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

to the Negro worker in particular.

The three men who will pay tribute to Randolph are C. A. Franklin, editor of The Call; the Rev. Mr. Holmes, pastor of the Paseo Baptist church and Rufus Norman, president of the Greater Kansas City division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the many porters who

(Continued on Page 24)

Randolph Speaks -

lost their jobs in the fight to organize the Brotherhood.

Mr. Randolph will be introduced by Parrin D. McElroy, secretary-busin[illegible]nager of the Building Trade[illegible]cil of the A. F. of L. of wh[illegible]deration the Pullman porte[illegible]ization is a member.

TRIBUTE TO DIBBLE

A brief business meeting will be held with Dr. Luke E. Williams making the report of the nominating committee of the Urban League; James A. Jeffress, paying a tribute on behalf of the Urban League board of directors to Dr. J. E. Dibble, founder and former president of the Urban League, and Mrs. Tom S. James paying a tribute on behalf of the board to board members in military service and retiring members.

Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary, will make his annual report. Music will be provided by the Paseo Baptist church choir, Mrs Alpha Holmes, directing.

The invocation will be given by Dr. King Beach, pastor of the Trinity Methodist church and the benediction by the Rev. Carl F. Flipper, pastor of the Ebenezer A. M. E church.

8,000 IN UNION

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is the only all-Negro international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. Now consisting of 8,000 members, it was organized in the summer of 1925 in New York under the leadership of Mr. Randolph, who still heads the union.

The first meeting of the Brotherhood in Kansas City was in the fall of 1925 when six men met to disuss the possibilities of the formation of a local of the Brotherhood here. In 1929 the union was given a charter by the A. F. of L.

In 1936, the union won its first substantial victory when it signed a wage agreement with the Pullman company, increasing total was to $2,000,000 a year.

Randolph was primarily a labor leader until the Brotherhood victory was won in 1936. After that gigantic task was done, he had time to broaden his interests and began to fight for the rights of his people along every line.

INSPIRES ORDER 8802

In June, 1941, in protest against the discrimination practiced against Negroes in defense industry and in the armed forces and in government agencies, Randolph organized the "March-on-Washington" movement. Its purpose was and is to bring pressure to bear upon the government to open up equal opportunities for Negroes in the armed forces and in the war industry.

The March-on-Washington movement resulted two years ago in the issuance by President Roosevelt of his now famous Executive Order No. 8802 which calls for full participation in the war program by all persons regardless of race, creed, color, sex or national origin. The establishment of the Committee on Fair Employ[illegible] Practice followed.

NATIVE OF FLORIDA

Randolph is a native of F[illegible] born in Crescent City, [illegible] completed high school [illegible] man institute in Jack[illegible] and attended the College City of New York.

Randolph has had many [illegible] bestowed upon him, one [illegible] being the presentation [illegible] Spingarn medal at the N[illegible] convention in Los An[illegible] 1942. He, at one time, [illegible] instructor in the Rand[illegible] Social Science in New York, was editor and publisher of [illegible] Messenger", magazine, for a [illegible]ber of years.

THE NEW LEADER

Saturday, January 9, 1943

Government to Present Case Against Railroads

By JAMES RORTY

FROM the point of view of the Negro worker, and scarcely less so from that of organized labor as a whole, one of the most important battles of this war will be fought in Washington on January 25.

On that date the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices will open a three-day hearing to consider the grievances of Negro railroad workers.

What is concretely at stake are the jobs of over 2,000 Negro firemen. Barring government intervention, most of these experienced and competent Negro workers will be kicked out of their cabs by July 1, 1943; this without any serious consideration for justice, seniority, inter-racial morale, the efficient operation of the roads, or the safeguarding of the war effort.

But that is not all. Back of this last ditch struggle of a harrassed and decimated minority lies a more fundamental issue. In brief, what the FEPC hearings may decide will be whether Brother Jim Crow, as a principle and a policy, is going or coming on the labor front.

If you look at the employment trends for industry as a whole, you'd say he's going. Since June, 1941, when A. Philip Randolph and his March-on-Washington Movement induced the President to issue Executive Order No. 8802 against racial discrimination in job opportunity, thousands of Negroes have found jobs in war industry. Plant after plant has opened its doors to Negroes for the first time, although often in terms only of "token" employment. This is true of motors, of aircraft, of practically every department of war industry, and from coast to coast. Moreover, this war-necessitated liberalism was worked: the Negroes have made good at bench and assembly line, and the expected conflicts with white workers have for the most part failed to materialize.

But the picture in railroad employment is different. On December 3, Paul McNutt told a conference of railroad executives that if the employment practices of many railroads were extended to industry generally, "Millions of American Negroes, instead of turning out the ships, shells, planes and guns America needs for victory, would be immobilized for the duration of the war."

The all-white railroad unions, even more than the carriers, are responsible for the practices referred to. They started way back in the relatively idyllic period before World War I, when the majority of the firemen, brakemen and switchmen on the southern roads were Negroes. During the intervening quarter century the Negroes have lost an estimated hundred thousand jobs worth approximately a billion dollars.

What happened, in essence, was that the jobs became too good. When the Chattanooga choo-choo burned grimy soft coal, and a sweating Negro fireman shovelled ten or twenty tons of it on a single run, the Negro was welcome to the job. White workers in general didn't want it, especially as before World War I the fireman's wage in the South averaged $60 a month or less.

* * *

THE engineer's job was different. But then as now it was inconceivable in the South that a Negro could hold the throttle of a locomotive, although plenty of them could. And they can today, even though they are not supposed to know how to operate the sleek and spotless Diesels that are displacing both the old hand-fired Casey Joneses and the later stokerized engines.

Since the Negro fireman couldn't become an engineer, all he got for years of service was seniority and lots of it. Inevitably, this impacted situation produced its headaches for the carriers, the public, and the white unions. Since Negroes held the majority of firemen's jobs on many roads, the carriers, prevented from training an adequate supply of apprentice engineers, were obliged to place fast-lease "boomers" from the North in the cabs. Service and safety records suffered accordingly. As for the white unions, since they were debarred by race prejudice from writing into their constitutions [illegible] Negroes into their memberships, their only resource as they saw it was to oust the black workers from the [illegible] employment.

This they proceeded to do. The Negroes got their first big jolt during World War I. Attracted by the higher wages paid in war industries, numbers of Negro firemen left their jobs and went North. To prevent the threatened demoralization of rail transportation, Secretary McAdoo intervened and equalized the pay of whites and blacks. That would have been a victory for the Negroes—if only they had enjoyed the job protection given by membership in the white unions. They didn't. Moreover, the carriers, interested primarily in cheap labor, now had no further reasons to defend them from the aggressions of the white unions.

There followed, for the Negroes, a long agony of attrition, beguiled by a huge literature of jurisdictional disputes between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Each of these white unions was eager to "represent" the Negroes, to whom neither was prepared to extend membership. Meanwhile both brotherhoods were busy negotiating secret agreements with the carriers, in which the Negro "brother" invariably took a beating. In fact the Negroes had about as much chance as a Jew before one of Hitler's arbitration boards. They weren't even permitted to look at or listen in to what was being done to them. Yet they had no recourse. Under the Railway Labor Act, amended in 1934 and 1936, the white brotherhoods were empowered to act as the sole bargaining agents for the Negroes to whom they denied union membership and whose jobs they were progressively appropriating.

* * *

THIS Alice in Wonderland arrangement was climaxed in February, 1941, when the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen made a seemingly innocent contract with the Southeastern Carrier's Conference, representing twenty-five southern railways. This agreement provided that "the proportion of non-promotable firemen and helpers on other than steam power shall not exceed 50 per cent. For all practical purposes "non-promotable" means Negro. It should be noted that the agreement sets a maximum for Negro employment on the Diesels but no minimum. In practice, various jokers in the contract are used to exclude Negroes entirely. Today, while Negroes are not permitted to learn how to operate the Diesels, they are frequently called upon to train the white men who will replace them. When a Negro dies, retires or is fired, no Negro replaces him. It is always a white man. In short, the intent of the present policy is clear, and its joint execution by the carriers and the white unions admits of few exceptions.

This outline is the story that the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen will spread on the records of the F.E.P.

It is [illegible] and political conse-

Jim-Crow

JAMES RORTY, noted journalist and author, tells here, what may be, perhaps, one of the most important stories of the year. You will not find the story of the fight against Jim-Crowism on the railroads in the large metropolitan press. But if the F.E.P.C. does not back up the right of a Negro worker to hold his job on the southern railroads, then one of the fundamental war principles has been lost on the labor and production front, and the loyalties of Negro workers considerably impaired.

McNutt May Force FEPC to Fold

Members Seen Quitting Because He Balked Jim Crow Expose

By James A. Wechsler
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—A showdown over the future of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) appeared imminent today as Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt officially announced that the Committee's hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry had been "indefinitely postponed." (*See Page 22 for editorial.*)

With its most important exposure sidetracked by McNutt's last-minute intervention, the FEPC was reported headed for oblivion and the whole drive against Jim Crow in war industry reached a sudden crisis.

While members of the FEPC refused to discuss the issue publicly, pending a formal meeting, they were understood to be virtually unanimous in regarding McNutt's move as a challenge to the Committee's existence. Efforts to arrange a session of the FEPC to weigh joint steps were being made. At least one member said privately that he favored a direct appeal to President Roosevelt, while others talked of prompt resignations unless the order was rescinded.

Vague on Reasons

McNutt confirmed PM's disclosure, that the hearings had been called off, at his press conference yesterday. Asked whether it was true that the projected attack on the "lily white" union-management coalition on the railroads had been called off, he picked up a prepared statement and read it off. The statement said:

"The Manpower Commission felt that postponement of these hearings would permit more intensive activity by the Commission to insure full utilization of manpower on the railroads."

A reporter asked whether McNutt could explain the reasons for the sudden pigeonholing of the Committee's findings. He replied:

"We felt that if we could take care of the situation this way it would be better. If we can accomplish our purpose in other ways, that's better than by force."

Pressed to explain what "other ways" were being contemplated, the Manpower Chief declined to elaborate. He conceded that the FEPC had not "recommended" abandonment of the hearings, but denied that members of the Committee had opposed the move. A Committee member said later this was technically accurate, because the FEPC had not been given a formal chance to vote on the "postponement."

Action Ends Case

Reached by telephone in Chicago, Milton P. Webster, Negro member of the FEPC and official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared:

"Mr. McNutt's statement that no members of the Committee protested his decision is true—because we never were informed that the action was being taken.

"At the last meeting of the FEPC, final plans for conducting the hearings were made and there was no indication of any opposition."

After McNutt had emphasized the Manpower Commission's belief that railroad discrimination could be dealt with through other methods, a reporter suggested that the same argument could be used to cancel all FEPC investigations. McNutt said:

"Not necessarily."

When another correspondent pointed out that the Commission's action was "belated" in view of the fact that the railroad case had been fully documented and witnesses prepared, McNutt said he didn't think so.

McNutt's comments shattered any doubt that the "postponement" was—in effect—the end of the case which Negro groups and other anti-discrimination organizations had hailed as the "key test" of the FEPC's power. The FEPC is a unit of the War Manpower Commission.

The hearings were slated to get under way on Jan. 26, with Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York State, presiding. Jubilant over the impending drive against one of the major citadels of Jim Crow in American industry, liberal and Negro groups had arranged a mass meeting here for Jan. 24 to mark the event.

Elections Responsible

With the railroad exposure—which would have hit both management and unions in the industry—out of the way, there were other indications that the Administration was reconciled to the collapse of the FEPC and was studying different methods for combating racial discrimination.

It was learned that FEPC also had been "asked" to abandon hearings on discrimination in Detroit, advertised to begin early next month.

Some observers suggested that the outcome of the recent Congressional elections had paved the way for the FEPC's decline.

What men or measures could take its place is not immediately apparent. In his budget message yesterday, President Roosevelt reiterated his demand for "elimination of restrictions based on sex, creed, or race." The FEPC has carried almost the whole load of the anti-discrimination fight since Pearl Harbor, with limited authority and less money.

Strong protests from organizations committed to the battle for equal rights in war work are anticipated here. Fear is being widely expressed that the scuttling of the railroad hearings will create a wave of resentment among Negroes. If any steps are contemplated to meet this threat, they are

THE NATION

Negro and Labor Groups Rap McNutt Action on Discrimination

Negro and labor spokesmen in New York City today assailed Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's action in postponing indefinitely public hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry. The hearings were to have been held before the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) in late January.

Calling McNutt's action "a profound disappointment to every believer in democracy," Lester Grainger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, said:

"On the face of it, McNutt's action seems to be nothing more than a cowardly yielding to the pressure of reactionary forces, and it bodes ill for the kind of leadership that we can expect in the future conduct of the war."

Simultaneously, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wired President Roosevelt:

"If McNutt's orders to the FEPC to cancel hearings on discrimination by railroad management and unions stand, it will rob that Committee of its last vestige of justification for its existence and will open the floodgates of discrimination against racial, religious and other minorities, which will not only reverse the happy trend against discrimination, but will directly and dangerously affect the successful prosecution of the war."

After consultation with Wendell Willkie yesterday morning, a committee composed of Ferdinand Smith, of the National Maritime Union; Dr. Max Yergan of the Council of African Affairs; Dr. Warren Banner of the National Urban League; Edward Lewis, of the N. Y. Urban League; Joseph Ford of the Peoples Committee; and Rev. Adam Clayton Powell of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, an ALP City Councilman, issued a statement which said in part:

"The cancellation not only is an irreparable blow to the Negro people, but does the utmost damage to the whole prosecution of the war.

"This is another victory for the Axis, either willingly or unwillingly."

B. F. McLauren, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said:

"We feel that the dropping of the hearings at this time is an attempt to scuttle the FEPC as an effective agent. The fact that there has been postponement of other hearings dealing with basic problems of discrimination leads us to feel that the President has accepted the appeasement policy of permitting the reactionary forces of the country to make the FEPC ineffective in any future activity."

Editorial

THE BATTLE FOR BRITAIN

By A. Philip Randolph

Published by the New York Chapter of the
Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

The Battle for Britain is in full swing again. Thousands of air-planes on both sides are locked in a death struggle for the supremacy of the air. The much advertised blitzkrieg of Der Fuehrer is striking with all of its power.

But this is more than a battle of sinister steel birds of prey. It's a battle of ideas, of philosophies, of ways of life.

What does this Battle for Britain mean to America? What does it mean to the Negro? Does it matter whether Britain lose and Germany triumph?

This question can best be answered by a question, namely, does it matter if Britain, the last stronghold of democracy and liberty fall under the fury and fire, death and destruction of Nazism or not? The question carries its own answer to a civilized and free people.

The answer is, is it a matter of life and death to democracy, and freedom as we know it? If Britain lose, democracy and liberty lose. If Nazism win, a new slavery and barbarism, terrorism and darkness will triumph.

If Hitler win the black tides of reaction, tyranny and despotism, the cult of force, mass murder and espionage will not only sweep away the last vestige of humanity in Europe, but will threaten our American system of democracy and liberty.

Under Hitler, no man is free. He is the victim of fear. Men of independent convictions and liberalism are hunted, haunted and harrassed, only finally to end up in some notorious concentration camp where cruel and inhuman efforts are made to break their spirit and will. Under Hitler, freedom of conscience, the right to worship God according to one's own convictions, is wiped out and the pagan religion of the primitive Germanic tribes is forced upon you.

Under Hitler, there is only one political party. It is Hitler's party, the National Socialist Party. Besides this party, there is none other. The mere expression of a difference of political opinion with the opinion of Hitler and his National Socialist Party, means persecution, imprisonment, and perhaps, death.

It is of the essence of dictatorship that the word of the dictator is law. It is supposed to be omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent. He can do no wrong. He is to be regarded and accepted as the paragon of all wisdom truth and right.

And he employs force and murder to compel obedience and worship of his person and word.

But this is not so in Britain. In Britain, men and women are relatively free. They are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. They are free to express their opinion on economic, political and social problems. They are free to vote for the political party of their choice.

How will Nazism affect the Negro? Hitler's own statement on the Negro in Mein Kampf is sufficient answer. What does he say? He alludes to the Negro as *half ape*. In other words. Negroes, in the judgment of the German Dictator are not even *all human*. If they are not regarded as human, it is logical to assume that they are not entitled to the treatment of human beings. Hence, under the Austrian Corporal, Negroes would be re-enslaved and put upon the status of chattel property.

What of Britain and the Negro?

Now, we have no illusions about the attitude Great Britain has maintained toward the Negroes in particular and the darker races in general. They have been deceived, betrayed and oppressed by Britain. No one can question this fact. Great Britain has employed the technique of divide and rule.

But under British rule, Negroes, are, at least, regarded as *human beings*. In the British colonies, Negroes are making some progress. It may be slow, but it is true. While no one denies the fact that they don't get their rights, they are more and more securing the right to fight for their rights.

In England, Negroes are admitted to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Could a Negro go to any kind of school in Germany? We should say not. But even assuming that Negroes did not possess any rights in the British empire, it would still be to the interest of the Negro people to support the cause of Great Britain, because she is fighting for the preservation of the democratic system under which alone Negroes can hope for the ultimate status of free men. England represents, with the passing of Czechoslovakia and France, the only center of democracy left in Europe. If England should fall, it will constitute a definite threat to our democratic order here.

This is why Negroes should help Great Britain win, and strive for the downfall of Hitler and Nazism. It is enlightened self interest. Negroes don't want Britain to win merely because they love her, but because they love themselves; because they love the democratic way of life and the status of human beings.

It is for these reasons, that it is to the interest of America and the Negro people that all aid, short of America going to war, should be given to Great Britain. Air-planes, Destroyers and even battleships should be given to England now to help her win the war. And if Great Britain is given munitions, planes and destroyers, she will win.

If Britain win, it will be the greatest blow which can be dealt dictatorships, Fascists, Nazis and Communists.

U. S. Defense Housing Built for Negroes ...es to Whites

...ARLES VAN DEVANDER

Fo... Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—Congressional pressure recently has forced the Federal Works Agency to divert to the use of white families a defense housing development in Detroit that was built for the use of Negro defense workers.

EXCLUSIVE

In addition, The Post learned, the Congressmen forced the FWA to discharge its $8,250-a-year director of the division of defense housing, who had opposed taking the houses away from the Negro families for whom they were originally intended.

Members of the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee of the House of Representatives achieved this double objective by a direct threat to hold up a $300,000,000 defense housing bill.

Negroes Protest

This Congressional squeeze play has received no general publicity until now, but the story has been circulated among Negroes from one end of the country to another, and has aroused a storm of protest.

A dozen Negro leaders carried the protest to Mrs. Roosevelt several days ago. No tangible results have followed, although Mrs. Roosevelt reportedly shared their indignation.

Chief casualty of the Detroit incident, apart from the 200 Negro families who have been done out of homes, was Clark Foreman, director of the FWA division of defense housing, who was discharged by Baird Snyder, acting FWA director.

Ultimatum Delivered

The day before the discharge Snyder met with members of the House committee and was told in plain terms that Foreman would have to go before a new defense housing program was authorized.

The ultimatum was delivered by Rep. Frank W. Boykin, of Alabama, a member of the committee, who

Houses Built For Negroes Go to Whites

Continued from Page One

since has boasted to friends that he was responsible for Foreman's discharge.

By a strange coincidence, Boykin, a few weeks earlier, had tried to get his brother-in-law appointed manager of a defense housing development in Mobile. Foreman investigated and reported that the Congressman's brother-in-law was incompetent for the job.

Hired Negro Secretary

Foreman, a New Dealer and a native of Georgia, was brought into the Administration in 1933 as adviser on Negro affairs to Secretary of the Interior Ickes. He later was made director of the power division of PWA, created under Ickes, but later transferred to the FWA under Administrator John Carmody.

From the first Foreman antagonized Southern Congressmen by employing a Negro woman as secretary. But two days before being summarily dismissed he had received a rise in pay from $8,000 to $8,250 a year and a civil service rating of "excellent."

The Detroit housing project was authorized last summer for Negro defense workers. It was known from the start as the Sojourner Truth project, in honor of one of the most famous of Negro heroines, an abolitionist who directed a successful "underground railway" for escape of slaves to the North during the Civil War.

Poles Object

Near the site chosen for the project is a Polish settlement, whose residents vigorously objected to the prospective intrusion of Negroes. Through Rep. Tenerowicz (R-Mich.), they carried the fight to Washington.

Just before the beginning of the year Carmody was succeeded as Federal Works Administrator by Gen. Philip B. Fleminl, and Baird Snyder was named assistant. Since then Snyder has been acting director because of Gen. Fleming's illness.

On Jan. 3, Snyder announced that a need for 200 Negro homes in that section of Detroit had been "'reaffirmed" by Defense Housing Co-ordinator Palmer and that as a result the Sojourner Truth Houses would "shortly" be made available for Negro defense workers. The same day he sent a telegram to the Detroit Housing Authority, telling them to begin taking applications from prospective Negro tenants. This was done, Snyder announced, after a "full reconsideration of the facts, occasioned by complaints from the Detroit area.

Instructions Canceled

That was on Saturday. The next Monday Snyder canceled the instructions to the Detroit Authority. In the interval he had heard from Rep. Tenerowicz, who told him he was appealing for aid to members of the committee which had to pass on the defense housing appropriation.

On Tuesday Snyder had his session with the members of the House committee, and received their ultimatum. The next day Foreman was given his walking papers.

On Jan. 15 Snyder and Palmer jointly announced that "Detroit will get a new defense housing project for Negro occupancy."

Not the First Case

Buried in the body of the statement was the further announcement that "the project soon to be opened at Nevada and Fenelon Avs. will be scheduled for white occupancy. "This referred to the Sojourner Truth Houses.

According to Negro spokesmen here, a number of other housing projects originally designated for Negro occupancy have been diverted to use of whites. These include a development at Texarkana, Ark., which has been temporarily diverted to use of white construction workers; a 210-unit development near Portsmouth, Va., which the Navy requested be turned over to white shipyard workers, and a Maritime Commission development at Pascagoula, Miss., which originally had a Negro section, but has been turned over for full occupancy by white workers.

Goes Over Head of Fair Practices Committee on Airing of Negro Grievances

CRAMER REFUSED REQUEST

Insisted on Railroad Inquiry—New Approach to Discrimination Problem Is Reported

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—The Administration is considering a new approach to the problem of discrimination against Negroes and minorities in war plants and in industry generally, it was reported today after Paul V. McNutt announced that he had postponed indefinitely the hearing scheduled for Jan. 25-27 of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. This hearing was to have gone into charges of discrimination against use of Negroes in the railroad industry by the carriers and the unions.

The chairman of the War Manpower Commission was reported to have requested Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of the FEPC, seevral days ago to postpone the scheduled meeting of his committee, but the explanation advanced was not satisfactory to the members, so Mr. Cramer declined the request, whereupon Mr. McNutt took the responsibility in his own hands.

It was reported that Mr. McNutt acted on word from the White House. Committee members were inclined to ascribe this action to the strengthening of the influence of the Southern Democrats with the Administration since the last election. They felt also that industries and unions which discriminated against Negroes also played a part in the decision of Mr. McNutt, who made no explanation of his action at his press conference today.

All that Mr. McNutt would say was that the Manpower Commission would intensify its activities in order to have a full utilization of manpower on the railroads, possibly through the Office of Defense Transportation.

Postponement of the meeting was a shock to the Fair Employment Practices Committee, it was learned, particularly because the committee had worked several months in preparing for the railroad hearings. Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of the State of New York, had been engaged to present the case, which had been heralded in the Negro press as an "all-out" drive against discrimination on the railroads.

The FEPC is an independent organization created by executive order of President Roosevelt, who explained that he placed the committee in the War Manpower Commission for budgetary purposes. Members of the committee said that Mr. McNutt lacked authority to postpone the scheduled hearings.

In some Administration quarters apparently the work of the committee was embarrassing, and it was felt that possibly the committee, through public hearings, was stirring up more trouble than it was allaying.

Several months ago the State Department asked the committee to postpone a series of hearings scheduled to be held in the Southwest to examine charges of discrimination made by alien Mexicans against smelting and refining companies.

More recently Ralph Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, wrote to Mr. McNutt, requesting postponement of public hearings scheduled for next month in Detroit concerning charges of dis-

Among Railroad and Pullman Workers

By JAMES H. HOGANS

THE RAILROAD AIRING

NEW YORK

The calling off of the proposed FEPC airing of the labor policies of lily-white railroad unions, while disappointing, shouldn't have surprised anyone familiar with the setup, workings and political influence of the railroad labor machine and the men who control it.

It would have been surprising, indeed, had the airing been permitted. There was never the slightest chance that it would happen.

Those valiant souls who worked so hard and diligently to amass evidence were simply being kidded along. At no time was the dirty linen in the railroad labor closet in any danger of exposure. The machine took care of that.

The naive souls who are censuring the President, the head of the WMC and other ten-pin forces for the fiasco, are merely whistling in the dark.

What they evidently have not considered, or do not know, is the extensive political potency of the unions under fire and the influence they wield in every department of the Federal Government.

Even in its palmiest days, Tammany Hall never had the influence in New York State politics that the railroad labor machine has today in national politics.

Ruthlessness Unsurpassed

Its tentacles reach into every branch of America's industrial and governmental life, and the ruthlessness of those who control it surpasses anything the Tweeds, Crokers and Murphys of that era ever did in racial discrimination.

Headed by George M. Harrison, the Tillmanite of the railroad industry, these men practically control every department of the railroad labor setup.

They flaunt the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, whenever they feel so disposed, with the nonchalance of an Al Capone.

Of course, a storm of protests will flood Washington and the press regarding it, but that will be all. When it is over, the machine will go on grinding as usual.

Labor

Willkie Conference
FEPC Prediction
Union Education
Met Insurance Co.

By EDWARD S. LEWIS

NEW YORK

Willkie Conference

The postponement of the public hearings on discrimination against colored workers in the railroad industry has stunned colored America. During the week end, the Rev. Adam Powell, dynamic leader of the People's Committee, received a tip-off of the postponement and arranged a conference with Wendell Willkie.

At the time the delegation led by the Rev. Mr. Powell called on the former candidate for President early Monday morning, no official announcement had been made on the matter and Mr. Willkie's first question concerned how to get the problem into the open. One statement he made in characteristic fashion impressed me. It was:

"You cannot make any progress on problems of this kind without getting the facts before the American public. Your only chance is to appeal to public opinion. If you try to do anything politically in Washington you are licked three to one before you get started."

We spent a few minutes discussing the international picture with Mr. Willkie, particularly the racial angles of our present struggle. I was deeply impressed with his candor, his forthright analysis and his clear understanding not only of our problems but those of all racial minorities.

FEPC Prediction

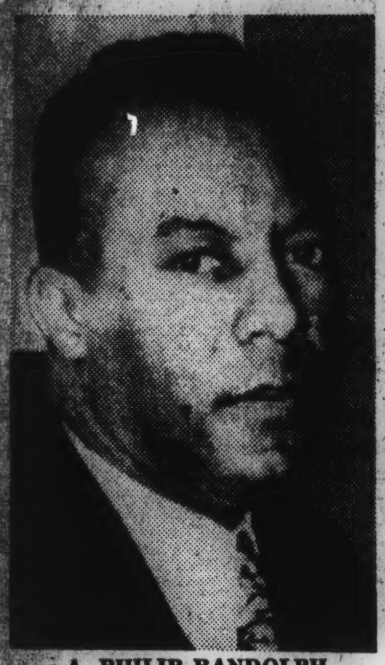
The FEPC debacle is only a straw in the wind which indicates how tenuous are the strides which we are painfully making toward real democracy in the war effort. Again President Roosevelt, after giving a brilliant and compelling report to the nation, allows an action of this kind to negate much of what he says about the role of the United Nations in this conflict.

It may be politically expedient to appease the Southern bloc and railroad interests, but this act will have repercussions around the world. India, China and the colored peoples of South America are not fooled by this sinister move to keep the real facts of railroad discrimination against colored workers from the bar of public opinion.

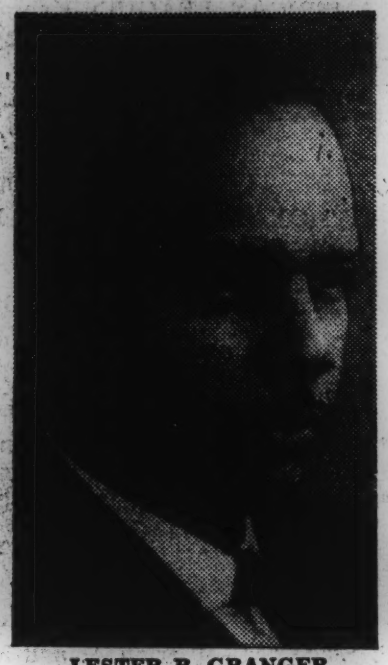
I have talked to one who knows the real inside facts, and he predicts that this move is the death knell of the whole FEPC. Colored and white workers should vigorously protest this sudden turn of events, because the present fight cannot be won if race

Topflight Negroes Who Make Public Opinion, Policy

WHAT ARE THEY DOING TOWARD DETERMINING ROLE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN UNITED STATES AFTER THE WAR?

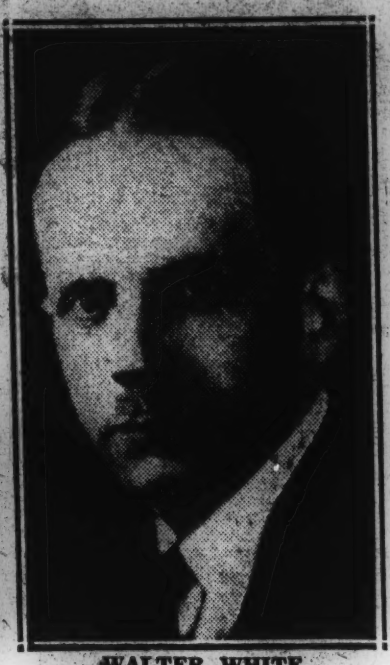


A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
March on Washington Movement

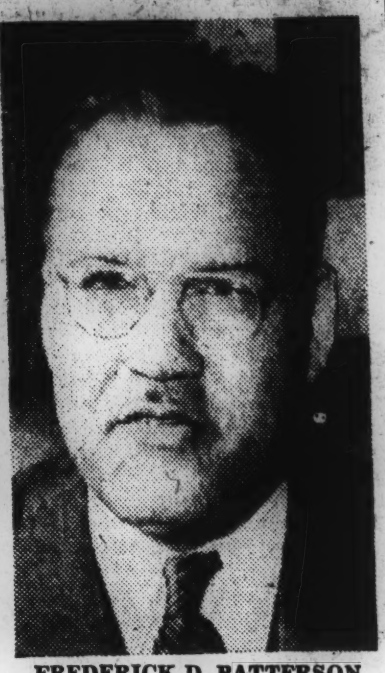


LESTER B. GRANGER
Executive Sec. National Urban League

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL
Congressman, Author of National Negro Commission Plan



WALTER WHITE
Executive Secretary, NAACP

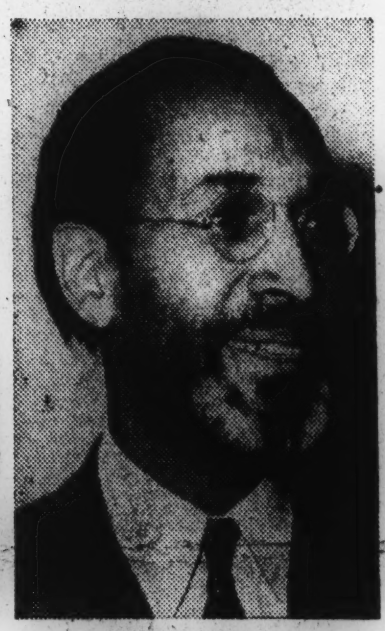


FREDERICK D. PATTERSON
President, Tuskegee

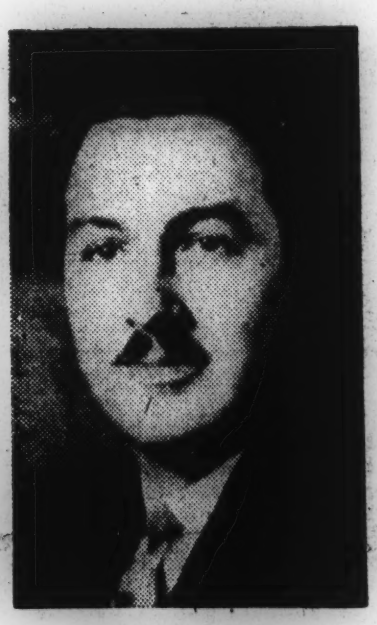
ROY WILKINS
Editor, Crisis Magazine

CHANNING TOBIAS
Senior Secretary, Y.M.C.A.

MAX YERGAN
President, Council African Affairs



EDGAR B. BROWN
Director, National Negro Council

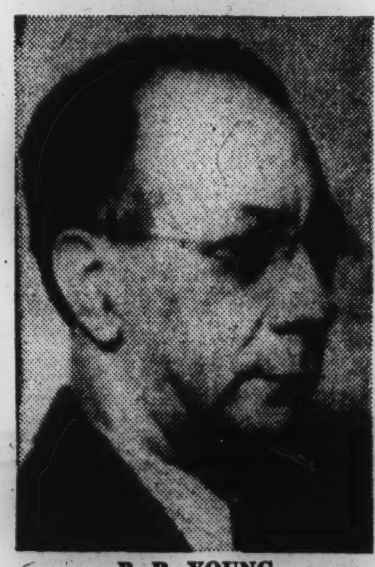


ADAM C. POWELL
Author of "1943 Charter"

ELDER L. S. MICHAUX
National Memorial for Progress of Colored People

FATHER M. J. DIVINE
Noted Cult Leader

EUCLID LOUIS TAYLOR
President, National Bar Assn.



P. B. YOUNG
Chmn. Southern Negro Charter Comm.

DR. MARY McBETHUNE
National Council, Colored Women

THESE PERSONS, ALONG WITH numerous others including editors of the leading newspapers, educators, and religious leaders have in their hands the destiny of 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States. For good or bad they influence the thinking of these Negroes and in a measure, interpret their desires to the nation and the world at large. The year 1943 will be a momentous one, and what the Negro leaders and opinion makers do in the near future will determine the course of the lives of Negroes now living and millions yet unborn for years to come.

PITTSBURGH COURIER

AUGUST 22, 1942

PAGE FOUR THE CHICAGO DEFENDER RELIABLE FOR 37 YEARS SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 19

RANDOLPH TO ADOPT GANDHI TECHNIQUE

NON-VIOLENT DISOBEDIENCE MAY BE USED

Chicago Conference In May Will Discuss New Tactics

NEW YORK CITY—The technique of non-violent civil disobedience popularized and used effectively by Mahatma Gandhi in India will be adopted by the March on Washington movement at its May conference if the wishes of A. Philip Randolph, founder of the movement, prevail.

Randolph, who is international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, at national headquarters of the movement here outlined the sensational proposal through which he hopes to focus the attention of the American people on the violation of the "basic human, moral and citizenship rights" of the Negro in this country.

The plan calls for the observance on a national scale of "I Am An American, Too" Week, during which a five point program would be carried out.

Plan Boycott

The civil non-violent disobedience proposal is point number one on his agenda for the week, the dates of which will be set by the conference.

It will call upon Negroes to boycott the jim-crow cars in the South and ride in the cars provided for citizens generally, and refuse to go into jim-crow waiting rooms, but to enter the nearest waiting rooms provided for everybody.

If they are ejected and put out, Randolph advises that they should not fight back, but that during the week Negroes should constantly keep up their program of refusing to enter jim-crow cars and waiting rooms, in an orderly, peaceful and quiet manner.

Four Other Points

The other four points of the program follow:

(2) "I Am An American, Too" marches on the city halls memorializing the mayors and city councils from coast to coast to memorialize the President and Congress to enforce the Constitution and abolish jim-crow in the interest of achieving total democracy over the forces at home and abroad.

(3) Sending of letters and telegrams and the making of long distance telephone calls to the President, Secretaries of War, Navy, Labor, Agriculture, Interior, State, Commerce and chairmen of the War Production Board, War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of Price Administration, and the United States Attorney General, urging these government agencies to enforce the Constitution and abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, the government and defense industries.

(4) Sending of telegrams, letters and making long distance telephone calls to the presidents and personnel managers of every southern railroad and terminal company to observe the Constitution by abolishing jim-crow cars and terminal railroad waiting rooms marked "colored."

(5) Calling upon every Negro and white preacher, paper and magazine to preach sermons and write editorials on "I Am An American, Too" with the slogan "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing and observing the Constitution and abolishing jim-crow."

THE NEGRO MAKES ADVANCES

Edging Into Radio, Films; Bigger Than Ever in Music; And Despite Many Obstacles

By PAUL DENIS

NEW YORK, Dec. 26.—Negro performers are being presented with more dignity, their employment opportunities have increased, their race is being portrayed more sympathetically in films, radio and stage, and they are getting publicity in publications hitherto closed to them—according to a *Billboard* survey of the Negro in show business today. This does not mean, however, that Negroes are being given treatment equal to the whites. Negro performers are still segregated in colored locals in most cities where the American Federation of Musicians operates; they are not accepted as members by many AFL theatrical unions; they still are not accepted as patrons in most hotels and restaurants; they still get salaries lower than white entertainers of equal talent, and they still do practically all their business thru white agents because Negro representatives are not "accepted."

In other words, the Negro performer and musicians has not reached equality with the white, but he has made terrific progress during the past few years. Pushing this trend along has been the New Deal administration, which considers greater acceptance of Negroes as a part of winning the war and which has publicly urged industry to give Negroes a break. The government has also asked the radio and film industries to portray Negroes more sympathetically in their shows. The picture business is producing more all-colored films, and Negro musicians are being used increasingly in radio house bands and on programs.

The biggest break Negro performers received before the government's ruling earlier this year has been the recognition of Negroes as first-rate jazz musicians. The craze for swing music suddenly put the spotlight on Negro musicians as creative artists and did much to live down the typical presentation of Negro entertainers as carefree, banjo-plucking cotton pickers continually grinning and shouting jazzy spirituals. The Cotton Club version of slaphappy Negroes has started to give way to the Cafe Society version of Negroes as serious, formal-dress concert-style creative musicians and singers. Swing concerts in Carnegie Hall featuring Negro artists further dramatized the new-style Negro entertainer.

Many white men pushed aggressively the dignified presentation of Negro entertainers, among them being John Hammond, who has discovered scores of Negro swing musicians and singers and got them jobs; Moe Gale, Joe Glaser and Irving Mills, all of whom pushed many Negro singers and bands to big-money heights; Barney Josephson and Ivan Black, owner and publicity man for the Cafe Society clubs here respectively, who presented Negroes in concert style; Harold Oxley, manager of Jimmie Lunceford, and Bill Mittler, personal manager. The recording managers of the major record companies also helped by their liberal acceptance of Negro recording artists.

Negro performers also received the benefits from the continuing and rising prestige of such big Negro names as Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, Ethel Waters, Count Basie, Cab Calloway, Ink Spots, Jimmie Lunceford, loway, Ink Spots, Jimmie Lunceford, Louis Armstrong, Bill Robinson, Rochester. The rise of Hazel Scott, Lena Horne, Golden Gate Quartet, John Kirby, Teddy Wilson, Canada Lee and Kenneth Spencer dramatizes the emergence of Negro names who don't have to resort to mammy singing and hotcha shaking.

Negroes have made the greatest progress in the music field.

Music

Due to their traditional excellence as jazz musicians, Negroes have been able to creep into heavy money in this field faster than in any other branch of the show business.

Both Cafe Society clubs here have been heavy money-makers due to their policy of presenting serious, competent Negro musicians and singers. Eddie Condon's Saturday concerts jazz at Town Hall use many Negro artists. Several swing concerts at Carnegie have featured Negro musicians, and ditto swing programs on the radio.

Negro name band leaders have held their own thru the years because they presented a brand of music whites could not easily duplicate. Their jam sessions often attracted white jazz musicians, who sat in—just as Negro musicians naturally sat in on white jam sessions. In fact, jam sessions have done much to break down the segregation idea among Negro and white musicians. Jazz music is the bond that brought Negro and white musicians together in such big numbers. Now many white bands use Negro sidemen quite regularly, among them being Roger Kaye, Charlie Barnet, Red Norvo, Benny Goodman, Gene Krupa, Will Osborne, Raymond Scott.

Radio

For years it has been, and still is, a rule in radio that Negro artists may not be introduced on any commercial network show with the appellation of Mr., Mrs. or Miss preceding his or her name. As a result, Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson and other great Negro artists are seldom heard on the radio. Fortunately, this rule is beginning to break down, and only recently Bing Crosby called Robeson "Mr." on one of the Crosby programs.

Radio still has a rule that a Negro cannot be represented in any drama except in the role of a servant or as an ignorant or comical person. Also, the role of the American Negro in the war effort cannot be mentioned in a sponsored program.

Despite this, Negroes have made progress on the radio. Golden Gate Quartet had a CBS sustaining for two years and now is on the Amos and Andy sponsored show. Teddy Wilson's band was on *Duffy's Tavern* earlier this year. John Kirby's band had a CBS sustaining a couple of years ago, *Flow Gently, Sweet Rhythm*. Hazel Scott, the Boogie Woogie Boys and other Cafe Society performers have guested on many network and local programs. Negro bands have made the Coca-Cola program.

Negroes have begun to land jobs on radio house bands, thanks mostly to John Hammond's persuasions. Joe Rines has two Negroes in his Blue Network band; Irving Miller has two in his NBC band; Raymond Scott uses four in his CBS band, and Merle Pitt, of WNEW, is dickering for Teddy Wilson to join his house band.

WMCA recently put on a special program, *The Negro in the War*, under auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Films

Due to the Will Hays organization rule that films cannot portray miscegenation, picture stories play safe by casting Negroes in servant and comedy roles. Prodded by the government, pictures are getting away from this, but slowly. For example, Hazel Scott is introduced as herself in Gregory Ratoff's *Something To Shout About* (Teddy Wilson's band is in the same film). In the MGM film *Panama Hattie*, Red Skelton introduces Lena Horne as Miss Horne.

Probably the first all-Negro film of a major company was *Green Pastures*. MGM later produced its first colored film, *Hallelujah*, and has just finished shooting *Cabin in the Sky*, with Ethel Waters, Duke Ellington, Golden Gate Quartet, Louis Armstrong, Lena Horne, Kenneth Spencer. 20th Century-Fox is lining up talent for its all-Negro film, *Heart of Dixie*, "a cavalcade of colored entertainment for the past 25 years" and formerly titled *Thanks, Pal*. Bill Robinson returns to the screen after four years for this film. Count Basie recently worked in *Reveille for Beverly* and in *Hit Parade of 1943*.

Sympathetic treatment of Negroes was evident in the Warner film, *In This Our Life*. When the film was shown in colored houses and thruout the South, certain scenes were deleted, allegedly for fear that they would arouse Negroes. RKO's *Tales of Manhattan* has a Negro sequence featuring Rochester, Ethel Waters and Paul Robeson. The Negro press generally attacked the sequence, however, on the grounds that it displayed Negroes as superstitious ignoramuses.

In the film studios a few Negro musicians have been getting some recording work, and one Negro, Phil Moore, is a staff arranger at MGM. The government's Agricultural Adjustment Administration is releasing a Negro documentary film short, *Henry Browne, Farmer*, to 1,000 movie houses catering to Negro audiences.

Hotels

Hotels have been the toughest jobs to get for Negro talent, because hotel managements fear that use of Negro musicians and floorshows will attract Negro patronage.

However, occasional hotels experiment with Negro talent. The local Park Central booked the late Chick Webb's band a few years ago. Currently only one New York hotel is using a Negro band, the St. George, in Brooklyn, with Dave Martin's band.

The Copley Plaza, Boston, has John Kirby's band set for its new Colonial Room. The Sherman and the Ambassador hotels in Chicago have used Negro bands. The Waldorf-Astoria Hotel used Kirby's band in its cocktail lounge recently.

Lena Horne is currently featured at the Savoy-Plaza's Cafe Lounge, the first Negro ever booked in that spot.

The Ritz-Carlton, Boston, used Negro bands last summer.

Burlesque

Burly houses have used Negro chorines and principals only in occasional black and tan revues and as vaude turns in white shows. Negro musicians are never used in pit bands, except for black and tan shows.

Records

Negroes are discriminated against the least, if at all, on records, and records are important to a Negro band because other build-up mediums such as publicity, network wires, hotel locations and films are often closed to him.

In addition to using many Negro bands, the recording companies also use Negroes in house bands. Columbia usually has Negroes in its house band; Decca sometimes uses them, and Victor less often. Capitol house ork uses them regularly.

Many white singers often request the recording studios to include Negro musicians in the band. This includes Ginny Sims, Eddy Howard, Lee Wiley and Jean Sablon.

Night Clubs

Night clubs are the most liberal employers of Negro talent, even tho most clubs use Negroes because they generally take lower salaries. Night clubs, too, were among the very first branches of show business to use mixed bands. Many clubs, of course, use all-Negro floo shows and Negro bands.

A increasing number of smart spots have used Negro entertainers, too, including the Versailles, Monte Carlo, Cafe Life, Cafe Society Uptown and Waldorf-Astoria in New York.

Ballrooms

Negro name bands get plenty of work in ballrooms; Negro non-name bands usually work as relief combos or in dance halls as the main band because the union scale for Negro musicians is usually lower than that of white musicians, except New York, Detroit and Chicago.

Opera

The Metropolitan Opera Company has never used a Negro singer. A check-up reveals that Alfredo Salmaggi has been the only American opera company to use a Negro. The Chicago Opera company has just signed Paul Robeson to do the title role of *Boris Goudonoff*.

Symphony Orks

Negroes in symphonies are as rare as hen's teeth. WPA orchestras have been the only ones using Negroes.

Electrical Transcriptions

Hazel Scott and Golden Gate Quartet cut e. t.'s for a 26-week series for General Electric for the MBS network.

Generally, Negroes get very little e. t. work.

Concert

Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson are the biggest Negro box-office draws in concert today. Other Negroes who play concert are Kenneth Spencer, Fats Waller, Hazel Scott, Duke Ellington, Ammons and Johnson.

Wilson Williams, founder and director of the Negro Dance Company, has taken over a studio here to prepare for the company's Broadway debut. Felicia Sorel is co-director.

Vaudeville

Vaude houses have always used Negro acts, names and name bands.

In addition, there are several big theaters catering to Negroes and using Negro talent.

Arrangers

Practically every swing name band uses Negro arrangers. Fletcher Henderson, now arranging for his own band only, for years did a lot of work for other bands. Si Oliver is under three-year contract to Tommy Dorsey. Eddie Durham, now fronting his own all-girl band, has arranged for Jan Savitt and other white name bands. Duke Ellington, of course, arranges for his own band (he is putting on a Carnegie Hall, New York, concert January 23). Billy Strayhorn, Ellington's assistant, has had many offers to arrange for white bands. Billy Moore is arranging for Les Brown. Benny Carter, now leading his own band, has written for Mark Warnow and other name bands. Don Kirkpatrick, now with Benny Good-

(See Negro Makes Advances on page 30)

PAGE FOUR THE CHICAGO DEFENDER RELIABLE FOR 37 YEARS SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 19

RANDOLPH TO ADOPT GANDHI TECHNIQUE

NON-VIOLENT DISOBEDIENCE MAY BE USED

Chicago Conference In May Will Discuss New Tactics

NEW YORK CITY—The technique of non-violent civil disobedience popularized and used effectively by Mahatma Gandhi in India will be adopted by the March on Washington movement at its May conference if the wishes of A. Philip Randolph, founder of the movement, prevail.

Randolph, who is international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, at national headquarters of the movement here outlined the sensational proposal through which he hopes to focus the attention of the American people on the violation of the "basic human, moral and citizenship rights" of the Negro in this country.

The plan calls for the observance on a national scale of "I Am An American, Too" Week, during which a five point program would be carried out.

Plan Boycott

The civil non-violent disobedience proposal is point number one on his agenda for the week, the dates of which will be set by the conference.

It will call upon Negroes to boycott the jim-crow cars in the South and ride in the cars provided for citizens generally, and refuse to go into jim-crow waiting rooms, but to enter the national waiting rooms provided for everybody.

If they are arrested and put out, Randolph advises that they should not fight back, but that during the week Negroes should constantly keep up their program of refusing to enter jim-crow cars and waiting rooms, in an orderly, peaceful and quiet manner.

Four Other Points

The other four points of the program follow:

(2) "I Am An American, Too" marches on the city halls memorializing the mayors and city councils from coast to coast to memorialize the President and Congress to enforce the Constitution and abolish jim-crow in the interest of achieving total democracy over the forces at home and abroad.

(3) Sending of letters and telegrams and the making of long distance telephone calls to the President, Secretaries of War, Navy, Labor, Agriculture, Interior, State, Commerce and chairmen of the War Production Board, War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of Price Administration, and the United States Attorney General, urging these government agencies to enforce the Constitution and abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, the government and defense industries.

(4) Sending of telegrams, letters and making long distance telephone calls to the presidents and personnel managers of every southern railroad and terminal company to observe the Constitution by abolishing jim-crow cars and terminal railroad waiting rooms marked "colored."

(5) Calling upon every Negro and white preacher, paper and magazine to preach sermons and write editorials on "I Am An American, Too" with the slogan "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing and observing the Constitution and abolishing jim-crow."

Daily Worker

PUBLISHED DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAY BY THE FREEDO
OF THE PRESS CO., INC., 50 East 13th St., New York, N.

President—Louis F. Budenz
Vice-President—Howard C. Boldt
Secretary-Treasurer—Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-7954
Cable Address: "Daiwork," New York, N. Y.
Washington Bureau, Room 954, National Press Building, 14t and F Sts., Washington, D. C. Telephone: National 701

SUBSCRIPTION RATES BY MAIL:
United States (except Manhattan and the Bronx)—1 yea $8.00; 6 months, $3.50; 3 months, $2.00; 1 month 75 cent Manhattan and the Bronx—1 year $8.00; 6 months, $4.2 3 months, $2.25; 1 month, 75 cents.
Foreign and Canada—1 year, $9.00; 6 months, $5.00.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1940

An Affront to The Negro People

• Speaking in New Orleans, James W. Ford Communist candidate for Vice-President scores President Roosevelt's jim crow edic for the army as "a degrading affront to the Negro people." These words reflect the feel ings of not only the Negro people but o millions of whites too.

Ford also hits out at the part in this disgraceful move played by three Negro lead ers, Walter White, T. Arnold Hill and A Philip Randolph. Although White and Randolph have now issued a statement attacking the President's decision, it is clear from the copy of the memorandum which they presented to the President and which they now make public, that they nowhere asked for policy of non-segregation as far as the draft ees are concerned.

Furthermore, considerable suspicion must be attached to the statement White issued to the Negro press before the decision was announced, in which he declared that: "While very little was definitely promised so far as action against these barriers is concerned, we believe definite progress has been made." It is a peculiar kind of spokesman for the Negro people who in this day and age will assure that "progress has been made" when not a single promise has been given.

However, while the exact details of the role of these misleaders in this matter are not yet entirely clear, their fundamental guilt on the whole issue stands out now clearer than ever. For with their support to the whole so-called "defense" program of the Administration and with their red-baiting of all who opposed the war program as inimical to the interests of the Negro people, they virtually gave the President a green light for his jim-crow program.

Negro and white must join together now in fighting to reverse the President's shameless policy of segregation.

FLYNN TOLD OF BASS BEATING

Party Chairman Asked to Take Hand in Memphis Affair

By Associated Press

NEW YORK, Sept. 9.—David L. Clendenin, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, has asked Chairman Edward J. Flynn of the Democratic National Committee what he proposes to do about alleged beatings of union organizers in Memphis, Tenn.

In a letter to Flynn, Clendenin asserted that George R. Bass, United Rubber Workers Union organizer, had been assaulted three times in the last 10 days, and declared that the mayor of Memphis had said there was "nothing the mayor can do to give him protection."

"Please tell us what you think of this state of affairs and what you propose doing, both personally and as an American citizen, and politically as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to help correct it.

"Politically, as you know, Memphis is under the complete domination of Edward H. Crump, a member of the Democratic National Committee. . . .

"Mr. Crump's firm is the insurance agent for the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., whose factory in Memphis is the largest nonunion rubber plant in the United States."

Clendenin asked Flynn to see that "labor gets a square deal in Tennessee, especially in Memphis."

Comment by E. H. Crump Jr.

This Associated Press dispatch was called to the attention of Edward H. Crump Jr., vice president of E. H. Crump & Co. He said:

"We do participate in the Firestone insurance business, but the amount of the business we carry represents a small percent of the whole of the Firestone insurance business.

"It is ridiculous to imply that my father would be influenced by a thing of that kind."

E. H. Crump Sr. is out of the city. Mr. Crump Jr. declined to state the amount of business the firm handles for Firestone, as it is a "confidential matter between firm and client."

Boatmen Protest

The Press-Scimitar received the following telegram from W. F. Wilson, secretary-treasurer of the Inland Boatmen's Division, National Maratime Union, sent from St. Louis Saturday night:

"Two hundred members Inland Boatmen's Division, National Maritime Union, at regular meeting unanimously voted vigorously protesting un-American tactics used CIO members and organizers by hoodlums. Request democratic rights civil liberies prevail."

Bass Meets Mayor

George R. Bass, thrice-molested CIO organizer who is attempting to organize the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., plant here, met with Mayor Chandler and other city officials last Tuesday.

Mayor Chandler told Mr. Bass that "the law will be enforced." Mr. Bass was told that the police department "would enforce the law as diligently as possible within the city limits." Mr. Bass has not reported any trouble since the meeting.

Bass was beaten Thursday, Aug. 29, near the Firestone plant, outside the city limits. He swore out nine warrants against Firestone employes in connection with the attack. Five were served and the men pleaded "not guilty" and were released on bond of $500 each.

Chief Deputy Oliver Perry said that three of the warrants carried surnames only. He said if Bass would provide first names or initials, he would serve the warrants. The ninth warrant had incorrect initials, Mr. Perry said.

Need good will of all creeds, says President

New York, Jan. 28 (AP).—A letter from President Roosevelt saying that Americans needed "more than armaments and armies to make safe our democracy" and asking for co-operation between Americans of all creeds and origins was made public by the national conference of Christians and Jews.

The Presidents' letter, addressed to Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the conference, was written in connection with the annual observance of Brotherhood week by protestants, Catholics and Jews, Feb. 15-22.

Mr. Roosevelt wrote:

"We need a secure bond of understanding among all citizens, and ... more, the practice of brotherhood and of willing co-operation among Americans of every creed and racial origin.

"I have deep faith in the will of the American people to unite to maintain the liberties that all hold sacred, to perform the duties which these times demand of all, and to make of America a land where men who differ widely from one another have learned to live peacefully and harmoniously together. Our neighbors throughout the world look to our shores for the fulfillment of that ideal.

"In every time of danger in the past, the good sense and loyalty of our people has repudiated the counsel of those who sought to divide them by arousing suspicion and hatred. More than ever before, now is the time for men of good will in America to stand and work together for national unity, to build understanding on the foundation of justice and freedom for every citizen."

Capitol Termites Ate Housing Plan

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30.—After six months of stalling, Congress finally has produced a war-housing bill. But here are some of the things that ax-grinding Congressmen exacted in closed-door sessions as the price of the bill:

¶ Nathan Strauss, commended by the Truman Committee for doing the best defense-housing job, was forced out as director of the U. S. Housing Authority (USHA).

¶ Clark Foreman, director of the Division of Defense Housing, Federal Works Administration (FWA), was also forced out.

¶ A Detroit housing project for Negroes was converted into a project for whites.

¶ Demountable housing, which won't compete with real-estate interests after the war, is being put up instead of permanent housing.

¶ All social objectives in housing, beyond providing four walls around each family, are being abandoned.

Strauss and Foreman believe in permanent housing designed to be used after the war for all the families in this country who need decent housing. They also believe in housing for Negroes as well as whites. But Southern Congressmen had long been out to get Foreman. They didn't like him because [illegible]

Pigeonhole for Negro Equality

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, January 15

THE Administration's effort to combat racial discrimination in war employment has reached a sudden, explosive crisis. The blow-up is the direct result of Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's order "indefinitely postponing" the Fair Employment Practices Committee's exposure of the anti-Negro coalition on the railroads—the coalition of rail management and "lily-white" unions to drive Negroes from present jobs and bar them from future ones. Public hearings at which the full story was to be told were scheduled to begin on January 25. Preparations had been announced as far back as last October; the move had been widely heralded in the Negro press and by Negro labor leaders, A. Philip Randolph describing it as a "showdown test" of the FEPC's power to put Jim Crow out of business. On January 11 McNutt formally called off the show. He promised that "other ways" would be found to secure "maximum utilization" of labor on the railroads. He didn't say how. One committee member commented privately, "They've been trying the other ways since the Civil War."

McNutt's action has obviously paved the way for the FEPC's collapse—either through the abrupt resignation of its members or the slow deterioration of its prestige among minority groups. But the story behind the ban provokes much bigger questions than the fate of the committee, which might conceivably be replaced by another agency. In the minds of informed officials here the crackdown on the FEPC has stirred inescapable suspicion that the "Negro issue" is to be pigeonholed—as if it could be for any length of time. Belief that McNutt's order is part of a deliberate retreat by the Administration has been publicly voiced by Negro leaders. This view is being communicated to the Negro people. Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has openly charged that Marvin McIntyre, a Southerner and White House secretary, is "making the Administration's decisions" on the handling of the fight against discrimination; and that the decision is to stop fighting.

There are unmistakable signs that suppression of the railroad hearings is not an isolated administrative act committed by McNutt. I know that McNutt has told other officials he was acting at the direction [illegible] and was willing to "take the rap" [illegible] that the [illegible]

versial a decision without consulting anyone except members of the Indiana Alumni Association.

The consequences of his action will be vast—perhaps more serious than some Administration officials want to believe. McNutt's intervention in the railroad case threatens to overshadow the authentic progress made under the Roosevelt Administration toward giving the Negro—and other minorities—a better break at the employment offices. It will give the Axis radio plenty to say about our democratic pretensions. It directly affects war production, where full employment of Negroes is desperately needed. And it is a cruel slap in the faces of Negro Americans, whose devotion to the democratic cause has been so severely tried already.

The full impact of McNutt's action can be seen only in terms of the FEPC's background and the circumstances under which it has operated. On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued his celebrated Executive Order 8802 declaring it to be official United States policy "to encourage full participation in the national-defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin." The order directed that all contracts between the government and private firms should embody an anti-discrimination pledge. The Fair Employment Practices Committee was set up to act as an enforcement agency. The committee included representatives of the public—Mark Ethridge, a Southern publisher, was its first chairman—of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., of Negroes, and of industry.

To American Negroes Executive Order 8802 was a sort of minor Emancipation Proclamation. It was more than a pious thought; the order established concrete machinery as well as a firm moral foundation for carrying on the struggle against discrimination. To an equal degree, of course, the order aroused the hostility and hysteria of the white-supremacy fanatics in Congress and elsewhere. They have never been willing to concede that when a Negro asks equal employment rights he is not "propositioning" the boss's sister; the FEPC inevitably became the target of attack in all the best lily-white circles. But it went to work with impressive sobriety and a clear awareness of the potentialities of the situation. In retrospect one might say that the FEPC's chief defects were the product of timidity.

After holding public hearings the committee published findings of discrimination in many areas and issued "cease-and-desist" directives. Last April 12, for example, it exposed discriminatory practices in ten key

manufacturing plants in the Chicago and Milwaukee areas. It hit both employers and unions. There is no way to estimate conclusively the effectiveness of these reports and directives. Functioning with a meager staff and limited funds, the committee could not undertake to police as well as to probe. If defiance of its orders was extensive, no showdown ever took place. Reports indicate that, whatever its limitations, the FEPC's exposures were sufficient in many important cases to alter long-established hiring policies. Its activities helped to create a climate of opinion in which employers felt a growing guilt about their traditional prejudices—in so far as they affected war work. This was the essential beginning from which greatly improved practices might develop.

Paul V. McNutt

After Pearl Harbor speculation arose immediately as to whether the Administration would continue its frontal attack on discrimination or yield to pleas for "unity"—on Jim Crow terms. The FEPC was continued. Government officials from President Roosevelt down uttered repeated pleas to employers to break down racial barriers on the assembly lines. As the scope of the war effort became apparent, it was equally clear that the need for maintaining the anti-discrimination drive had grown rather than diminished.

Yet the FEPC faced mounting resistance. Representative Rankin and other noted Negro-baiters took the floor of the House to decry its activities. Throughout the first year of its life the committee operated on a budget of $80,000. Then, last July, the President announced that the FEPC, which had been an independent agency directly responsible to him, was being merged with the War Manpower Commission. This step aroused widespread fear that the agency was slated for slow death; it was pointed out that its funds would be subjected to Congressional approval, that its acts would be submerged in the larger politics of the Manpower Commission. After months of negotiation, however, McNutt granted what appeared to be virtually autonomous status to the FEPC. He also promised to help obtain an increase in its budget. I have no reason to believe that McNutt was not earnest in these commitments. But other things were taking shape.

For one thing, the State Department, as reported, took exception to hearings which the committee was planning with regard to discrimination against Mexican laborers in Texas. The hearings did not occur. A high navy official suggested to the FEPC that hearings scheduled for the Detroit area would hamper navy "morale-building" plans. (I understand that this protest has been withdrawn since the current row broke out.) The Railroad Brotherhoods joined the railway magnates in behind-the-scenes pressure to stop the FEPC investigation. Governor Dixon of Alabama defied FEPC mandates in that state and virtually seceded from the Democratic Party. Most important, however, were the Congressional elections, the ensuing gloom in Administration circles, and increased White House dependency upon the whims of the Southern Democrats. McNutt is expected to go before Congress soon to ask for more money for the United States Employment Service and fewer restrictions on its personnel. Questions will inevitably be asked about the FEPC.

The developments cited were encouraging to those within the Administration who wanted to suspend all efforts against discrimination and who regarded Mrs. Roosevelt as an incorrigible idealist. At the same time, however, the FEPC was staying in business and appeared on the verge of obtaining an increased appropriation. It had hired Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York, to conduct the long-advertised railroad hearings. Epstein and his staff had collected their evidence. And in a larger sense the FEPC, despite its inadequacies, was becoming a court of appeals and a hope for Negroes who found employment gates slammed in their faces. It needed more men and more money, but its mere existence was a symbol of the President's plans for a new deal for the Negro. The problem still remained enormous: a recent survey in relatively enlightened New York City showed that Negroes, who form 6.1 per cent of the population, formed 26 per cent of the unemployed.

Now even the symbol of progress and hope is slipping away.

[Can we afford to "buy off" the Southern Democrats at the expense of the Negroes and other minorities?] Can we afford it in the face of the man-power demands of the production program and the crucial challenges of psychological warfare? To put it bluntly, the hopes of Negroes have been raised, and their disappointment now will be far more disastrous than if the President had never shown a willingness to wage this battle. The delicate balances which must be achieved in such a campaign against discrimination; the [illegible] sensitive to them. But now, swiftly, the President must act to silence the doubts and despair which are rising in the Negro population. The FEPC must be saved. Its right to function [illegible] not much time.

EDITORIAL

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THE COURIER
AMERICA'S GREATEST NEGRO NEWSPAPER

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1943

TO MARCH OR NOT TO MARCH

A. Philip Randolph continues to compound confusion about the frequently-threatened "March on Washington." To our recollection, this "march" has been called on and off at least three times, and many Negroes are anxious to know whether there is ever to be a march, and when.

Last week's **Pittsburgh Courier** carried an interview with Mr. Randolph in which he was quoted as again saying: "We've got to march on Washington," but when pressed for specific information, he stated vaguely that the movement plans a conference in Chicago in May, at which time "plans are to be made relative to strategy for the enterprise."

We are not authorities on organizing marches to Washington or any other point, but it is difficult to see why it should require all this time to get down to the business of marching.

Mr. Randolph has frequently cited the evils which exist and no person disputes him. Well-attended mass meetings have been staged in metropolitan centers, indicating that there are many Negroes willing to join in such a march. What, then, is the holdback?

What strategy is required for a march on Washington other than walking or riding toward that city—assuming the desire to march?

Mr. Randolph says, "This is the method by which we can establish our status of equality." If true, the hesitancy about staging the march is the more incomprehensible. There must be millions of Negroes who would be willing to march to Washington with the assurance that the journey would result in ushering in the interracial millenium.

If there is to be no march, we think Mr. Randolph should honestly say so and stop alternately arousing and dashing the hopes of his followers.

Personally, we have never believed such a march would accomplish anything worthwhile, but we shall be glad to see our position disproved. If we believed such a march would "establish our status of equality," we would urge that it begin at once, and not "in May" or some indefinitely future date.

If there is to be no march on Washington but merely some more mass meetings at infrequent intervals, we suggest that the movement disband and leave the field to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—with its 600 branches and 160,000 members—which has demonstrated its ability as a fighting representative of the American colored people since 1909.

The NAACP has the background, the prestige, the skilled staff, the experience and the organization to do the job colored people want done, and there is no justification for another organization in the field unless that organization has new tactics and strategy which it is prepared to put into practice.

...ERICAN, JANUARY 2, 1943

...Skilled Workers in Mobile Rated Unskilled Despite FEPC

By THE REV. H. E. CARTER

MOBILE, Ala. — (ANP) — Unfortunately in the Mobile area, colored labor is not being utilized where it can be the greatest asset to American's war effort. This rule applies wherever "defense" or war work is being done, including Brookley Field, the army air port.

At the Alabama shipyards, colored workers are not even promised up-grading. There are a few helpers in some shops. They are men who have been there some years, before war work began, and in order not to demote them, they are retained as helpers.

Electrical Jobs Out

Fifteen years ago colored men did work as pipefitters. Today they are not used, even as pipefitters' helpers. In the electrical department, no colored helpers are used. There is one licensed colored electrician here and five others who are qualified as such.

In the boiler makers' department no colored helpers are used. Men of years of experience are working as laborers. None are employed as ship carpenters, the few caulkers and riveters being classed as laborers.

In the machine shop there are four colored men whose experience averages twenty years who can do any type of work in their line. Others who have been there for several years remain there as helpers and laborers with no chance for promotion.

Colored painters are hired as dockmen at 80 cents per hour and assigned to painters' jobs, even as spray-gun painters. The regular painters' scale is $1.20 per hour. Other painters on the same job, painting behind these men are getting the regular painters' scale.

Training With-in Industry

In spite of the elaborate T.W.I. setup, colored persons are systematically and consistently excluded. At least 500 women are being trained as welders, sheetmetal workers, burners and lay-out crews, but no colored. These trainees are paid a nominal wage while in training.

There are at least 70 trained welders in Mobile; men who were trained at the expense of the Federal Government. They have applied at the shipyards for employment as welders but have been either hired as laborers or left unemployed.

Brookley Field

There is as much discrimination at Brookley Field, the army air port, as can be found anywhere else in the area. There colored persons are employed as classified laborers and assigned to skilled labor jobs, with classified labor pay. This is especially applicable in the packing department. Colored applicants are not admitted to the examination for storekeepers.

There are about 200 colored carpenters in Mobile. On jobs where they are employed, they do not work on the same building with white carpenters. Approximately 3,000 carpenters are working on various jobs financed by the Federal Government, but less than 100 are colored.

Brick Masons Work Together

Colored brickmasons work harmoniously along with white brickmasons; not only on the same job but on the same building, the same wall. They are together in the same local union. Their business manager sees that no discrimination is practiced on any job where brickmasons are employed.

White and colored plasterers and cement finishers are not only in the same local union, but have a colored business manager. They all work together, thus destroying the idea that white craftsmen will not work with colored craftsmen.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1943

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

FEPC,' Says President Roosevelt

There will be no present change in the status of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, President Roosevelt has decided, and the committee will continue to serve as an adjunct of the War Manpower Commission, not as a separate and independent organization.

The President's decision was made known in a statement sent to the New York office of the N.A.A.C.P., from the White House, in answer to a resolution passed by the N.A.A.C.P., requesting President Roosevelt to restore the FEPC to its original status as an independent agency.

The White House statement was as follows:

"The action of the President in issuing the Executive Order 8802 was taken after long deliberation and thorough study. In the light of developments since issuance of this order, under the free and unhampered operation of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, the President feels that there is little basis for a request for a change.

"However, he has asked me to bring to your attention two facts: one, that in the final analysis the committee is still under direct control of the chief executive, and the other, that Chairman McNutt is reorganizing the entire manpower setup and is relying strongly on decisions and recommendations made by the committee on all questions pertaining to the Negroes.

"The President directs me to tell you, therefore, that under the existing circumstances, he sees no necessity for the change as recommended by the resolution of your board."

PM TUESDAY, [illegible] 1943

THE NATION

FEPC Head Resigns; Agency Seen Doomed

If you disapprove of things like this happening, write your Congressman and Paul V. McNutt.

By Gordon H. Cole
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19.—The U. S. Government appeared to be faltering today in two of its major efforts to make democracy mean something to Negro as well as white Americans.

Malcolm MacLean, chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), has quit to take a job as adviser on Negro affairs for the Navy Dept., it was learned.

At the same time, Judge William H. Hastie, civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson and adviser on Negro problems, announced his resignation.

Negro circles in Washington read into MacLean's move from FEPC to the Navy Dept. the beginning of the end of that Committee and its attempt to enforce the President's policy forbidding racial discrimination in the employment of workers in war plants.

Sided With McNutt

Some Negro leaders predict that no successor to MacLean would be appointed by the President and that the Committee would be allowed to die.

MacLean, president of Hampton Institute, a Negro College at Hampton, Va., it was pointed out, is the only member of the FEPC who has sided with Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission (WMC), in the latter's suppression of the FEPC's attempt to hear charges of discrimination against the railroad unions.

That he, the most conservative member, should be going, it is felt, means that the more liberal members would certainly have no chance of survival.

The remaining Committee members will meet Friday of this week for the first time since McNutt intervened to cancel the railroad hearings.

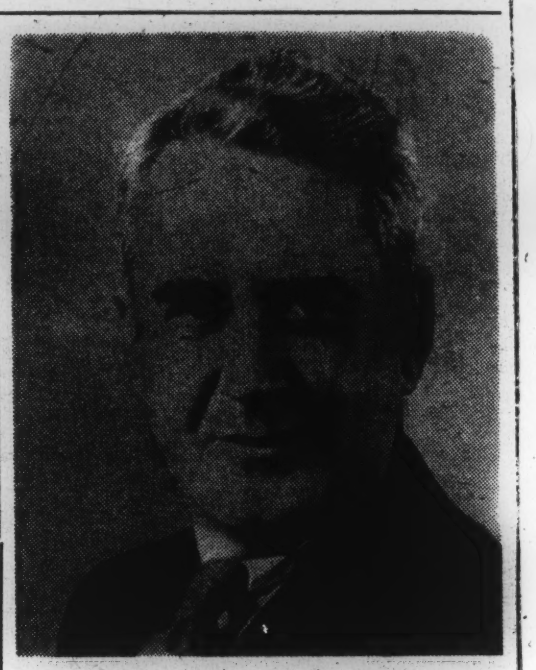
The Committee has on its immediate agenda a series of hearings to investigate charges of discrimination lodged against war contractors in the Detroit area.

These hearings have been scheduled for later this month, or early in February. Fear that McNutt also might prevent the Committee from conducting these hearings was dispelled partially yesterday, when McNutt told a press conference that there was no question of postponement of the hearings and that there would be no attempt to block them.

Judge Hastie's Resignation

Judge Hastie's resignation from the War Dept. ended a 2½-year struggle to end discrimination in the Army.

Hastie, first Negro to be appointed to a federal judgeship, was made special as-



Malcolm S. MacLean

sistant to the Secretary of War in October, 1940—a few days before the last national election.

Since he went to work, the War Dept. has hired many Negroes for white collar positions (4000 were taken on in six months last year), a Negro tank battalion has been formed, and there has been no segregation at officers' training schools.

But Judge Hastie was unable to persuade the Army to expand aviation opportunities for Negro pilots. At the present the only aviation training open to Negroes is limited to the school at Tuskegee, Ala., which turns out 33 pursuit pilots a year.

Hastie also was turned down in his attempt to have the War Dept. issue a pamphlet instructing all troops about respect for Negro soldiers, just as it issued pamphlets instructing the troops on the proper conduct and attitudes toward the English, the North Africans, Australians, etc.

Assemblyman Wants FDR to Act on FEPC

Staff Correspondence

ALBANY, an. 19.—War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt was attacked last night in the New York State Assembly for suspending hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) on charges of discrimination against Negro railroad workers.

A resolution introduced by Assemblyman Andrews (D., Manhattan) called for the State Legislature to request President Roosevelt to order resumption of the hearings. Andrews declared that when the FEPC was transferred from an independent body to an appendage of the War Manpower Commission, "many thoughtful persons feared that politics and other influences would nullify and render the FEPC ineffective," he added.

[illegible] Commissioner McNutt, suspending indefinitely the hearings, seems to [illegible] substance to those fears."

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 23, 1943

Ry. Union Protests FEPC Silencing

BOSTON, Mass.—Dining car employees of the New Haven and the Boston and Albany Railroads have passed a resolution and sent telegrams to President Roosevelt and Paul McNutt, protesting the cancellation of FEPC hearings on railroad employment discrimination.

The action, according to the A. F. of L. Dining Car Local 370, "is a serious blow to the colored people and must result in loss of confidence in the committee's effectiveness."

Mr. McNutt, who as chairman of the War Manpower Commission, ordered the cancellation, and President Roosevelt were asked to reconsider and premit the hearings to proceed as scheduled.

PROVIDENCE NAACP GETS 800 NEW MEMBERS

PROVIDENCE, R.I.—A total of 800 new members were added by the local branch of the NAACP in its annual membership campaign directed by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, John F. Lopez, president, announced this week.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1943
The Pittsburgh Courier

D. C. Transit Company Dodging FEPC's Order

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 7—(ANP)—Flaunting the orders of the FEPC right in their faces, officials of the Capital Transit company seek to evade the issue and carry out their own plans by hiring white women, 18 of whom have been accepted as bus and street car operators. Training for these women begin this week. They are expected to put in two months paid time while learning.

Special working hours have been arranged for the 18 white women thus employed, with other additional privileges granted.

Observers see in this move an open effort to avoid complying with the order of the FEPC that Negroes be given jobs. Last week, an official of the company, told the Associated Negro Press that several applications from Negroes "were given consideration." As yet no Negroes have been hired, although the company advertises for women.

Lynn Gets Court Writ To Test Draft Legality

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 31—Judge Marcus B. Campbell of Brooklyn Federal Court on Wednesday issued a writ of habeas corpus for Winfred Lynn, Jamaica gardener, who is seeking to test the legality of inducting members of his race into the army under a quota system and a policy of segregation.

Lynn, who had previously been imprisoned for failure to submit to induction and who brought proceedings to contest the constitutionality of Selective Service instructions, agreed to obey his induction orders after being told by Federal Judge Mortimer Byers that he could bring his court fight on, only after he had been inducted.

MUST APPEAR IN COURT

The habeas corpus writ ordered the commanding officer at Camp Upton to produce him in court Monday for a hearing.

The case is being watched with nation-wide interest due to its implications which may affect the whole question of segregation and Jim Crow in the United States armed forces. The defendant's brother, Attorney Conrad Lynn, and Attorney Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union, have vowed to carry the case to the highest court in the land in order to obtain a ruling.

Habeas Corpus Writ Gives Man Chance to Test Draft Law

Winfred Lynn, Inducted at Camp Upton, Says Army's Separate Quota System Violates Constitution

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—The first court test of the legality of inducting colored Americans into the army under a quota system for training in camp areas apart from those provided for whites was heard before Judge Marcus B. Campbell in Federal Court here today (Monday.)

The case involves Winfred Lynn, Jamaica gardner, who was inducted into the army on Saturday. Lynn had previously failed to report for induction and, after arrest, sought a writ of habeas corpus so that his lawyers might present his case in court.

Petition for Writ Denied

That application was dismissed on the ground that the proper time to argue the case was after induction.

However, Judge Campbell issued a writ on Wednesday requiring the commanding officer of Camp Upton, N.Y., to produce Lynn in court today for a hearing.

The case is the first test of that section of the Selective Service law forbidding discrimination on account of race or color in "selection and training."

Jones Case Recalled

One other case which focused attention on separate army training facilities for colored, that of Lewis Jones, was disposed of when Jones was given a three-year prison term for violation of the Selective Service law in that he refused to report for induction.

In the Jones case the defendant, a New York elevator operator, contended that he would be willing to submit for induction only if he was to serve in a mixed army. This case, so far as is known, was not tried on the merits of Jones's arguments and sentence was meted out on the technicality that he violated the letter of the Selective Service law.

Constitution Will Figure

Basis of the case being presented by attorneys for Mr. Lynn is a section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which states:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens and of the United States, nor shall any State

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1943

RUMOR SARNOFF TO QUIT FEPC

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 31—(ANP)—Strong rumors that David Sarnoff, president of Radio Corporation of America, recently commissioned a Colonel in the U.S. army, would soon tender his resignation as a member of the Fair Employment Practices committee continued to gain credence in the capital this week.

No official announcement of the resignation could be obtained and members of the committee refused to discuss the matter until such time as it would be either confirmed or denied.

Mississippi Paper Scores FEPC For Ordering Hire Of Negroes

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)— Democracy is all right to fight for abroad, but when it comes to making it workable at home, that's another matter, judging from an editorial in the Dec. 17 issue of the Jackson Daily News, edited by Col. Frederick Sullens, which castigates the FEPC for seeking to integrate Negro workers into war jobs.

Says the editorial, entitled "Negro Employment:"

"Some months ago the President at the behest of the Society for the Advancement of Colored People and other Negro organizations set up a board known as the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The purpose thereof was to prevent discrimination against Negroes in employment. This board has been operating in a very high-handed and grandiose manner.

"It has ordered all departments of the government to employ a certain percentage of Negroes in the departments. And now, for the first time in the history of the country, we find white boys and girls working side by side at the desks with Negro men and women. Some of the departments have gone further than this and required that they eat together.

"This board also required all private enterprises having governmental contracts to likewise employ a certain percentage of Negroes. The question of qualifications does not seem to enter into it.

QUESTION ON LEGALITY

"While there has been some question about the legality of this order, it not being a legislative act, no one has ever conceived that the government had the right to require a private employer who had no contracts with the government to abide by the order. But now the board has gone so far as to require public utilities and private enterprises to comply therewith.

"Everyone realizes that the Negro has a useful place in the war effort. He should not only be permitted to fight for his country but he should be required to do so. And that goes for his employment as well.

"But this most recent act upon the part of the present administration to further place the Negro upon an equal basis with the white man has brought about considerable resentment and controversy, and that feeling is not confined to southerners. There is a growing tendency in the Congress itself to curb some of this executive and bureaucratic invasion of state and individual rights."

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 2, 1943

Transit Co. Rejects Driver; FEPC Told

BALTIMORE — William F. Hill of 701 W. Saratoga Street, who has 19 years of experience as a qualified chauffeur, filed a complaint this week with the FEPC, charging that the Baltimore Transit Company refused to employ him as a street car operator because he is colored.

Mr. Hill, who holds a 90.09 civil service rating, also charges that following an application by letter for a job as street car operator in August of this year, a secretary of the company personally refused him a job, stating that the company "preferred whites, and had only laboring jobs for colored."

Is War Industry

The notarized complaint was placed on a regulation form furnished by the FEPC for such protests against job discrimination by war firms.

The local transit company has steadfastly refused to consider colored men for jobs as street car operators, despite an admitted shortage of available white persons.

Advertisements have appeared daily, seeking white men, and even women, but no colored have been accepted. However, because the firm holds contracts to transport war workers it is subject to the Presidential order, No. [illegible] outlawing discrimination in [illegible] tial war industries.

why He made the peanut. 'The why,' He says, 'depends upon what you and I might want to make out of it.'

"I am puzzled. And then . . . I examine the constituents of the peanut. There, in the hull, is cellulose. Cellulose is used in making insulating boards. Why, in that peanut I can find food and shelter. Even medicine.

"'Mr. Creater, can I make milk out of the peanut?'

"'Don't aske me," He says. "See if you have the necessary constituents that go to make up milk.'

"Well, I see water. I see the fats and the proteins. What kind of milk shall I make, just plain boardinghouse milk or good Jersey milk?"

It was good Jersey milk that he made. Those who have tasted it say it is delicious. When missionaries in a distant land wrote to him despairingly that they could not obtain milk for their babies, he sent them his recipe, and upon this peanut milk the babies throve.

As early as 1904 he was preaching soil conservation, recommending the lowly cowpea as an excellent cover crop—and mentioning that the leaves made first-rate ensilage and the pea itself was excellent food for man.

He wrote a bulletin: How to Grow the Cow Pea and Forty Ways of Preparing It as a Table Delicacy.

From the sweet potato meanwhile he was producing more than 100 products: starch, library paste, mock coconut, vinegar, ginger, shoe blacking, dyes, wood fillers, and rubber compound, to name a few.

NEWS LEAKED OUT OF AMAZING DISCOVERIES

From out of his modest makeshift laboratory at Tuskegee leaked the news of his amazing discoveries.

With nothing more than the clays of his Alabama hills and water, he showed any who would watch how water colors of almost any shade could be produced without cost.

An adept at needlework, he has turned out hundreds of pieces ranging from hairpin lace to Irish crochet. To demonstrate that beauty and self-expression remain available even to the most impoverished, he has shown how, from crocus sacks dyed with walnut stain or beetroot or elderberry juice, beautiful scarves can be made.

He believes in letting nothing go to waste. Walking the campus, he will stoop to pick up a bit of twine, a piece of wire. And sooner or later he will find a use for them. One day he walked into the wood mill at Tuskegee Institute. On the floor lay wood shavings. He ordered some brought to his laboratory. They came out of it eventually as synthetic marble.

NEW NECKTIE WOULDN'T HELP HIM ANSWER QUERIES

When, several years ago, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives sat to consider pleas of southern farmers for a tariff on peanuts, Dr. Carver was one of a dozen men invited to speak.

When he left Tuskegee, someone ventured to suggest a change of neckties. Gently he rejected this. "A new necktie," he pointed out, "won't help me to answer their questions."

He carried a huge homemade box loaded with exhibits. In Washington he got off the train with the box under one arm. Porters were rushing up and down the platform, peering into the cars. He managed to stop one of them long enough to ask directions.

"Sorry, pop," the porter replied, eager to be off; "I ain't got time to tell you now. We're tryin' to find a big scientist that's coming up here from Alabama."

Arrived where the hearing was being held, he sat quietly in the rear of the room. He was last on the long list of those to be heard. Each speaker as allowed ten minutes, no more. Finally someone called: "Dr. George Washington Carver!"

Necks craned as their curious owners looked around. Dr. Carver was having trouble with his heavy box. At last he had it under his arm and came marching forward. Laughter rippled across the room.

He put the box on a table; carefully consulted his watch, that he might not exceed his ten minutes. A bored congressman wisecracked at him:

WHEN HE REFUSED TO BE INSULTED

"I suppose if you have plenty of peanuts and watermelon down South, you're perfectly happy, eh?"

There was an ugly silence in the room. Dr. Carver's friendly smile did not leave his face. Softly, graciously, he made brief answer, then launched into his speech.

From the box he brought up into view the peanut creations of his laboratory. Here was face powder. Here milk. Here axle grease. Here printer's ink. He told how he had asked the Creator about the peanut. Then he looked at his watch, said, "Thank you, gentlemen, for letting me come here," and began loading the exhibits back in the box.

Shouted protests rose on all sides of him: "No, no! More!"

For one hour and 45 minutes he spoke. Applause—loud and hearty and warm—followed his speech. The peanut was included in the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill.

CIO TO ARBITRATE UNION DIFFERENCES

President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations announced that the executive board of the CIO, without a dissenting vote, has ratified the agreement for the arbitration of jurisdictional differences between the CIO and the American Federation of Labor.

DR. CARVER'S LIFE IN REVIEW

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Jan. 14—The death of Dr. George Washington Carver, beloved and revered "Wizard of Tuskegee," recalls a life steeped in the riches of accomplishments.

From a humble and insignificant birth, the gentle 78-year-old genius startled the scientific world with his many discoveries and left as a heritage a South that owes most of its prosperity to his penetrating intellect and skilled hands.

Born of slave parents . . kidnaped by night riders when he was six years old . . ransomed for a broken-down race horse by a white man whose name he bore . . Dr. Carver became one of the world's greatest chemurgic scientists. His life story made an amazing saga of achievement. From the lowly peanut he made more than 300 products and developed an industry with a turn-over of more than $60,000,000 a year. He never accepted a penny for any of his discoveries.

From the lowly pecan Dr. Carver produced 60 products; from the sweet potato, 128. He turned down a Thomas A. Edison proposal of $50,000 a year to come to Menlo Park, N. J., to work in the world-famous Edison laboratories.

He turned down a $100,000 a year offer of a famous commercial laboratory. To both of these offers he gave the same tactful declination.

This unusual photograph shows Dr. George Washington Carver working in his second floor laboratory in the Milbank Agricultural Building on the campus of Tuskegee Institute.

"My lifework lies here in the Southland."

Neither money nor fame could entice him from Tuskegee, where he lived and labored for more than 40 years. For with him always went the story that the late Booker T. Washington, founder of the school he helped to make famous, told in his famous Atlanta Exposition speech. That statement, now legendary, was:

"Cast down your buckets where you are."

Recipient of Many Honors!

Honors bestowed upon Dr. Carver through his long and brilliant career included the following: A Fellow of the Royal Society of Great Britain for Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce; Spingarn Medalist; Roosevelt Medal for distinguished service in the field of science; bronze plaque for brilliant achievement by the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

From common Alabama clays he produced 33 beautiful and unfading colors. One is the blue used for decorating the tomb of Egyptian King Tutankhamen . . a color whose secret had been lost for centuries.

Using only a few of these colors, Dr. Carver (almost as distinguished a painter as a scientist) made more than 100 pictures, now in the famous Carver Museum here. One, called "The Rose," will hang in the Luxemburg galleries, now that he has passed.

Peanut Oil Therapy For Paralysis

Perhaps his crowning discovery . . and one which will immortalize him even beyond his other Burbankian achievements . . was the development of a peanut-oil therapy for dread infantile paralysis.

This discovery, it is expected, will equal the secret which he gave to Henry Ford this past summer, when he visited Detroit as the guest of the famous industrial magnate. He stayed in Detroit for several weeks and then returned to his beloved Tuskegee . . there to die! It is believed his visit to Dearborn had to do with the manufacture of a substitute for rubber.

In one Alabama county, which Dr. Carver saved from ruin by peanut culture, there is an imposing monument erected. Dr. Carver also made a substitute for marble from wood shavings and thereby caused a big New England firm to move to Tuskegee in order that they could be close to him.

Never Knew Exact Year of His Birth

Dr. Carver never knew the exact year of his birth. He believed it was in 1864, which would have made him 78 at the time of his death.

One evening in that year, as he ofttimes told it, sheeted night-riders thundered down upon the plantation of a well-to-do German farmer, Moses Carver, of Diamond Grove, Missouri, kidnaping a nameless waif and its slave mother.

The mother, carried on into Arkansas, was never heard from nor seen again. Moses Carver rescued the six-weeks-old baby by trading for it a $300 race horse. Suffering from exposure, the baby developed whooping cough and nearly died; grew, finally, to a sickly manhood.

Because the child always told the truth, he was named George Washington. Add those two names to that of the German farmer . . and this frail child gave to the name a lustre and a sheen which will never wear off!

In the Carver household, where he was assigned because of his frailty, he learned to cook and sew. He lived a lonely, introspective childhood. He had no playmates. He taught himself to read and write. Then he heard of a school eight miles from Diamond Grove. Ten years old at the time, he set out for the town. He knew no one there. For several nights he slept in a barn, but his burning thirst for knowledge was a fire that could not be quenched. He went to school, paying his way by doing chores for the townspeople.

Rejected Because of His Color!

Later, having worked his way through high school, he filed an application with an Iowa college by mail . . was accepted! He spent all he had saved through the frugal years on railroad fare . . and arriving, was rejected because he was colored!

He cleaned carpets, washed clothes and ammassed another bankroll, saving enough to go to Simpson college. When he had paid his tuition, he had exactly 10 cents left. Graduating from Simpson college, he went to Iowa State college, receiving his master's degree in Agriculture.

In 1896 he went to Tuskegee. Dr. Washington had heard of his work on the Iowa State faculty. The day he was to arrive an imposing delegation went to the train to meet him. The train arrived and left. No Dr. Carver!

Finally, someone observed a man strolling along the railroad tracks, examining weeds and grasses new to him. That was Dr. Carver.

The same night Mr. Washington said to him: "The people of our race never had a carpet of grass to walk on. Every city park has signs saying 'Keep Off.' I want my people, here at Tuskegee, to have grass to walk on. The soil is not good here. Do you think—"

Dr. Carver nodded. Today the rolling acres of Tuskegee Institute are covered with lush green grass.

LABORATORY WAS IN HIS HEAD!

(The following paragraphs, graphically describing Dr. Carver's life at Tuskegee, were written in Liberty Magazine when that publication interpreted Dr. Carver's life under the caption, "Black Man's Miracles." We are including them in this story. We could do no better.)

The agricultural department had no laboratory then. Undismayed, he told his students: "Equipment is not in the laboratory but in the head of the man running it." He sent them out to search for discarded fruit jars, cracked china bowls, bits of wire and rubber and reeds which he used for pipettes. A picture of this first greenhouse shows a structure built entirely of junk.

From such a beginning stemmed a stream of scinetific miracles. The cotton-belt farmer was plunging toward poverty; continual one-crop cotton growing had devitalized the soil. Commercial fertilizers, even had they not cost prohibitively, were not enough to restore it.

"The soil is tired of growing cotton," said Dr. Carver. "Give it a rest."

He took over nineteen acres of the worst soil in Alabama and looked about him for wood ashes, lime, muck from the swamps, and dead leaves. He prepared a compost. He rotated crops. Within two years his test acreage showed a profit of forty dollars an acre.

DIXIE FARMERS WERE SKEPTICAL

He sat down and wrote simple lucid directions for preparing and using such fertilizer. He pointed out that everything needed lay at hand. He suggested growing peanuts and sweet potatoes. But Southern farmers were frankly skeptical. Where could they market them?

Dr. Carver shut himself in his laboratory and set out to find an answer to that question.

It was then that—a deeply religious man—he asked:

"My Creator, why did You make the peanut?"

What happened thereafter he himself has best told.

"I said to Him: 'My Creator, tell me all about the peanut.' He answers: 'I will be glad to.' So He gives me a few peanuts and tells me to pull them to pieces.

"First, I take out the water, the sugar, and so forth, and lay them side by side. And then I ask Him

ITORIAL PAGE

Opinions

"IF THAT BOY DIES, — IT MAY BE YOUR FAULT!!"

Randolph Calls Times Crucial; 'Freedom Not Gift; To Be Won'

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

This is a crucial year for the Negro. It is crucial for American democracy; it is crucial for world democracy. The arms of the United Nations must triumph over the Axis forces, but the victory of the armies of the United Nations is not enough. There must also be the victory of democracy—a victory of democracy not only for the five million

China be accorded freedom, independence and democratic rights now.

Since the United Nations have the power to grant freedom and independence to the darker races now, if they don't do it, it may serve to disillusion them as to their securing freedom and independence even if the United Nations win.

MEN FREE THEMSELVES

There is nothing in the history of the attitude of the United Nations and the Anglo-American empire system toward the darker races to cause the people of India, Africa, the West Indies and the United States of America to have any faith in their professions.

But it would be a mistake for the darker races to expect the gift of freedom from the United Nations. Freedom is never given; it is won. Justice is never granted, it is exacted. If [illegible] the stars that

white peoples of the world, but also for the 1,700,000,000 peoples of color in the world.

There can be no victory of democracy, however, after the war unless the forces of democracy prevail during the war. It is quite possible that this war may be won in Burma, Singapore, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and be lost in Washington, Georgia and Chicago.

RACES MAY LOSE FAITH

The greatest assurance people have that the four fredoms, the Atlantic Charter and the declarations that this is a country of the common man is that the peoples of color in the United States of America, the West Indies and India, Africa and

the darker races never will be free until they make themselves free. This is their task in the coming year.

THE NATION

Negro Leaders Study Tactics

Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Proposed in Fight On Discrimination

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25.—E. Pauline Myers, executive secretary of the March on Washington Committee, yesterday revealed that leaders of the March on Washington movement, Negro campaign against discrimination, are considering use of non-violent civil disobedience as a weapon.

Miss Myers spoke here at a meeting protesting cancellation of the proposed Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) hearings on racial bias in the railroad industry.

The March on Washington Committee, she said, has called a national conference in Chicago in May. Some 5000 persons are expected to attend.

"At our conference," she said, "American Negroes will ponder the use of non-violent civil disobedience as a method of helping us win our campaign for extension of democracy to all Americans."

Miss Myers was one of six speakers at the mass meeting.

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Committee and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, told the meeting that the March on Washington movement would grow until it became the means of "liberation not only for the Negroes, but for all Americans."

Randolph attacked the proposal being advanced by the Administration for replacing the FEPC with a smaller, permanent committee of full-time, paid members. Such an arrangement, he charged, would amount to a "patronage appendage of the Administration." As a counter to the Administration's proposal, Randolph demanded independent status for the FEPC and a $5,000,000 budget. The present FEPC budget is said to be around $3,000,000 a year.

The Negro labor leader attacked the Republican Party, reminding the gathering that it could put no faith in the GOP and charging that Sen. Charles A. McNary, Republican floor leader in the Senate, joined with Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) in defeating the bill to outlaw the poll tax last year.

Randolph also attacked Temple Graves, columnist for the Birmingham (Ala.) *Age-Herald*, and Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond (Va.) *Times Dispatch*, charging that the Ku Klux Klan was behind them. Both Graves and Dabney, long opponents of the Klan, recently have attacked Negro leaders.

Martin Weaver, Negro member of the FEPC, told the several hundred Negroes who filled Washington's Vermont Ave. Baptist Church: "I don't believe everything is gone because of a temporary setback. If the people who practice discrimination are running this country, we had better find out now and then we'll know where we stand."

Weaver analyzing various demands for strengthening FEPC, including legislation, subpoena powers and power for the Committee to impose penalties, contended that the present arrangement was more practical so long as the Committee retained its right to conduct public hearings.

The FEPC member warned that the possibility of obtaining legislation to aid in the fight against discrimination is little more than a dream.

AN EDITORIAL

On Civil Disobedience

When March-on-Washington leaders talk about a civil disobedience campaign they are talking foolishness.

No matter how great the grievance—and thinking people do not dispute the magnitude of the Negro's grievance—civil disobedience in wartime cannot be the answer. The Government has no choice but to protect itself against anything of the kind. Talk like this is harmful to the war effort, to the country and most of all to the Negro people themselves.

It must be granted that a tragic mistake has been made in the cancellation of railroad hearings by the FEPC. The best evidence is the fact that there is even talk about civil disobedience.

But the fact remains that within the framework of our democratic government there is the means for solving our problem. To talk of anything but a democratic solution is nonsense.—JOHN P. LEWIS.

PM, MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1943

AN EDITORIAL

Kennedy for OPA?

So now it looks like Joe Kennedy for an OPA job.

Well, why not? And while we're about it why not Ham Fish for Secretary of War? Or Rep. Clare Hoffman for Secretary of Labor?

Why not Rep. Joe Rankin for chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee? Or Charles Coughlin for a spot in the post office department?

—J. P. L.

Boston Chronicle

Saturday, January 2, 1943

The New Year and The Darker Races

(By A. Philip Randolph)

New York City, December 24, 1942

"This is a crucial year for the Negro. It is crucial for American democracy; it is crucial for world democracy. The arms of the United Nations must triumph over the Axis forces, but the victory of the armies of the United Nations is not enough. There must also be the victory of democracy. A victory of democracy not only for the five million white peoples of the world but also for the 1,700,000 peoples of color in the world.

There can be no victory of democracy, however, after the war unless the forces of democracy prevail during the war. It is quite possible that this war may be won in Burma, Singapore, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and be lost in Washington, D. C., Georgia and Chicago. The greatest assurance people have that the four freedoms, the Atlantic Charter and the declarations that this is a century of the common man is that the peoples of color in the United States of America, the West Indies and India, Africa and China be accorded freedom, independence and democratic rights now. Since the United Nations have the power to grant freedom and independence to the darker races now, if they don't do it, it may serve to disillusion them as to their securing freedom and independence even if the United Nations win.

There is nothing in the history of the attitude of the United Nations and the Anglo-American empire system toward the darker races to cause the people of India, Africa, the West Indies and the United States of America to have any faith in their professions. But it would be a mistake for the darker races to expect the gift of freedom from the United Nations. Freedom is never given; it is won. Justice is never granted, it is exacted. It is written in the stars that the darker races will be never free until they make themselves free. This is their task in the coming year.

Tide of Protests Mounts over McNutt's Gagging of FEPC

Ban on Hearings Is "Retreat," F.D. Told, Urged to Invalidate Order; Protest Meeting Sunday

BALTIMORE.—Protests against the gag placed in the mouth of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee by W P B Chairman Paul V. McNutt through his order banning hearings on discrimination in the railroad industry continued to pour in this week.

Meantime plans are being whipped into shape for the protest mass meeting to be held at Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, Washington, Sunday at 3 p.m., with the following among scheduled speakers:

B. F. McLaurin, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; James B. Carey, CIO; A. Philip Randolph, director of March-on-Washington Committee; Paul Scharrenberg, AFL; Theodore A. Jackson, president Dining Car Employees' Union, and Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin.

Among Latest to Protest

Protests were filed this week by the following:

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

George Marshall, chairman:

"In the light of the important accomplishments of the FEPC, which have strengthened the war effort and heartened the supporters of your administration, any proposal to sidetrack the committee or its powers can be regarded only as a retreat from the vital policy of our government.

"This is no time to compromise with the fundamental principles so splendidly enunciated in Executive Order 8802. This is the time to support these principles through extending, not curbing, the powers of the FEPC."

¶ ¶ ¶

Workers' Defense League

Laurence T. Hosie, chairman

"Our board learned of indefinite postponement of FEPC railroad hearings with amazement. What other interpretation is possible than that the administration is unable or unwilling to oppose mounting racism with all its inevitable frightfulness?

"Loyal American workers have a right to these hearings. It is not too late to turn back. Mr. President, give us some assurance that racism, the cornerstone of Nazism, is rejected by America's builders."

¶ ¶ ¶

National Negro Congress

Dr. Max Yergan, president

"The cancellation of the hearings by Mr. McNutt is a serious capitulation to Governor Dixon of Alabama, the white supremacists and other reactionary forces who have seen the FEPC not only as a threat to the citadel of jim-crowism, but also as a major contribution toward the unity of colored people with their fellow Americans.

"This development makes imperative the mobilization of the colored people to fight for passage of the anti-poll tax bill in this session of Congress, as poll-tax Congressmen and their cohorts have been foremost in fomenting hostility to the FEPC and have organized a Congressional clique to destroy it."

not only the colored Americans who are anxious to serve their country in this crisis, but also the people of the United Nations who see this struggle as one against Hitlerism and all that it stands for."

¶ ¶ ¶

United Auto Workers, CIO

Horace Sheffield, international representative

"Laurence Cramer is laying the basis for any future development which might lead to the liquidation of the FEPC."

¶ ¶ ¶

NAACP

Walter White, secretary

"Because the decision which is now made will profoundly affect the course of things to come, we renew our request that the Fair Employment Practice Committee be restored to its completely independent status," said Walter White this week in a letter urging the President's reversal of McNutt's War Manpower order of the postponement of the January 25th Fair Employment Practice Committee's hearing on discrimination in railroad employment.

"We have been informed of the lobbying being done among members of Congress by representatives of the railway brotherhoods and representatives of railroads who bitterly oppose any action which would attempt to correct the vicious discrimination against colored persons on public carriers of the United States.

"But we respectfully submit that any surrender to such forces or any manifestation of weakness in the face of the barrage from them would be disastrous not only for the colored race, but for the principles of democracy itself."

¶ ¶ ¶

Detroit UAW-CIO

Walter P. Reuther, vice-president

"As a member of the Labor-Management Policy Committee of the Manpower Commission and as vice-president of the UAW-CIO in charge of war manpower problems, I desire emphatically to registe my protest against postponement of scheduled hearings by the FEPC on discrimination in the railroad industry.

"I urge that you reconsider postponement of the scheduled hearings and that these hearings be opened forthwith so that proper responsibility may be placed and adequate remedial steps may be taken."

¶ ¶ ¶

National Maritime Union

Ferdinand Smith, national secretary

"The National Maritime Union protests the calling off of the proposed hearings on railroad discrimination before the FEPC.

"Such action is a blow to the war effort and tends to demoralize

Frank P. Graham May Head New 'FEPC'

Board Would Have Broad Powers Under Anti-Bias Order

By JOHN HERLONG
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Jan. 22—Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Labor Board, is being considered for head of a new federal anti-discrimination agency to supplant the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, it was learned today.

The gravity of the situation created by the FEPC's collapse, after War Manpower Commissioner McNutt called off the scheduled hearing on railroad discrimination, is being reluctantly faced by the Administration. With nothing to meet the insistent demands of Negroes and other minorities hit by discrimination, an explosion seems inevitable unless action is taken at once.

The appointment of a full time 5-man Fair Practice Board with Graham as chairman would go far toward repairing the damage. The plan would take the board from McNutt's control and make it an autonomous body in the President's executive office with Graham ranking as a Presidential executive assistant.

Broad Powers Planned

The new Fair Practice Board, according to the plan, would investigate charges of discrimination, hold hearings and issue findings and directions binding upon such operating and contracting agencies of the government as the War Manpower Commission, War and Navy Depts. and Maritime Commision. These agencies would be expected to withhold manpower from offenders, cancel contracts or take what other steps were necessary to secure enforcement of the Presidential order forbidding discrimination.

Besides Graham, other likely members of the proposed board are John Brophy of the CIO, Boris Shishkin of the AFL, Milton P. Webster of the Sleeping Car Porters' Brotherhood, and Earl Dickerson, Chicago attorney, who make up what is left of the present FEPC since the resignations of Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean, David Sarnoff and Mark Ethridge.

A possible choice for executive director of the new board is Henry Epstein, former New York State Solicitor General who was retained by the FEPC as general counsel for the hearing on railroad discrimination but resigned in protest over McNutt's veto.

Developments may be expected from a meeting of the old FEPC remnant with McNutt today. Further resignations from Bropry, Shishkin, Dickerson and Webster are expected unless McNutt reverses himself on the railroad hearing or a positive plan for the rehabilitation of the FEPC is presented.

Associated Press Photo

FRANK P. GRAHAM (right), who is being considered for head of a new federal anti-discrimination agency, shown in a recent photo with Mrs. Roosevelt and William L. Batt, WPB official.

YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, [illegible]

Scientist, to Lie in Tuskegee Grave

Son of Slaves Was Noted for Developing Products of Farm

Special to the World-Telegram.

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Jan. 6.—Dr. George Washington Carver, the son of Southern slaves, who became one of the country's outstanding scientists, will be buried in Tuskegee Cemetery not far from the grave of Booker T. Washington, founder and first president of Tuskegee University.

The body of Dr. Carver, who died last night after being in failing health in recent months, will lie in state today in Tuskegee University, where he conducted many of his successful experiments with cotton, peanuts, sweet potatoes and clay. Funeral services were expected to be held tomorrow or Friday.

Learned to Read at 20.

The scientist, who was characterized as The Ebony Pasteur and as "the most outstanding Negro of all time," did not learn to read and write until he was 20 years old.

Born on a plantation about 79 years ago, he never knew his father, who was believed to be a slave on adjoining property in Missouri. When still a boy Dr. Carver was kidnaped with his mother and was ransomed by his owners with a $300 race horse. His mother, however, was hurried along before the ransom arrived and never was heard from again.

Frail as a child, he was not sent into the fields to work and consequently spent much time in the kitchen, where he developed his interest in agricultural products. He also became interested in botany.

Determined to better his lot, he worked his way through public schools, then through Iowa State College, winning his bachelor's degree in 1894 and his master's degree in 1896. He then went on to Tuskegee Institute, the world's largest institute of learning for Negroes.

Developed Many Products.

It was here that he started his agricultural research that was destined to revolutionize farming methods in the South. Before he turned in 1936 to experimenting with peanut oils as a massage for after-treatment of infantile paralysis he developed scores of everyday uses of sweet potatoes, peanuts, trees, clays, cornstalks, blossoms and even cow dung.

From the products of the South's red clay he developed milk, ink, plastics, cosmetics, paper, paint and even imitation marble. He disclaimed personal credit, saying God was simply producing things through his hands.

At the time of his death Dr. Carver was planning to participate in experiments in food laboratories erected in Detroit by his old friend, Henry Ford.

NEW YORK [illegible]th extra in dues.

Epstein Quits President's Board

Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York, yesterday resigned as chief counsel of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice in protest against War Manpower Chairman Paul V. McNutt's order indefinitely postponing hearings on discrimination by the railroad industry against Negroes.

The hearings had been scheduled for Jan. 25 through 27. Mr. Epstein said the committee was given no opportunity to discuss the issue, and the postponement constituted a "challenge to democracy" and 'an irreparable blow to your committee's prestige."

Malcolm S. McLean is chairman of the committee.

It was charged that the railroads refuse to employ Negroes as engineers and conductors, limiting them to jobs as porters and firemen.

Mr. McNutt gave no reason for his action, but said his office would confer with the Office of Defense Transportation as to methods for [illegible]

War Dept. Aide Had Often Been Reported Ready to Quit Post

(Continued from Page 1)

he filled from 1933-1937.

He was appointed a U. S. District Court Judge, serving in the Virgin Islands, which post he held until 1939, when he resigned to become dean of Howard Law School.

In announcing his resignation from the War Department, Judge Hastie issued the following statement:

"In the past, replying to inquiries prompted by rumors and speculation, I have stated that, if and when I should leave the War Department, the press would receive direct and authoritative information. Accordingly the press is now advised that I have submitted my resignation as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, effective at the end of January, 1943.

Lautier, Gibson Remain

"I have asked Mr. Louis Lautier, administrative assistant in this office, who has been dealing effectively with matters involving civilian personnel, to remain at his post. It is my belief that he can continue to contribute substantially to gains already represented by the placement and advancement of thousands of colored people and the satisfactory adjustment of many employee grievances.

"I have also asked Mr. Truman K. Gibson, Jr., assistant civilian aide, to remain at his post, at least through such transitional period as may be necessary to prevent discontinuity of effort in matters which have been undertaken by this office.

"I wish to state my sincere appreciation for the measure of friendly support and co-operation which my office has received from the press.

"I shall have no further or amplifying statement to make until after my official duties have terminated."

Queried concerning his reported resignation, Dr. MacLean told the AFRO on Tuesday:

"Any word concerning this matter will have to come from the secretary of the committee or from the public relations office at Hampton Institute.

"There probably won't be anything on this until Wednesday."

512 at Hampton

Dr. MacLean revealed that Hampton Institute is accepting a class of 128 apprentice seamen each month from the Great Lakes Naval Training Station in Illinois. Each sixteen weeks, he said, a

judgment. He never consulted the committee itself, nor asked the committee what evidence it had. Nevertheless, the question of calling off the hearings was thoroughly discussed elsewhere in government circles.

Did White House Order It?

"Information available would seem to indicate that the order to call off the hearing came directly from the White House. No substitute plan in place of the hearings has been offered.

"Colored Americans should immediately protest to the President, to Mr. McNutt, to their Senators and Congressmen the calling off of the hearings, and particularly protest the method by which they were called off without any consultation with the committee beforehand.

"This is not the first time the committee has been so treated. One of the first reforms in government must be a change in policy so that when colored issues come up colored are consulted beforehand and given a chance to register their opinions rather than be kept ignorant until after the action has been taken.

They Couldn't Say Yes!

EDITOR'S NOTE—Sung to the tune of "I'm Gonna Move to the Outskirts of Town."

War Dept. Aide Had Often Been Reported Ready to Quit Post

MacLean, FEPC Chairman, Said Headed for Navy Dept. Berth; Three FEPC Lawyers Quit

WASHINGTON.

Dr. William H. Hastie, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, has resigned, effective at the end of this month.

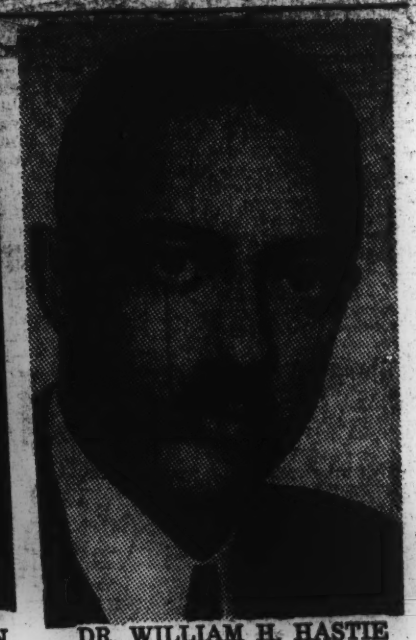
Hardly had this announcement been made when came word from authoritative sources that Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, had tendered his resignation to accept a post as a special advisor in the Navy Department.

Report of the MacLean resignation came close on the heels of the resignations of Henry Epstein, chief counsel of the FEPC and two of his aides, Dr. Charles Houston of Washington, and Harold Stevens of New York City, in protest against Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's summary cancellation of hearings on railroad employment discrimination, which were to have been held here next week.

Previous Rumors Recalled

Although there had been numerous rumors during the past few months concerning an impending break of Dr. Hastie with the War Department, his positive scotching of all rumors allayed suspicion that he was not completely satisfied with the fight to integrate colored persons into all branches of the service and abolish discriminatory practices throughout the armed services.

DR. MALCOLM S. MacLEAN



DR. WILLIAM H. HASTIE

Dr. Hastie gives no explanation for his sudden action, saying:

"I have no further amplifying statement to make until after my official duties have been terminated."

Judge Hastie accepted the War Department post in June, 1941, after obtaining a leave of absence from Howard University, where he was dean of the law school.

He was born in Knoxville, Tenn., in 1904. He was graduated from Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C., later attending Amherst College, where he was a ranking student, winning the Phi Beta Kappa key.

Howard Graduate

He later earned his bachelor of laws degree at Harvard University, and earned his doctorate at the same institution, where he served as a member of the editorial staff of the Harvard Law Review.

He joined the law firm of Houston and Houston in Washington, from which position he was

ment:

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Lautier, Gibson Remain

"I have asked Mr. Louis Lautier, administrative assistant in this office, who has been dealing effectively with matters involving civilian personnel, to remain at his post. It is my belief that he can continue to contribute substantially to gains already represented by the placement and advancement of thousands of colored people and the satisfactory adjustment of many employee grievances.

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"Any word concerning this matter will have to come from the secretary of the committee or from the public relations office at Hampton Institute.

"There probably won't be anything on this until Wednesday."

512 at Hampton

Dr. MacLean revealed that Hampton Institute is accepting a class of 128 apprentice seamen each month from the Great Lakes Naval Training Station in Illinois. Each sixteen weeks, he said, a class is graduated, so that at all times there are 512 men undergoing training at Hampton.

Members of the first graduating class, he said, have all been placed at various naval bases or at other tasks. "The training program," he said, "is an excellent one and going very well at this time. I am certain that it will count heavily in the long run."

A showdown on the future of the FEPC is expected when the committee meets on Friday to discuss Commissioner McNutt's action.

At the time that he resigned as counsel, Dr. Houston said:

"It is important for colored Americans to realize the full significance of Paul V. McNutt's action in calling off the public hearings scheduled this month.

"Mr. McNutt did not take snap judgment in calling off the hearings. He had a substitute plan in place of the hearings has been offered.

"Colored Americans should immediately protest to the President, to Mr. McNutt, to their Senators and Congressmen the calling off of the hearings, and particularly protest the method by which they were called off without any consultation with the committee beforehand.

"This is not the first time the committee has been so treated. One of the first reforms in government must be a change in policy so that when colored issues come up colored are consulted beforehand and given a chance to register their opinions rather than be kept ignorant until after the action has been taken.

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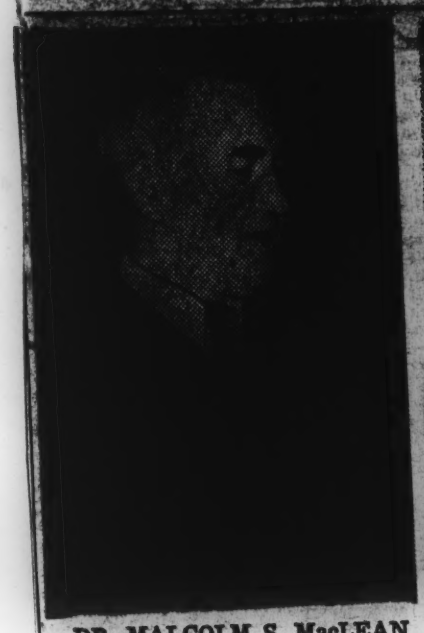
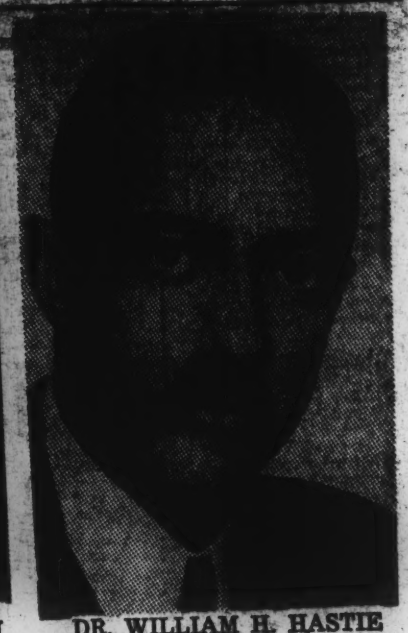


DR. MALCOLM S. MacLEAN



DR. WILLIAM H. HASTIE

grate colored persons into all branches of the service and abolish discriminatory practices throughout the armed services.

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Howard Graduate

He later earned his bachelor of laws degree at Harvard University, and earned his doctorate at the same institution, where he served as a member of the editorial staff of the Harvard Law Review.

He joined the law firm of Houston and Houston in Washington, from which position he was appointed as a solicitor in the Department of Interior, which post

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Walter White Lays Gagging of FEPC to F.D.R.'s Secretary

WASHINGTON

White House Secretary Marvin McIntyre is partly responsible for the Fair Employment Practice Committee's having to postpone public hearings on racial discrimination in the railroad industry, Walter White declared Thursday.

Mr. White, executive secretary of the NAACP, accused McIntyre of "making decisions for the administration on racial issues" while "President Roosevelt is occupied with military problems."

"Self-Appointed President"

He pointed out that the question of the hearings set for January 25 in the capital must have been considered first at the White House, and charged McIntyre with withholding from the President vital information on the discrimination problem.

"McIntyre, of Kentucky, is making decisions with his own particular slant on the race issue," White declared. "In effect, he is setting himself up as self-appointed President of colored people."

Basis for Accusation

This accusation, White said, was based partly on the fact that all recent replies to communications to the White House on racial issues had been signed by McIntyre.

While McIntyre refused to comment on White's statements, a White House source said that letters from the NAACP secretary always received the President's attention.

It was also pointed out that a large part of White House mail was signed by the secretaries, but this did not mean that the President was uninformed of the exchange.

Chief Counsel Quits

Meantime, Henry Epstein, chief counsel for the committee and former New York solicitor general, has resigned his post on the committee in protest against postponement of the hearings.

Mr. Epstein, in a letter to Dr. Malcolm S. McLean, chairman of the committee, said that he understood that the hearings scheduled for this month had been postponed indefinitely against the "expressed views of a majority of the committee."

In his letter of resignation, made public Tuesday night at his law offices, 30 Broad Street, Mr. Epstein said that indefinite postponement of the hearings was tantamount to cancellation and such action was a "challenge to democracy."

Continuing, the letter said:

Predicts Loss of Prestige

"The sudden cancellation of the hearings without warning or opportunity for discussion by the President's committee is, in my judgment, an irreparable blow to your committee's prestige and must result in loss of public confidence in its effectiveness."

Stating that "evidence at hand presents a picture of grievous discriminatory practices against colored citizens in the railroad industry that cries out for public attention," Mr. Epstein said that "without such hearings, I seriously question whether any appropriate redress will ever be made possible.

"Under the circumstances, I find no other effective means of expressing my vigorous protest against the action taken by Mr. McNutt than of resigning my position as chief counsel."

Request Detroit Hearings

In the meantime, a delegation from Detroit has conferred with Lawrence Cramer, FEPC executive secretary, to express opposition to the threatened banning of FEPC hearings scheduled for that city.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph Bard, who was reported to have opposed these hearings, is now understood to have said that the navy is not opposed if McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, believes they will be helpful.

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1943

Big Aircraft Firm Heeds FEPC Order

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 — Vultee Aircraft, Inc., has taken steps—in keeping with directions recently issued to the company by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice—to eliminate discrimination against war workers because of their race and color, Lawrence W. Cramer, executive secretary of the committee announced this week.

The directions followed a public examination of the complaints against the Nashville, Tenn., division of the company, at public hearings held in Birmingham, Ala., last June.

DEMANDS MADE

At the same time, the committee announced it had also issued directions to the Alabama Shipbuilding and Drydock Corp., Mobile, Alabama; the A. J. Honeycutt Co., Birmingham, Ala., and the Gulf Shipbuilding Corp., Chickasaw, Ala., after it had found that each of the companies had violated Executive Order 8802 in its hiring and upgrading practices so far as Negro workers are concerned.

The full directions to each company followed the same line, detailing specific steps which the company involved must take to bring its hiring, upgrading and training program in line with national policy as expressed in Executive Order 8802.

In keeping with a procedure established between the committee and the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy and the chairman of the Maritime Commission, the committee also notified the Federal departments, for which the offending companies are executing contracts, of the directions issued and recommended to the department head involved that it "call upon the company . . . to take appropriate steps to comply with Executive Order 8802 and specifically to carry out the directions."

This procedure for concerted action is based on a joint letter of July 2, 1942 from the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy and the chairman of the Maritime Commission to Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean of the committee, in which the respective Federal heads agreed, as contracting agents of the Government, to take certain specific steps to bring about compliance with the non-discrimination clause contained in all contracts let by them.

THE NATION

McNutt Calls FEPC Action 'Strategic'

By GORDAN H. COLE
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22.—Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission (WMC) today defended on grounds of "good strategy" his action in postponing public hearings by the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) into charges of racial discrimination on Southern railroads.

McNutt, whose intervention in the FEPC proceedings has evoked wide protest from church, labor, and liberal groups, told his side of the story for the first time in an interview.

The manpower director pledged that there would be "no retreat" and "no softpedaling" in the campaign to bring wider job opportunities to Negroes.

Expressing his resentment over the sharp pressure that has been brought to bear on him by Negro organizations in the last 10 days, McNutt warned that Negroes and their supporters "have got to recognize me as their friend and not crack me on the head every time my neck is out."

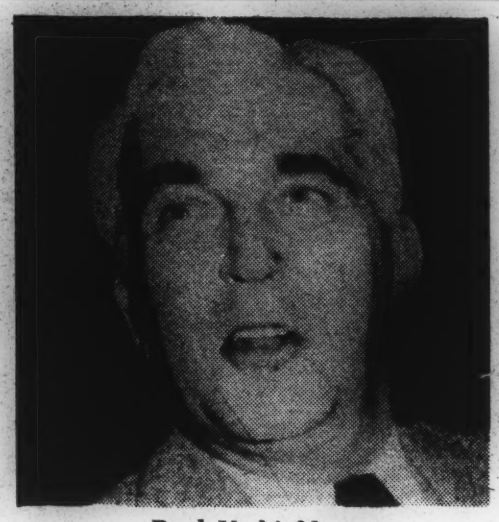
He ordered the railroad hearings postponed, he said, solely because he believes that "direct negotiations may yield better progress."

Here are McNutt's views:

¶ The FEPC has no strict legal authority to enforce its orders except for those employers whose war contracts contain nondiscrimination clauses.

¶ The railroads have no war contracts except, possibly, in the sense that Government officials buy railroad tickets and those tickets constitute a contract.

"Why get caught out on the end of a limb on one of the doubtful cases when there are so many positive ones?" McNutt argued. "The other firms (under FEPC scrutiny) have contracts with no discrimination clauses."



Paul V. McNutt

McNutt stated flatly that the FEPC would decide when it would conduct hearings and that his intervention in the railroad case is "not a pattern."

He indicated that the possibility of the committee conducting hearings in Detroit, Cleveland, or St. Louis is to be decided by the Committee, not himself.

However, McNutt admitted that with only four members remaining on the Committee—the chairman, Malcolm MacLean, and two members, Mark Ethridge and Col. David Sarnoff, having submitted their resignations—possibility of reorganizing the Committee is under consideration.

One reorganization plan being studied would substitute for the present committee of volunteers representing various groups a full-time paid committee comparable to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). On the NLRB, all three members are public representatives rather than representatives of labor or the employer.

His decision on adopting this plan or reconstituting the present Committee will not be made, McNutt said, until the idea has been sold to the Negro groups.

McNutt repeated his pledge to fight for fair employment practices and for an end of racial discrimination on the job.

He explained that he had been in that fight for a quarter century and added: "I don't intend to change my mind on this subject."

In McNutt's record are these facts:

¶ In 1918, when he was an Army major, he was commander of a brigade of 2000 Negro troops at Camp Jackson, outside Columbia, S. C.

¶ In the years immediately following the war, McNutt fought the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana in the days when it was neither politically expedient or professionally wise to be known as anti-Klan.

¶ Later, he became the first Governor of Indiana to appoint a Negro to a major state board.

¶ In the poll tax fight last year McNutt sounded off briefly, but specifically, against the poll tax in a Labor Day speech in Southern Virginia—where the poll tax is not a theoretical issue.

Saturday, January 16, 1943

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Shocked At Randolph

Editor: The New York Age:

I cannot too severely condemn the program of "civil disobedience and non-cooperation' suggested by Mr. A. Philip Randolph as has been outlined in the current issue of your journal. Because such a program will be accompanied with a great deal of violence, I am at a loss to understand how a gentleman possessing Mr. Randolph's intelligence and foresight could recommend such a procedure. The progress made by our group thus far has been due to an orderly process; why deviate therefrom? Nothing can be gained, while a great deal will be lost. To say I am astounded, is but a mild expression.

HARRY A. WILLIAMSON
New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL

THE Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1943

POST MORTEM ON FEPC

In resigning as chief counsel to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices after War Manpower Commissioner McNutt had torpedoed the scheduled hearings into anti-Negro railroad discrimination, Henry Epstein, former New York State Solicitor General, wrote:

> The sudden cancellation of the hearings without warning or opportunity for discussion by the President's Committee is, in my judgment, an irreparable blow to your committee's prestige and must result in loss of public confidence in its effectiveness.

Mr. Epstein is just about 100 per cent right and no amount of weasel words like "indefinite postponement" can obscure the ugly truth that when the FEPC sought to get down to rock bottom on this question of discrimination against Negro labor in a major industry vital to the winning of the war, it was ruthlessly sidetracked.

This action marks the final triumph of a long and consistent campaign to make the FEPC completely ineffective, so far as ending discrimination in war industry is concerned.

The FEPC was handicapped from the first in having no punitive measures to work with, as in the case of other government agencies aiding the prosecution of the war.

In consequence, the FEPC, when it found rank color discrimination in existence, could only tap the war contractor on the wrist, figuratively speaking, and urge him to "Go and sin no more."

It got some co-operation from war contractors outside the Solid South and Negro workers entered many plants from which they had been previously barred, but they were largely employed at unskilled tasks, and promotion in accordance with experience, tenure, aptitude and skill has been disappointingly slow where it has happened at all.

The campaign to scuttle the FEPC got into full swing when it announced the hearings in Birmingham.

Some Alabama newspapers, aided and abetted by local demagogues, waved the bloody shirt and mobilized the dervishes of racial proscription to battle against any threat to white supremacy.

At the hearings Mark Ethridge, "true to his native land," administered the kiss of death.

After the hearings, the conspiracy to scuttle the committee gained impetus with some never-publicized skullduggery in high places, egged on by Congressional Negrophobes, which resulted in burying the FEPC in the War Manpower Commission where Mr. McNutt owns its body if not its soul.

It is significant that prior to the transfer, Mr. McNutt had already established a Negro setup whose purpose, though suspected, was never clearly defined.

The transfer brought forth such a clamor from liberal circles that everybody in authority yelled "'taint so" and professions of love for the committee were profuse. The rival jim-crow setup was banished from the WMC payroll.

The FEPC got more money and allegedly more freedom but remained in the shadow of the McNutt veto.

Then came the announcement of the hearings into charges of discrimination against Negroes by the country's railroads and the autocratic, lily-white railroad unions—charges that would have been as easy to prove as the existence of cold weather in Siberia.

This sort of thing was "embarrassing" and "unthinkable" to powerful business and labor czars who have slowly been eliminating Negroes from the few skilled jobs they still hold, and who do not intend to change their anti-Negro policies, war or no war.

So the hearings have been "indefinitely postponed."

When the hearings will be held is anybody's guess, but skeptics profess to believe that it will not be in our time.

The FEPC may continue to function but after this severe blow its future existence will probably be like that of a zombie UNLESS THERE IS A TREMENDOUS AND NATION-WIDE COMPLAINT FROM NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS, CHURCHES, UNIONS AND BUSINESSES, and those white groups eager to see democracy work in the United States.

PITTSBURGH, PA., SATURDAY, JANUARY

Dr. MacLean Joi[ns] Navy; Leaves Hampton And

"ZERO HOU[R]" FOR FEPC FRI[DAY]

LABOR LEADERS OPPOSE ORDER

With the strong position taken by both the CIO and the AFL, it is a certainty their representatives on the committee will make a strong protest against the suppression of the hearing, which was scheduled for January 25.

William Green, AFL president, has already advised Boris Shishkin, AFL representative, to register the Federation's opposition to McNutt's order. Green is believed to feel the railroad hearing should go on as scheduled.

John Brophy, CIO representative, and Milton P. Webster, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are expected to join Shishkin in demanding that McNutt rescind his order.

WENDELL WILLKIE CONSULTED

After consultation with Wendell Willkie in New York last week, a group of citizens issued a statement saying "The cancellation not only is an irreparable blow to the Negro people, but does the utmost damage to the whole prosecution of the war." The committee was composed of Ferdinand Smith, of the National Maritime union; Dr. Max Yergan, of the NNC; Dr. Warren Banner, National Urban league; Edward Lewis, New York Urban league; Joseph Ford, People's committee, and Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., city councilman.

A. Philip Randolph, militant leader, whose threat to lead a "March" on Washington forced President Roosevelt to issue the Executive Order, in a statement, said: "McNutt's action is a slap in the face of and an insult to upwards of 20 millions of Negro Americans. It makes them feel that the President is surrendering to the race-prejudice-mongering political demagogues of the South. President Roosevelt stated in the famous White House conference that some agency was needed to which could be presented complaints of discriminations. He established such an agency and charged it with the responsibility of investigating discriminations in war industries. Such is the function and responsibility of FEPC."

Walter White, NAACP secretary, strongly urged President Roosevelt to "restore the Fair Employment Practice Committee to its full independent status prior to its transfer to the War Manpower Commission."

WHAT NATION'S LEADERS THINK

Arthur W. Mitchell, former Congressman: "A grave and serious injustice is being done Negro morale and the cause of democracy in this country. It would seem to me that the usefulness of the Commission is at an end."

John O. Holly, Future Outlook League: "The stifling of FEPC seems a definite indication that policies of the railroads against Negroes are too shocking to reveal."

Willard S. Townsend, UTSEA president: "We who are committed to an all-out victory find it very difficult, with this definite bias action of the Manpower Commission, to maintain the high morale among Negroes who too, seek only inherent rights of humanity for which all nations and peoples are struggling."

J. W. Holley, Georgia educator: "The postponement of the hearing by order of Paul McNutt certainly indicates that FEPC is limited in power and the Committee should insist on independent action or resign."

Lester B. Granger, Urban League secretary: "It represents successful counterattack by reactionary forces and the way Negroes stand firm to repel this counter attack will determine rate of job progress we shall make during remainder of war."

Dr. Charlotte H. Brown, educator: "A distinct blow to the democracy for which we are encouraging our husbands, our fathers and our sons to die. America cannot win the war by crushing the spirits of our citizens black and white."

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: "It is a threat to democracy and plays directly into the hands of the Axis powers. The Negro people will insist that there be no substitute for FEPC hearings."

MEMBERS A[RE] NOT TO TA[LK] AFTER CON[FERENCE]

FEPC DEVELOPMENTS

Walter P. Reuther, vice president of the UAW-CIO, and member of the Labor-Management Policy Committee of WMC, protested to President Roosevelt and Chairman McNutt against postponement of FEPC hearings on discrimination in the railroad industry.

Powerful National Maritime Union wired Mr. McNutt denouncing the postponement as a "blow to the war against fascism."

Evidencing his resentment at McNutt's action Harry Epstein, FEPC special counsel, tendered his resignation.

Walter White, NAACP secretary, held Roosevelt's secretary, Marvin McIntyre, partly responsible for suppression of FEPC hearing and called McIntyre self-appointed President of the Negroes."

A delegation from Detroit, headed by Rev. Charles Hill, conferred with McNutt but received no "encouragement" the hearing would be held.

George Marshall, president of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, in a letter to President expressed "grave concern" over the indefinite postponement.

The National Lawyers Guild called on President Roosevelt to "re-create" FEPC as an independent agency with complete autonomy.

The CIO, through James B. Nu[...]

By E. W. BA[...]
(Staff Corresp[...]

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...ton And FEPC

...C FRIDAY

MEMBERS ADVISED NOT TO TALK UNTIL AFTER CONFERENCE

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The CIO, through James B. Carey, secretary, leveled a sharp attack on McNutt and charged the postponement was a "serious blow to the war morale of Negro citizens and to all whites who know that racial discrimination is a Hitlerite weapon."

William Green, AFL president, has instructed Boris Shishkin, Federation representative on FEPC, to voice AFL's opposition to McNutt's action at the committee meeting this week.

The Socialist Party called upon McNutt to "rescind" his postponement order.

NAACP branches throughout the country began organizing for mass protest on the ban on FEPC investigation.

The National Urban League, through President William H. Baldwin, wired President Roosevelt and Commissioner McNutt that it was "disturbed over apparent trends toward immobilization of the Committee's authority."

Dr. Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, demanded the restoration of FEPC's power as an independent agency.

A. Philip Randolph, head of the March on Washington Movement and militant leaders of the Porters' Brotherhood, led a delegation of labor and civic leaders to Washington for a conference with McNutt on Monday.

By E. W. BAKER
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 21—War Manpower Boss Paul V. McNutt remained adamant in the face of the most withering blast of criticism and protests ever leveled at a government official in one week, and he steadfastly refused to clarify his order to the Fair Employment Practice Committee, forcing it to halt a scheduled investigation into discrimination within the railroad industry or to satisfy two delegations as to the reason for its issuance.

With many wild rumors abroad as to the reason for squelching the probe, members of FEPC, acting on orders from Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman, have refused to publicly comment on McNutt's action. The members had no opportunity to discuss the postponement and it came as a complete surprise to them.

[illegible]

Dr. MacLean has called a meeting of the entire committee for Friday and it is expected they will thoroughly analyze McNutt's order and the future of FEPC in being able to enforce Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802.

Members who were polled separately were unanimous in stating the ban on the committee's probe was a challenge to FEPC's existence and would hamper or completely make ineffective any further probe against jim crow in the nation's war industries. It is believed the committee will make a direct appeal to President Roosevelt, following their Friday meeting and, if that procedure is not effective, they are expected to resign in a body.

On FEPC, McNutt and Retreats from Democracy

The abrupt "postponement" of the Fair Employment Practice Committee's hearings on discrimination in the Railroads is the latest of a series of *Retreats From Democracy*. Events of recent days indicate the rapidly growing strength of American Fascists and their willing or unwilling allies:—

- ***The Readers Digest*** **article by a Negro Quisling;**
- **The approval of that article by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt;**
- **The statement of Rex Stout, chairman of the Writers' War Board: "We are not fighting this war to help Negroes, bowlegged women or men with whiskers";**
- **The world premiere of *Tennessee Johnson*, glorifying on the screen with many lies one of the worst aspects of the post-Civil War south, and now**
- **The "postponement" of the FEPC hearings!**

The movement to keep the Negro in his place is rapidly gaining headway. The south is dominating the picture with its most vicious elements in the saddle. The administration fears that unless it plays to the south there will be an alignment of reactionary Republicans and Bourbon crackers which will form a Fascist majority in both the Senate and Congress. It is to be regretted that liberals and pseudo-liberals are giving hostages to the common enemy—FASCISM!

The Fair Employment Practice Committee was not created in good faith. It has been sabotaged from the very beginning. Included in its membership were individuals who were never completely sold on full Democracy. Placing a body of its type under the War Manpower Commission completely emasculated it. The resignation of David Sarnoff from that body this past week was probably a straw in the wind that he had recognized its futility.

THE FEPC IS COMPLETELY FINISHED. It can be saved only by the labor representatives and the two Negro members coming forward with a vigorous denunciation and a publicly stated determination to run the FEPC without bowing their knees to southern Fascism.

It is to be regretted that Paul McNutt allowed himself to be maneuvered into the position that he is now in. The announcement that the "postponement" met with the approval of all the members of the FEPC was not true. This has been vigorously and emphatically denied by Earl Dickerson.

If McNutt has presidential ambitions he may have gained the vote of the solid south but he has lost the Negro balance of power in the five largest states of the Electoral College. It is not too late for him to save his day. An immediate about face, a confession of error, a forthright and sincere statement, and a resumption of the hearings will turn the trick.

Not only has the fight for black railroad men been jeopardized, but a serious blow has been dealt the hopes of the first column of democracy.—*The Negro People*.

If the retreat from democracy continues, then the embryonic idealism of this war will be completely aborted.

PAULINE MYERS of Richmond, Virginia is the new national executive secretary of the March on Washington Movement. She'll travel all over the country for MOW, educating groups in pressure techniques. See story below.

PV Interviews MOW's New Nat'l Exec. Secretary

The newly appointed national executive secretary of the *March On Washington Movement* (MOW) is Pauline Myers of Richmond, Va. Miss Myers' appointment to a national job is another instance where a national organization has felt the necessity of appointing a woman to the kind of job men have traditionally held before.

In commenting on her appointment Miss Myers, interviewed in the Seventh ave headquarters of MOW, said, "Men are being called into the army in such large numbers that it's absolutely necessary that women take over leadership in building democracy."

According to Miss Myers women played a similar role during the time of the abolitionist movement. A Negro woman was one of the first to go abroad and solicit funds and carry on a good will campaign in behalf of freedom for Negroes.

Miss Myers will act as general organizer for the movement, travelling about the country, educating the public about the problems of Negroes, and training them through the MOW in the technique of pressure groups.

DEVOTED TO FIGHT

Since her earliest childhood she has been associated with youth pressure groups and at the present time is firmly committed to the cause of the MOW. Regional conferences for which she will be responsible have been planned to take place all over the US until the latter part of May, when in Chicago, a national conference will be held to decide whether an actual march on Washington is necessary. The conference will study forms of strategy for coordinating the Negroes struggle for liberation. Action taken may take the form of a civil disobedience campaign or a march on Washington.

Miss Myers stated that she has always been interested in fighting for freedom. Her brother was killed in France during World War I and from that day on she dreamed of some day becoming a diplomat. A graduate of Howard University, during her second year there she was hostess to C. F. Andrews, biographer of Mahatma Gandhi. The knowledge that she gained of India makes her hope of some day seeing a firm bond between the American Negro and the East Indian.

As for hobbies—she's very much interested in amateur theatricals. She has produced plays both in Fredericksburg, Va., and Chicago, Ill. During the summer of 1930 she conducted an experimental project for the Playgrounds Association of Philadelphia where she served as a costumed story teller.

As for the war — Miss Myers stated that the MOW believes the Allied Nations should clarify their objectives and that a militant campaign should be waged on the home front in behalf of democracy.

At the end of the interview she said, "I believe that right now is the psychological moment for a campaign for freedom all over the world. I'm very much interested in our relations with Latin America and in trying to find a basis for relationship between the Negroes of America and the Caribbean and the Latin American countries."

FEPC Opens Detroit Probe; Hearings Set

DETROIT, (ANP).—A three-man FEPC investigating committee, headed by G. James Fleming, last week opened offices here to gather evidence for February hearings on job discrimination.

Simultaneously, the following developments in the local fight, led by the Citizens' Committee for Jobs in War Industries, were announced:

Inspectors Rehired

1. The Briggs Manufacturing Company, which discharged eleven colored women inspectors three weeks ago, called four of them back to work Monday and announced that the others will be recalled soon.

2. The Thompson Products Company, which heretofore employed colored persons as porters and janitors only, last week be[illegible] upgrading them, placing several as skilled and semi-skilled workers.

3. The R. L. Polk Company (contracting from the Ordnance Department), which formerly segregated its female workers, now employs women of both races in the same office, but still maintains separate sanitary facilities.

Personnel Man Hired

4. The Briggs Manufacturing Company employed Leon Wheeler, formerly with the Detroit Recreation Department, as special personnel director to facilitate the inclusion of colored workers.

The Rev. Charles C. Hill, leader of the successful Sojourner Truth Homes fight, heads the citizens' committee. The Michigan Chronicle, the local NAACP branch and various labor, civic and religious organizations are co-operating.

Appeasement and the FEPC

THE ELABORATE Fair Employment Practice Committee set up by President Roosevelt to quiet the liberal element, which demands complete integration of the Negro into the war effort, now seems to have collapsed. Created under pressure, this smooth bit of appeasement propaganda seems to have been shattered under the pressure of Southern Tory opposition. War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt issued an order last week to the FEPC instucting it to postpone indefinitely the hearings on discrimination because of race, color, religion or nationality in the railroad industry scheduled for Jan. 25, 26 and 27 in Washington, despite the fact that the matter had been on the agenda of the commitee since March 30, 1941, when the 1943 hearings were scheduled.

There is, it seems to us, no excuse for the calling off of the hearings, unless it be that the administration is willing to admit it is actually afraid of the reactionaries of the South and those in Washington. The nation's 15,000,000 Negro citizens, most of them native to the soil, have as much at stake in winning the war as any white man, even thought it is hard, at times, to differeniate between a Fascist in Europe or one in Dixie.

The cancellation of the hearings seems to be a deliberate betrayal of the faith of the Negro and other minority groups affected in the aims for which the war is allegedly being fought. This is the significant statement of B. F. McLaurin, national organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters who says "the withdrawal of this crucial issue from the salutary light of public discussion to back office realms of intrigue and pressure politics may well be considered ominous by liberals of all color and all creeds. If the record of what the carrier-white brother coalition has been doing to drive Negroes out of their jobs on the railroads is too black to be exposed in public hearings, the same thing will be shortly said of the grievances of other racial minorities."

II

Since it was Commissioner McNutt who canceled the hearings, it is apparent that there is much that the commissioner does not want the American public to know about what is going on between Negroes working in the railroad industry and the white brotherhoods. For the edification of our readers, here are four points that might have come out in the hearings if they had been held and which Commissioner McNutt certainly must know about:

1. That in the struggle of white railroads to get the jobs of Negro firemen, 17 Negro fireman have been killed.

2. That Negroes are excluded from eight railroad brotherhoods by their constitutions or rituals.

2. That the South Eastern Carriers Conference together with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginmen, on Feb. 18, 1941, signed a nonpromotability agreement, which means that Negro firemen will be completely eliminated from American railroads within the next two years.

4. That the Railroad Labor Act, designed to protect workers, does not give representation or protection to the Negro firemen.

This is the situation the FEPC would have attempted to solve had the hearings been held as scheduled: 2,000 Negro firemen are in grave danger of being kicked out of their jobs with American railroads permanently because the Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered that steam engines should be replaced by stokerized or Diesel engines by July 1, 1943. On Feb. 28, 1941, an agreement was signed by the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen making it impossible for a Negro fireman working on a steam or stokerized engine to be switched to a Diesel engine. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers have never allowed Negro firemen to become members.

III

Negroes have been working on southern railroads for nearly 100 years as porters, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, hostler helpers and in many other capacities. Whenever a Negro's job looks good for a white man, the colored man is eased out. Before World War 1, only few white men wanted to be firemen since that kind of work was and is dirty and hard. However, during the first world War, the government shortened hours, raised wages and improved working conditions of the men who stoke the railroad engines, and when stokerized engines were introduced, the white man found them to be all right to work on as firemen. The present predicament of the Negro firemen is, however, due to technological and economic reasons. Because of competition from the truck and airplane industries, the railroads have had to do a lot of things they didn't do before they monopolized the nation's hauling traffic. Trains of 30 cars handled by a crew of 20 have been replaced by trains of 150 cars handled by a crew of four. With the depression, the railroads eliminated over 1,000,000 white and colored workers and between 1924 and 1942 the number of Negro firemen fell from 6,478 to 2,400.

It is almost impossible for a Negro fireman to rise higher or to become an engineer because the white brotherhoods have blocked the advancement of black men. After three years experience, the white fireman takes an examination and becomes an engineer. There is no special education or training required, but at the end of three years, the Negro fireman continues in his present capacity. White brakemen customarily wind up as conductors, but Negro brakemen usually remain in the same category. This is due to the fact that there are 16 national unions which exclude Negroes from membership either by provisions in their constitutions and charters or in their rituals. Eight of these Jim Crow organizations are railroad unions. Railroad men earn good wages and a Negro fireman, for example, who has a good run, makes from $250 to $350 a month. They are the most highly paid group of Negro workers in the United States. Despite the exclusion acts written into the constitutions of the white brotherhoods, the 1924 census showed 33 Negro conductors and three Negro engineers!

IV.

There now exists, following World War 1, percentage agreements entered into by the carriers and the white brotherhoods limiting the number of Negro firemen. The percentage of Negroes is said to be never over 49. The procedure has enabled the white unions to set aside the seniority rights which Negro firemen had acquired. Since no railroad is compelled to hire the maximum number of Negro firemen stipulated in the agreement (no Negro firemen are known to have been hired since 1929) the non-promotable agreement of Feb. 28, 1941, not only specifies that Negro firemen cannot be used on Diesel engines, but it has other provisions which will eventually eliminate Negro firemen.

The inve[illegible] rail-
road indus[illegible] the war

dent Roosevelt, knows it. The safety of passengers on railroads depends in large part on the competence of railroad employees. With skilled workers being grabbed off by the armed forces, it is imperative that colored locomotive firemen retain their jobs. Most of these Negroes have records of over 10 years of service and are considered to be excellent and dependable workers. The majority of them above the age for active military service, many having served in the World War 1.

We are sure the nation would have been surprised to know that the threat to Negro firemen's jobs is the climax of an organized campaign on the part of the railroad companies and the all-white railroad brotherhoods to oust all Negro workers from railroad jobs which pay good wages. As far back as 1926, D. P. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, said he hoped no black face would remain on the left side of an engine cab.

President Roosevelt's assumption of wartime power gives him the remedy for all this hullabaloo on the race question. If he wants to create a unified home front behind the war effort, he can do so. In labor, for one [illegible] he [illegible] the executive
fails to fall in line with the national program for
unity at home (if there is one) [illegible]
[illegible]

Randolph, ACP To Speak at FEPC Protest

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and *March on Washington* movement head, will be one of the main speakers at a monster mass meeting protesting cancelation of the FEPC hearings on railroad discrimination, to be held Monday evening Jan 25, at Abyssinian Baptist church, 132 W 138 st. This announcement was made Tuesday by the People's Committee and the Negro Labor Victory Committee, co-sponsors of the meeting. Councilman A. Clayton Powell jr will preside at the meeting.

Other scheduled speakers include Charles A. Collins, NLVC executive secretary; Joseph Curran, president, Greater NY Industrial Union Council, CIO and of the National Maritime Union.

Invitations have also been wired to Congressman Vito Marcantonio, A. F. Whitney, grand president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Philip Murray, CIO president; William Green, AFL president; Alderman Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, John Beecher, former regional director for FEPC in NYC and Anne Rosenberg, regional director, War Manpower Commission.

According to Dorothy K. Funn, spokesman for NLVC, cancellation of the FEPC hearings strikes a deathblow at the defense effort.

"The railroads are recognized as among the most important if not *the* most important of the military resources of our country," she said. "It is imperative at this time that all of the human resources of our country be mobilized for the defeat of our enemies and that every person, regardless of race, creed, or national origin be permitted to participate in the total production effort for victory."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Resignations Flow Freely:

Complete Breakdown Of FEPC Expected

By ST. CLAIR BOURNE

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, front line force in the fight for true democracy at home, sagged visibly, appeared near collapse this week as events followed cancellation by Manpower Boss McNutt of the committee's scheduled hearings on railroad discrimination in employment against the Negro.

Dr. Malcolm MacLean, president, Hampton Institute, and chairman of the FEPC—who had sided with McNutt in his decision, resigned from the committee, it was announced Monday. MacLean quit to take a job as adviser on Negro affairs for the navy department, it was reported.

Meanwhile, following closely the action of Attorney and former NYState solicitor general who resigned as FEPC counsel last Tuesday, Attorney Charles H. Houston tendered his resignation from the same job Saturday. Attorney Harold A. Stevens, last of the three special counsel retained by the committee, revealed Monday that he too had quit. All three resignations were in protest of McNutt's action.

Houston, in his letter of resignation, charged: "The action of Mr. Paul V. McNutt . . . exposes the hollow pretension of the Government's pledge. . . ."

Stevens, in his notification, declared that the cancellation order "was a blow to the Negro railroad workers. . . ."

Other developments in the situation included:

● a meeting of McNutt and a large delegation headed by A. Philip Randolph of the March on Washington (MOW) movement and including representatives of the Federal Council of Churches, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Central Council of American Rabbis, Catholic Interracial Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Union for Democratic Action, Workers Defense League, American Civil Liberties Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers Union, Urban League, and NAACP;

● presentation before the NY State legislature in Albany by Assemblyman William T. Andrews (D-21 AD) of a resolution asking immediate resumption of the FEPC hearings;

● sending numerous protests to McNutt from organizations and individuals all over the country, including the National Maritime Union, the Negro Labor Victory Committee;

● voicing of charges by NAACP's Walter White that Presidential Secretary Marvin McIntyre was partly responsible for the cancellation order from McNutt;

● request by the National Lawyers Guild directly to FDR to countermand McNutt's order; and

● preparation by the other FEPC members for a meeting this Friday, when

continuance of the entire group may be decided.

WASHINGTON—Paul V. McNutt, in a conference with a delegation of 40 trade union, Negro and other minority leaders here Friday (Jan. 15), openly assumed sole responsibility for cancellation of the FEPC railroad hearings, said he had acted in accordance with his best judgment but refused to disclose any of the factors influencing his decision.

The delegation waited two hours and five minutes before seeing the Manpower boss, spending about an hour and a half of it in discussion with Fowler Harper, McNutt's deputy commissioner.

Attempting to infer that a plan superior to the FEPC setup for creating employment opportunities for Negroes is in the offing, McNutt met all questions with implacable "I'll-take-all-you-give-but-I-won't-talk" attitude, McNutt met with silence all arguments that his action was capitulation to Southern reaction.

Implying that he is merely carrying policy from the White House, McNutt's most significant comment during the interview was:

"I am the man who has to go before Congressional hearings on budgetary matters, not FEPC."

At West Point:

Negroes Listed Among Graduates

WEST POINT, NY—Robert Bernard Tresville II and Clarence M. Davenport jr were among the graduates receiving commissions at the US Military Academy here, Tuesday, Jan 19.

Tresville was the first Negro to receive a commission in the US Army Air Force from the Academy. He was trained as a pursuit pilot at Tuskegee Flying School. He is the son of Chief Warrant Officer Robert B. Tresville, band leader of the 24th Infantry, now stationed "somewhere in the Pacific."

Davenport comes from Detroit, where he attended the University of Detroit before entering West Point, July, 1939. Immediately following the graduation exercises, he left for his home, where he was married the following day, Jan 20, to Yolande E. Bradfield, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George C. Bradfield, [illegible] st, Detroit.

The Pittsburgh Courier

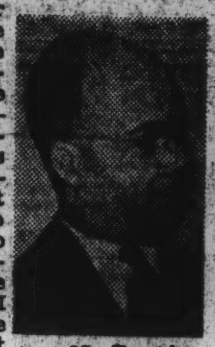
SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1943

The Horizon

KILLING OF FEPC PROBE IS CONSEQUENCE OF TWO CASES OF BAD JUDGMENT

BY P. L. PRATTIS

WHY did Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt call off the probe planned by the Fair Employment Practices Committee into job discrimination by common carriers—the railroads and related groups of our transportation system? Do you know? Or are you guessing? Mr. McNutt, who took full responsibility for the decision, says that the hearing was called off to iron out differences with southern railroads. I think that we have got to KNOW, not guess nor assume, more about why the hearing was killed before we can be intelligent in expressing opinions about the action. I don't think it will do any good to jump to conclusions on pure presumption. I think that the action has hurt FEPC, is embarrassing to its members. I think that Negroes have a right to feel that they have been deserted and that the killing of the probe represents a setback in the fight on discrimination. I think a mistake, or rather, two mistakes have been made.



Mr. Prattis

FEPC MADE MISTAKE

THE first mistake, as noted in a recent letter from Miss McKenzie, was made by the Committee. Anything that touches the railroads affects the entire transportation system of the country. This system is dominated, not by the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, but by the Big Four Brotherhoods of railway engineers, conductors, trainmen and brakemen. They constitute one of the most powerful forces in this country. They can defy the government and have defied the government. Overnight, they can tie up the transportation system of the nation. To keep them from doing so, the government was forced to take over the operation of the railroads in the last war. The FEPC planned a frontal attack on this entrenched gorilla of prejudice with no holds barred. The enemy was too strong and the FEPC was too weak. Maybe the FEPC figured that this was a good time to find out how strong, or weak, it is. It has learned. It has been kayoed. Joe Louis recovered after a kayo by Schmeling. I hope the FEPC recovers. But I believe it made a mistake by tackling too strong a foe without building up its strength in try-outs with less hardy foes.

PRESIDENT MADE MISTAKE

ALTHOUGH Mr. McNutt takes responsibility for the action, I don't believe that he is responsible and I don't believe the reason he gives is all the reason. I believe that Mr. Roosevelt is responsible and I believe he made a mistake. From time to time, I have solicited all-out support for the President, but I do not believe he is infallible, even when he is most honest. I think that he and his advisers were caught in the middle by this proposed hearing and that they did what they thought was best. I think their best is a HUGE MISTAKE.

FACTORS BEHIND ORDER

IN PASSING judgment on the kind of mistake they have made, it is necessary to look at the FEPC situation in the light of some other things which are happening. The anti-trust suits of the attorney general's office are in point. Cases, involving monopolies harmful to the public interest, have been built up by the attorney general's anti-trust division against large number of American firms engaged in war production. Prosecution of practically all these cases has been killed or postponed. Why? Because the heads of these firms said they couldn't produce war goods and, at the same time, defend themselves in court. They told the Army and the Navy. The Army and the Navy told the President. The result was that the Attorney General was stopped dead in his tracks. The head of the anti-trust division of the Attorney General's office, Thurman Arnold, is now being considered for another job. The same is true of firms which have violated the patent laws to the injury of the public interest. At the present time, a large section of the public press is condemning present restrictions, or prospective restrictions and regulations, against the railroads. This section of the press contends that government interference and regulation hampers the railroads in doing their wartime job. The railroads are doing a big wartime job for the Army and Navy. Is it too much to assume that the railroad managements insisted that Army and Navy pull the FEPC on them and that the Army and Navy carried the case to the President? In such a situation, you doubtless perceive the combined opposition of the unions and management. Side by side with this, must be considered the political and racial opposition, based purely on prejudice.

But political opposition is tremendously important at this time. The President has a bare majority in the Congress, necessary to him in the conduct of the war. He feels that he must hold this majority. That is one of the reasons he let [redacted] but I rather feel

Co[redacted]

PRESIDENT COUL[redacted] HELPED SOLVE PROBLEM

BUT, in spite of all the factors described above, I believe the President and his advisers made a huge mistake. They have practically killed the only official agency fighting discrimination in this country. I think the issue against the railroads was of such vital import that the President and his advisers should have joined with FEPC in calling together the union and management leadership to effect some solution. This conference need not have been public. But it could have achieved some results and the face of FEPC could have been saved. Furthermore, thirteen million Negroes, fighting and working to win this war, would have been saved the humiliation and the injury to their morale suffered from the spectacle of their government backing down in the face of prejudice. In the basic analysis, prejudice based on color and race, must be found as the only true position of the opposition. The issue could have been tackled without jeopardizing the necessary war work of the railroads and without menacing the President's influence in the Congress if the President and his advisers had had an affirmative concept of the problem, rather than fear of the consequences of tackling it. Transportation, or lack of it, can cause us to lose the war. So can color prejudice. Both are problems to be faced. Neither can be ignored without injury to the national cause. Killing this FEPC probe will hurt us at home and abroad.

An Open Letter to Paul McNutt:

Yesterday you intervened with the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to suppress plans for hearings on discrimination against colored persons in the railroad industry — hearings that held promise of opening railroad employment to all Americans on an equal footing in this time of vital need.

If you stand by your decision, this is tragedy. But it isn't too late to change your mind. Respectfully, and with some knowledge of the considerations on both sides of the case, we ask that you reverse your decision. Keep the door open for whatever small measure of advance this proceeding may offer to 13 millions of our people.

Exactly what considerations are in your mind, of course, we don't know. But there are some obvious, and serious, factors that may have influenced your decision.

First, of course, are the political facts. We know, as well as you do, that your commanding officer — the Commander-in-Chief of all of us in this war — is faced by an almost intolerable political situation in this present Congress.

Hostile Republicans, some of them men who put their hatred of the President and their desire for a return to reaction above every other consideration, are within a hair's breadth of control.

In this situation, the President, faced by constant political sniping and hamstringing legislative action, wants the support of the Southern Democratic bloc.

Southern Block Large

Now, as we all know, the Southern bloc, by and large, is composed of men loyal to the war effort in its international aspects. Because they come from the cotton and tobacco States, which must export or starve, they know how closely the peace and welfare of our own country are tied up with the rest of the world.

But, also because they are from the cotton States — where the poll tax makes most of them the representatives not of the people, but of the privileged minority at the top — they are inclined to be reactionary on domestic issues.

The people who elect them — again by virtue of the poll tax — are people who are best served by cheap labor markets. By the tradition of the South, too, they are largely exponents of the idea of white supremacy.

They say, of course, that they are the colored group's best friends — and they think they mean it — but most of them mean that what they want to do is to improve the colored man's condition but keep him in his place.

In substance, many of them are on the democratic side on the military front and against democracy on the home front.

May Lose Support

The President is faced constantly with the threat of losing the support of the Southern bloc on the war front unless he appeases it by sabotaging democracy on the home front.

Realizing the difficulties of running a war with that kind of a Congressional setup, it is the natural and understandable inclination of the President's friends to try to play politics with the Southern bloc and help him keep it in line. This can be done by trading off things like the poll tax or parts of the campaign against racial discrimination. The Jim Crow man will go a long way with anyone who will let him alone in his eternal fight to keep the colored man in his place.

Add to this political situation all the old arguments stemming from the whites of the South that this isn't the time to rock the boat by fighting out the race question democratically at home while we're fighting abroad, and the arguments of some employers and some workers that taking colored persons into jobs heretofore closed to them might cause friction, and it isn't hard to understand the difficulty of the decision that faced you.

Little or No Friction

Take a minute before we pass that last point. Since the war started, colored persons have been taken into many jobs heretofore closed to them. In most cases, there has been little or no friction as a result.

In some cases, there has been friction, and it has been eliminated by the kind of understanding between people that can only be achieved by association. In some cases there still is some friction, but it will be removed by the same process of growing understanding. I know of no single instance where friction has developed that cannot be smoothed out amicably if wise counsel like that heretofore given by the FEPC is allowed to prevail.

But grant that there are tough arguments against giving the colored man a democratic break. There's another side, and it's tougher yet.

Racism Part of Fascism

We are at war with Fascism — and racism is one of the foundation stones of Fascism. If we make this a white man's war, and, it follows, not a war for democracy — if we insist that one American shall be privileged above another because of his race or color — we will have lost the essential of our own democracy, no matter how we come out in the field. As a by-product, we will be kissing off as allies on the military front the millions of people in the East.

We are at war, and every one of us is faced with the loss of our lives or everything that we hold dear, if we lose. In a time like this, when every hour of work that every man can give is needed, we cannot afford to close the door on 13 millions of our people who are ready and willing to work. If the white man does not allow the colored man his right to equality of opportunity to work, the white man stands to lose more than the colored man, for the colored man has less to begin with.

We are at war, and our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of every believer in democracy in our country, if he is to be effective. He needs this whole united democratic support more than he needs the support of Congress. President Roosevelt has done more to bring democracy to all our people, white and colored alike, than any President since Abraham Lincoln. Are we now to destroy the faith of our people — again it is whites and colored alike — in the kind of democracy he has been fighting for?

There isn't room, or need, to go into all of the arguments for the colored man's side of the case — all the arguments for the democratic side. You know them as well as we do.

Let's Face Reality

But cut back to the political question. If we fear that the Southern race-haters are going to obstruct the President and the war effort because we won't trade off discrimination for votes, isn't it time we faced the reality:

They can't do as much harm to the President, to the war effort or to the democratic cause by voting openly in Congress against the Administration, as will be done if we sacrifice our democratic principles in an effort to keep them in line by appeasement. In Congress they can only hamper and obstruct the President, just as the isolationist Republicans are out to do. In private deals, which trade away the democratic rights of our colored people, they can destroy our democracy, turn our war aims to ashes.

What Purpose Is Served?

If any part of the Southern Congressional bloc is going to join the isolationist Republicans and doublecross our wartime Commander-in-Chief because an American who happens to be colored is given the same fair shake at a job as an American who happens to be white, we can't help the situation by surrendering. What good can come of dealing with a man who has betrayal in his heart; and if his heart is clean, what purpose is served?

Any — if there are any — who would betray their leader and their country because they can't stand democracy at home, might as well be found out now.

To repeat: our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of the men and women in this country who believe in democracy, more than he needs the support of the race-haters in Congress. Don't close the door on this kind of support in the Fair Employment Practice Committee. We can't afford to lose our democracy by appeasement.—JOHN P. LEWIS.

(Courtesy Field Publications)

Storm Brews As FEPC Nips Probe On Southern Railroad Work Bias

Postponement of the hearings on discriminatory practices of Southern railroads against Negro firemen, first reported to *PV* last Saturday by its Washington correspondent and confirmed Monday by official announcement from Manpower Czar Paul McNutt in a press conference, has stirred up a tempest which may rock the entire nation. Immediate result of the action is blocking of what was expected to be a major blow at the prejudice in employment problems of the country.

The hearings were set for January 25-27 in Washington. Attorney Henry Epstein, former NYState solicitor general, had been retained by the FEPC as counsel for the body against the Southern railroads. Had the companies involved been found guilty, repercussions would have been far-reaching.

PV contacted Atty. Epstein Monday. He said he could make no comment. Tuesday he announced his resignation as FEPC counsel.

Monday, McNutt told his Washington press conference, to whom he had promised an official statement, that the decision to postpone (he insisted they had not been cancelled outright) the hearings was unanimously approved by members of the FEPC.

CONFIRM OR DENY STATEMENT

PV immediately wired each of the seven FEPC, Dr. Malcolm MacLean, William Green, Milton C. Webster, Earl Dickerson, Philip Murray, Mark Etheridge and David Sarnoff (Sarnoff is understood to have resigned but no official announcement has yet been made) asking each to confirm or deny McNutt's statement.

Dr. MacLean and Dickerson had replied up to Tuesday evening. MacLean wired: "I approved postponement railway hearing."

Dickerson telegraphed: "I have not approved postponement of railway hearings. If the hearings have been definitely postponed, the act of postponement was done by Chairman McNutt. The committee has not acted formally or otherwise on the question based upon facts available to me at the moment. As one individual member of the committee, I am opposed to the postponement."

Federated Press (FP), the labor news service, reported Tuesday that FEPC members had indicated determination to seek a showdown with McNutt. A meeting before Jan. 25 will be urged, FP reported, by committeemen who view McNutt's action as a challenge to FEPC's power. Failure to effect clearing up of the matter, it was hinted, may bring resignation of the group as a body.

MEADE TO MAKE INQUIRY

Senator James Meade of NY, contacted in Washington by phone, said Tuesday he would see McNutt, find out who called the postponement and why. Meade also said he would contact his NY colleague, Senator Robert Wagner, to work out what further action could be taken.

From other unofficial sources in the capital it was learned that McNutt's action was a reversal of [illegible] and the White

respondence McNutt has said he could not order hearings, that the Committee itself ordered them when the need was discovered.

At the time the FEPC was placed under the War Manpower Commission (WMC) a statement from the White House declared that FEPC would be more powerful than ever, that under WMC it could function more freely than before.

Capital rumors about conferences and congressional influences rampant in Washington and the White House itself were many over the weekend. By Monday, when McNutt made his announcement officially, many quarters, recalling McNutt's frequent press declarations that he was responsible to his "Boss" (meaning the President) promptly assumed the cancellation order had its origin directly from the executive mansion.

SECOND HEARING CANCELLED

This is the second important hearing cancelled with no reason being given. The first was in El Paso, Tex., believed to have been killed by the state department.

Although no official confirmation could be obtained, it was reported Tuesday that hearings planned for February in Detroit have also been cancelled. Ralph Bard, assistant secretary of the navy, has written to McNutt, asking that the Detroit hearings be put off on the grounds that the proceedings would interfere with the navy's program of having Negroes hired.

In NYC, report of the cancellation resulted in a meeting early Monday of Warren Banner, National Urban League research director; Edward Lewis, NYUrban League executive secretary; Max Yergan, National Negro Congress head; Ferdinand Smith, National Maritime Union secretary; Joe Ford, People's Committee executive secretary, and *PV* Editor A. Clayton Powell jr. with Wendell Willkie. Plans were discussed at this meeting, it was admitted, but details were withheld temporarily.

EDITORIAL

Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt told a press conference Monday that the administration is considering a new approach to the problem of discrimination against Negroes and minorities in war plants and industry in general. Thus he attempted to explain the indefinite postponement of the FEPC hearing on Southern railroads' discriminating against Negro firemen. Here's what McNutt did not say:

That the new approach has been decided upon by the administration in fear of a coalition between the native fascist Southern bloc and the strengthened Republican minority in congress;

That the general policies of the new approach will therefore reflect most sharply the desires of that Southern bloc which is riding high and is determined to enforce its bigoted, race-hating will on the government of the nation.—STB

Negro Rail Firemen Might Have Gained

WASHINGTON – The planned FEPC hearings on discriminatory policies of Southern railroads against Negro firemen which were postponed indefinitely Monday might well have struck at the roots of the discrimination in employment problem in the US. Negro firemen had for years enjoyed prosperity in employment. No Southern railroad would have anything but Negro firemen.

After World War I, however, the ascendancy of labor and consequent increase in wages brought the Negro fireman top money. The invention of the automatic stoker, making the work easier, followed. This was too much for the white Southerners.

The advent of the Diesel engine, tossed Negro firemen completely into the discard—there are none on the Diesels.

Labor Committee Contacts McNutt

Report of the indefinite postponement of the planned FEPC hearings on Southern railroads' discrimination against Negro firemen brought sharp protest from NYC's Negro Labor Victory Committee (NLVC) Tuesday. In a letter to Manpower Chairman Paul McNutt, who announced postponement, the NLVC said in part:

"If this reported action is true a great blow has been dealt to our efforts for complete national unity and winning the war."

Coincidentally, President Irving Abramson, NJ State CIO Council, in a letter to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in Washington, cited the complete absence of Negroes as field examiners or regional attorneys in NY as a serious fault with the NLRB setup.

Wrote Abramson: "I am sure that you recognize organized labor would welcome the appointment of one or more Negroes in any of these capacities and would receive notice of such employment with a feeling that another notch had been made in the fight for economic freedom for the Negroes."

FEPC Not Too Chummy With 'Boss' Franklin

WASHINGTON—Investigation here has revealed that the FEPC as a whole has never met with President Roosevelt although their appointments came directly from him thru his Executive Order 8802 against discrimination in employment.

The committee received instructions through the chairman Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, Hampton Institute president, and Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary, not from FDR himself.

The Voice Selects As the Most Important Question of the Week:

Does a non-violent, civil disobedience campaign similar to that of Mohandas Gandhi in India offer the Negro in the US an effective method of protest?

Pro:

J. Holmes Smith
Student of Gandhi Movement, leader of Harlem Ashram.

I have seen and felt the power of Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance at work in India. I have been a keen student of the struggle for racial justice here. I am convinced that the fight against Jimcro can best be won in the way Mr. Randolph has proposed. The old methods have about petered out. Words alone are too weak. Violent revolt would be suicidal, especially for such a minority. Violence arouses the tiger of race prejudice. The Gandhi method appeals to the best in the opponent, and wins over public sentiment. Gandhi first proved the power of his way of fighting by a victory over Jimcro in one of the world's toughest spots, South Africa. Returning to India, he found the nationalist movement a weak and windy affair. It talked and petitioned. Nothing much happened. Then a little brown man showed India's patriots how to throw not only their words but also their lives into the struggle.

His people, made slavish by generations of imperialism, shook themselves, stood erect, swung into action, and within a comparatively short time put the world's mightiest empire on the defensive. Even with Churchill in the saddle, India's freedom will come soon. We must take the essentials of the Gandhi-Nehru method and adapt them vitally to our purpose. We must study, arouse, train and campaign non-violently till Jimcro is gone.

Con:

Kumar Goshal
Indian author, lecturer
New York City

Non-violent civil-disobedience can be used as an effective weapon by oppressed peoples only under certain circumstances. At a certain stage of their struggle against Imperialism the Indian people could and did use it. The Indian people now find themselves faced with the even greater danger of Japanese aggression; under the present circumstances they are not following Gandhi's policy of non-violent civil-disobedience. This war for national liberation is creating its own necessities; the Indian people are demanding democratic rights and the right to be armed as a war necessity; they are already organizing volunteer people's defense units in spite of the opposition of the British government, for, they know that active and effective defense against Japanese aggression will contribute to their struggle for national liberation. It seems to me that the Negro people have more effective ways to fight discrimination than the use of Gandhi's non-violent civil disobedience. The Indians have no civil liberties even in their statute books; the Negro people have theoretical rights which they can demand to be translated into action; they have available to them democratic means by which—with the active support of organized labor and other progressive Americans—they can fight to abolish the poll tax, eliminate Jim Crow and other forms of discrimination as a pre-condition in this war against fascism.

The People:

(Aside from the Pro and Con discussion in the adjoining columns the Inquiring Photographer queried the following persons selected at random.)

Yolanda Shervington, 72 E 105 st, secretary: If we can gain our rights by following the procedure of Mohandas Gandhi, then by all means we should do so. If Negroes everywhere would make efforts to break down the imaginary "line" that is drawn for them, there would be a gradual decrease on the part of those who attempt to keep discrimination alive.

Charles Grant, 1793 Amsterdam ave, bowling instructor: I definitely believe the end of discrimination in its ugly form would disappear if we in America would use the same tactics that were used by Mohandas Gandhi in India, because those whites who try to enforce segregation seldom meet concerted efforts on our part to stamp out this perverted injustice.

Powell Lindsay, 14 W 127 st, mixologist: I definitely believe the Negro in America should make every effort to follow the pace set by Gandhi in his civil disobedience campaign because too long the Negro has suffered from the evil even in the states where civil rights bills have been passed that mean nothing more than statues on the records and have little effect.

Rebecca Mason, 125 W 119 st: I am in favor of the civil disobedience campaign that Mohandas Gandhi started in India. I believe the plight of the Negro in America would be greatly improved if we followed this procedure. We have been too leninent and too tolerant in allowing the whites to segregate us in the manner in which they have in the past.

Jesse McGuire, second class seaman, Kansas City, Mo.: No, I don't believe it's practical to attempt to put Gandhi's campaign in effect in America, because I believe the Negro should not go into any place where he is [illegible] patience has taught [illegible] and painful [illegible] places [illegible] going.

Milton Webster Gets Post

The appointment of Milton Webster, of the International Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, as a member of the post-war planning committee by President William Green of the AF of L is a straw in the wind that indicates that the hammering which A. Philip Randolph has been giving the federation has not all come to nought.

It was at the AF of L convention in Atlantic City several years ago that I met Milton Webster, who, along with Randolph, was the "brain trust" on the strategy board. They both had that never-say-die spirit.

Persistence has its rewards, and we can be sure that Milton Webster will see to it that colored workers are given a part in the important post-war planning activities of the AF of L.

Leaders Call Postponement of Hearings Death Knell for FEPC

Committee Poll Show 4 Opposed Action; 2 Members Give Views

WASHINGTON

Labor and civic leaders here have expressed fear that postponement of the FEPC railway hearings would sound the death knell for the FEPC, whose status has been doubtful since its transfer to the War Manpower Commission.

Official, but off-the-record sources, however, declared that the death knell was sounded with the committee's transfer and that McNutt's action in "postponing" the hearing marked only the beginning of the funeral.

Critics of the postponement maintained that McNutt's action has reduced the committee to a mere figurehead.

Can't Predict Effect

George M. Johnson, assistant executive director of the committee, told the AFRO that it would be "very difficult to predict at this time" what effect the postponement would have on the group's activities.

He said he did not know that any resignations had been threatened, but admitted that "considerably more than a majority" of the speakers had opposed postponement of the hearings.

Conferences Fail

Johnson was also questioned on Commissioner's McNutt's statement that the postponement would permit "intensified efforts on the part of the WMC to secure full utilization of manpower in the railroad industry."

He said that the FEPC had already made every possible effort to secure compliance with Order 8802 by the offending union and management before the hearings were decided upon

4 Opposed Action

A later poll of FEPC members revealed that four had opposed the postponement, one had been willing to follow the wishes of the majority, ande one had been for it.

All admitted that McNutt's announcement had come as a complete surprise.

Boris Shiskin, one of the committee members, told the AFRO that the committee had been given "no opportunity to express its views."

"I am therefore urging an early meeting of the committee with Mr. McNutt," he said, "to determine the reasons for postponement and to assure future enforcement of Executive Order 8802."

Lester Granger

URBAN LEAGUE:

"On the face of it, McNutt's action seems to be nothing more than a cowardly yielding to the pressure of reactionary forces, and it bodes ill for the kind of leadership that we can expect in the future conduct of the war."

* * *

Walter White

N.A.A.C.P.:

"If McNutt's orders to the FEPC to cancel hearings on discrimination by railroad management and unions stand, it will rob that committee of its last vestige of justification for its existence and will open the floodgates of discrimination against racial, religious and other minorities, which will not only reverse the happy trend against discrimination, but will directly and dangerously affect the successful prosecution of the war."

* * *

B. F. McLauren

BORTHERHOOD, SLEEPING CAR PORTERS:

"We feel that the dropping of the hearings at this time is an attempt to scuttle the FEPC as an effective agent. The fact that there has been postponement of other hearing dealing with basic problems of discrimination leads us to feel that the President has accepted the appeasement policy of permitting the reactionary forces of the country to make the FEPC ineffective in any future activity."

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1943

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In suggesting that colored citizens resort to civil disobedience in order to win their rightful demands for equal rights, A. Philip Randolph is guilty of the most dangerous demagoguery on record.

The "March-on-Washington" plan was bad enough, but alongside a call to civil disobedience, it seems quite sane.

For a stated period Mr. Randolph is suggesting that colored citizens disobey all jim-crow laws as a demonstration of their dissatisfaction with them (and presumably he is prepared to lead the way) but there is to be no violence!

Those who are foolish enough to follow Mr. Randolph's advice may not resort to violence, but the prejudiced white people of the jim-crow States where over three-fourths of the colored citizens reside will be under no compulsion to refrain from violence.

They will regard such a campaign as the opening of the race war which every Southern demagogue has proclaimed as imminent since the end of the Civil War; and how they will react, everybody who knows anything about the South well knows.

Mr. Randolph is suggesting that we follow the example of Gandhi's followers in India on the assumption that there is some similarity between conditions here and in that unfortunate country.

In India there are 390 million colored folk and about 250,000 white people; while in the U.S.A., there are 120 million white folk and 13 million colored folk.

Nevertheless, every civil disobedience campaign in India has not only ended in bloodshed and imprisonment of tens of thousands of Indians but has failed to win Indian independence. It may succeed in the future, but it has not done so in the past, either in India or South Africa. What makes Mr. Randolph or anyone else think it would succeed in this country, except in offering irresponsible and vicious elements an excuse for slaughtering thousands of colored citizens?

We would be much more alarmed by this latest Randolph bid for leadership, if we were not aware of the sound judgment and cynical sense of humor of the masses of colored people.

If Mr. Randolph calls for such a campaign at the scheduled spring conference of the March-on-Washington committee, we predict that thirteen million loyal American colored citizens will repudiate him with a loud and firm "NO!"

THE WORLD'S FURROWED FIELDS ARE MONUMENTS OF HIS GREATNESS

Highlights In Life Of The 'Wizard Of Tuskegee'

From slave to world renown scientist who was bought for the price of a horse to become a benefactor of mankind and "God-Angel" of the South—that epitomizes the career of Dr. George Washington Carver, a gentle man of keen intellect, shy disposition, indefatigable energy, unfailing patience and a christian to the core.

Dr. Carver has been honored by Presidents of the United States, European royalty, scientific societies, educational institutions at home and abroad, the Congress of the United States, great industrial geniuses, religious bodies, the members of his race and topped by his crowning achievement in being recognized by the people of dixie as the one man who saved the economy of the south and gave it industrial independence.

Notable highlights in the life of America's best known agricultural-scientist follows:

Elected member of Iowa State College faculty, 1894.

Teacher and director of agricultural research, Tuskegee Institute, since 1896.

Elected member of Royal Society of Arts, London, 1917.

Awarded Spingarn Medal, 1923.

Honorary degree, Simpson College, Iowa, 1928.

Collaborator, Bureau of Plant Industry, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1935.

Recipient of Roosevelt Medal, 1939.

Creator of 160 products from the peanut.

Discovered over a 100 products from the sweet potato.

Made 60 articles of value from the pecan.

Extracted dyes from southern clay.

Honored by the American Chemical Society.

Life story featured in the movies by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

Citizens contributed bronze bust to Tuskegee Institute.

Establishment of the Carver Creative Research Laboratories at Tuskegee.

Appeared before the Congressional Ways and Means Committee.

Honorary member, Mark Twain Society of New York.

Named "Man of the Year" by the Progressive Farmer, farm journal, 1942.

Gave Henry Ford, motor magnate, formula for synthetic rubber.

Gave camouflage paint formula to U.S. Army.

Developed cheap paint formula.

Gave medical profession formula to treat infantile paralysis.

Recipe for making delectable dishes from wild weeds.

Recipient of the first annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South.

Humanitarian Award of the Variety Clubs of America, 1940.

Headlined second Freedom's People radio series sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education.

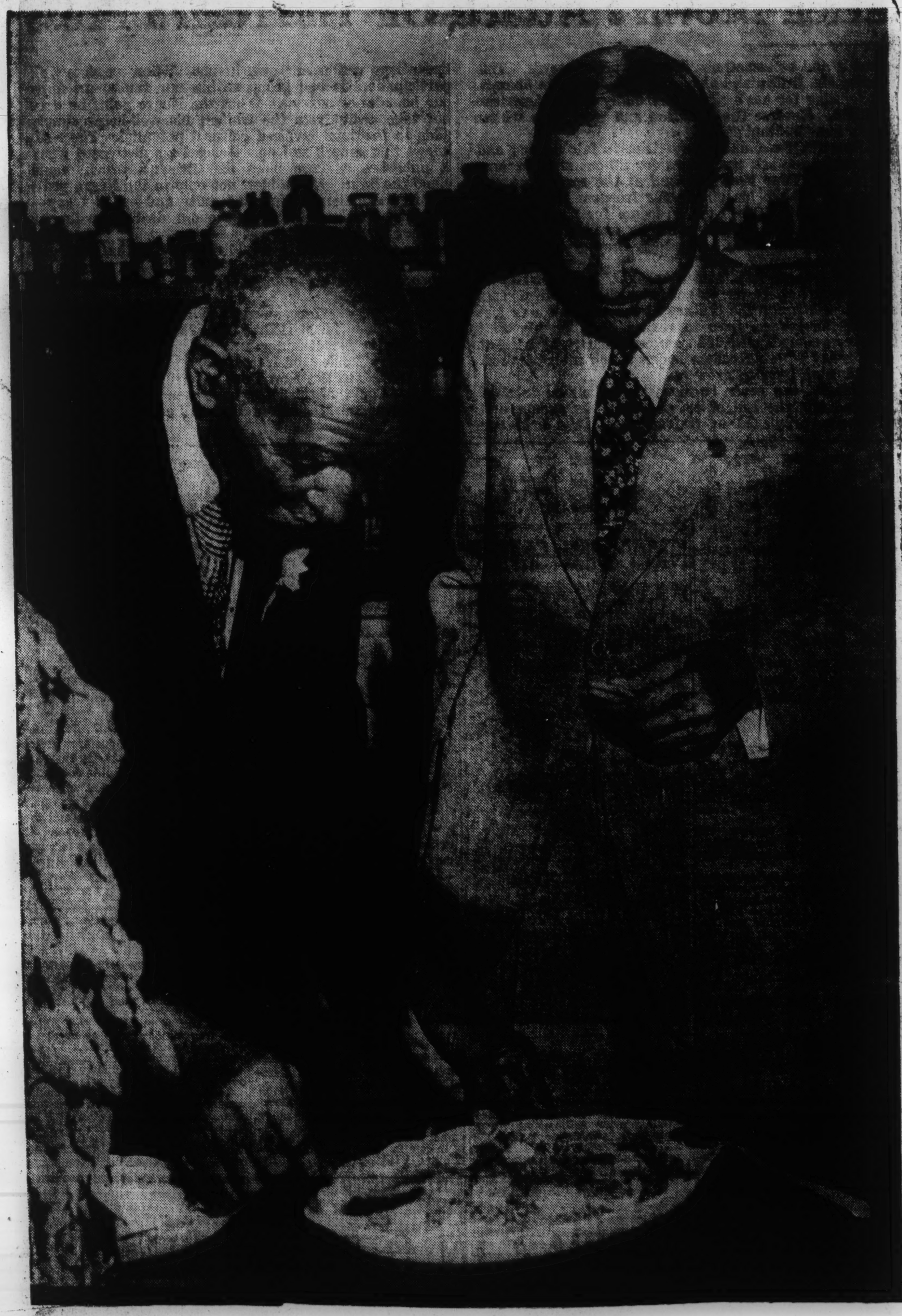
National Honor Roll on the Wall of Fame, World's Fair, 1939-41.

Schomburg Collection Honor Roll.

Honored by the following universities and colleges: Duke University, New York University, Yale University, Furman University, University of N. Carolina, Greensboro College for Women, Howard University, Washington College, Mississippi State College for Women and Millspas College, Mississippi.

Dr. George Washington Carver, eminent scientist who died at Tuskegee, Ala., Tuesday, was a man who lived to serve. He took what he had and made something out of it. He gave new life to thousands of farms, took the insignificant peanut and gave the world more than 300 useful products, he developed hundreds of medicines that others may be healthier and happier. Pictures above shown Dr. Carver during his special mission to Henry Ford's famous industrial empire in Dearborn, Mich., where he went to aid scientists of the Ford Motor Co. develop synthetic rubber. Top, left to right: Dr. Carver prepares a tasty dish of health food for Mr. Ford, prepared from wild weeds and vegetables. Center, he stands with Mr. Ford and his son, Edsel, in front of the modernized cabin, which was built for the famous Negro scientist during his mission. At the right, Dr. Carver in a characteristic pose. He was devoutly religious and kind to all people. Lower photo on the right shows Dr. Carver with John R. Williams, editor of the Detroit edition of The Pittsburgh Courier, Austin W. Curtis Jr., Dr. Carver's assistant, and John R. Williams Jr. Mr. Curtis has been named to succeed Dr. Carver at Tuskegee. He is the son of Austin W. Curtis, director of the Department of Agriculture of West Virginia State college.

RICH MEN AND POOR, HUMBLE AND GREAT BEAT A PATH TO DR. CARVER'S DOOR--



McNutt Halting of FEPC Probe Brings Protests

By GEORGE SHORT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Manpower Commissioner Paul McNutt this week cracked down on the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) by cancelling the public hearings scheduled January 25-27 which were to have investigated discriminatory practices in the railroad industry. McNutt, by this action, apparently sought to avoid an embarrassing situation for the administration, but he has only succeeded in stirring a tempest that may sweep Negro communities in all sections of the country.

The Jan. 25-27 hearings were to have revealed the widespread discrimination against colored men on American railroads and was to have spotlighted the situation of 2,000 Negro firemen in what is commonly called the "Chattanooga Choo-Choo" cases, described in last week's New Leader by noted writer and journalist James Rorty. The railroad investigation was regarded as the first major test of strength of the FEPC. Its work hitherto restricted to single plants or localities, the FEPC was now striking out at one of the most flagrant areas of job discrimination. McNutt's order stopped it cold.

From the subtle and devious whisperings that is Washington "inside" gossip, it is understood that the FEPC has become an administration stepchild. Originally set up as an independent agency when A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement demanded action, the FEPC was shorn of its independence a few months ago and placed under the control of McNutt. Labor and Negro groups protested this move at that time, asserting that the FEPC would lose what little powers it had. These fears have repeatedly been proven justified and are undescored by McNutt's action this week.

The situation, in effect, is this: more than 2,000 Negro firemen were employed on Southern railroads when the work consisted of the heavy, back-breaking labors of shoveling coal into the steam engines. Under an ICC order these roads were to install Diesel engines; the contract between the union and the roads provides for the easing out of Negro firemen on the new runs and a clause barring Negro firemen from Diesel engine trains. The net effect is to oust these 2,000 Negro firemen from their jobs.

Negro groups, incensed at the raw treatment, are organizing a protest meeting in Washington on January 24 at the Vermont Ave. Baptist Church. Chief speakers will be James Carey of the CIO, A. Philip Randolph.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Who Is Warren Brown, Ph.D.?

By HARRY McALPIN

I know Warren Brown, Ph.D. It seems few others do. . . . . .

He's the gent, you remember, who "warned" the Negro press in an article appearing as a "reprint" in the Reader's Digest two weeks before it was actually published in the Saturday Review of Literature.

He's the gent who poses as the expert on Negroes. He says his race may be divided into ordinary Negroes and sensation-mongering, rabble-rousing Negro leaders. He withholds the information that he, himself, was once executive secretary of the "March-On-Washington" movement, which certainly goes much, much further than the Negro press in "rabble-rousing."

Is Brown now starting a new movement—a March from Washington?

He's the gent who professes to know so much about the Negro press, but about whom the Negro press seems to know so little.

He's the gent who took a Pegglerian blast at the Negro press for showing the worst side of the Negro, but who failed to see anything but the worst possible side of the Negro press in his own analysis.

He's the gent who would paint murals on the wall by drawing ugly images with a stick in the mud—and warn the Negro press by magnifying its faults to outsiders.

Yes, I know the gent. We went to school together in St. Louis. That's where he got the idea that he'd like to be a newspaperman.

See SILVER LINING, Page 15

By Frieda S. Miller

Liberty Leader, Jan. 16, 1943 --

The Battle Against Race Discrimination

DISCRIMINATION against Jews, Negroes, and persons of foreign birth is steadily decreasing in New York State. I am happy to report that the Committee on Discrimination in Employment of the State War Council has made considerable progress over the past two years in its attempt to bring about equal employment opportunity in our war industries for all loyal workers.

Since the beginning of the committee's field activities, more than 250 establishments employing more than 300,000 workers have been visited by our representatives. Of these, approximately 80 per cent were engaged in war work. The majority of the remainder were defense training schools and employment agencies.

The purpose of the Committee on Discrimination in Employment is to effect equal employment opportunity for all loyal workers in industries engaged to any extent whatsoever in the production, manufacture or distribution of war material. The committee was established by Governor Lehman in 1941 and became affiliated with the State War Council when that body was set up in 1942.

It is my privilege to serve as chairman of the committee, the other members of which include George Backer (vice-chairman), Christine Allen, Lawrence D. Bell, Dorothy Bellanca, Edward L. Bernays, John Brennan, Rev. Wilbur T. Clemons, Francis J. D'Amanda, Marguerite Gane, Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, Lester Granger, Rev. Murray Shipley Howland, Frances Keller, Richard Lawrence, Rev. John J. McClafferty, B. F. McLaurin, Richard H. Pass, Emil Rieve, Dorothy Strauss, Channing H. Tobias, George S. Van Schaick and Wilfred H. Winans. Andrew G. Doyle is executive director.

Our committee is primarily concerned with two forms of discrimination in employment, both of which are fairly common. One hinges on nationality or country of a worker's origin, the other on racial or religious prejudice.

1—Many persons of Italian or German extraction are barred from war work, even though they have unquestionally proven their complete loyalty to this country.

2—It is difficult for thousands of qualified Negroes and Jews to secure jobs in the plants which are furnishing our war material.

Both forms of bigotry contribute toward disunity at a time when we should all be pulling together.

* * *

WE are, of course, fully aware that strict precautionary measures must be taken to protect secret plans and secret processes which are vital to our war effort. However, it is nonsensical to deny a worker with an Italian or German name an opportunity to work in a plant manufacturing hospital bandages or some other non-technical item, the production of which is by no stretch of the imagination a military secret.

We have been informed of many instances where loyal citizens, many of whom have served with distinction in previous wars and who despise the present governments in the country of their origin, have been denied the opportunity to contribute to our war production effort. They have been barred from work in establishments which produce army uniforms, kitchen utensils, glassware and scores of other items which are in great demand. Our committee's premise is that such discrimination can and must be abolished.

We all know that distinctions of color, race and religion are based on deep-rooted, ignorant prejudices and are not easily destroyed. We also know that such distinctions are wholly irrevelant to an individual's occupational fitness and aptitudes. They are also irrelevant to the labor needs of industry. Through education and other means we hope eventually to overcome these prejudices and, as I have said, we have made considerable progress here in New York State.

In working towards this goal, our committee resorts to force only as a least resort—when appeal and persuasion fail. Our field representatives are constantly contacting holders of war contracts in all sections of the state and, where discriminatory personnel policies are pursued, attempt to convince the employer he should abolish these practices.

If an employer refuses to cooperate with our committee, refuses to honor our representative's request to stop hiring practices based on religious, racial or national prejudice, we then invoke the laws of New York State. They enable us to take positive action to remedy the situation.

* * *

AMENDMENTS to the Civil Rights Law, enacted by resent sessions of the legislature, state clearly that *all holders of war contracts in this state must cease all discriminatory hiring practices.* I refer, in particular, to the Mahoney Act, which states: "It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation engaged to any extent whatsoever in the production, manufacture or distribution of military or naval material, equipment or supplies for the State of New York, or for the federal government, to refuse to employ any person in any capacity on account of the race, color, creed or national origin of such person."

If a war production employer, or an employment agency, is believed to be practicing such discrimination, he is asked by the committee to conform with the law by changing his personnel policy immediately. If appeal and persuasion are ineffective, the Industrial commissioner may issue a formal order either asking the employer for pertinent employment data each month, or requesting that the employer cease and desist certain employment practices at once, or demanding certain affirmative action. If the employer fails to obey the order, he is liable to criminal prosecution for a misdemeanor.

Other sections of the Civil Rights Law which can be invoked against discrimination in employment follow:

"Discrimination by utility companies.—It shall be unlawful for any public utility company, as defined in the public service law, to refuse to employ any person in any capacity in the operation or maintenance of a public service on account of the race, color or religion of such person.

"Discrimination by labor organizations prohibited.—As used in this section, the term 'labor organization' means any organization which exists and is constituted for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining, or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms or conditions of employment, or of other mutual aid or protection.—No labor union shall hereafter, directly or indirectly, by ritualistic practice, constitutional or by-law prescription, by tacit agreement among its members or otherwise, deny a person or persons membership in its organization by reason of his race, color or creed, or by regulations, practice or otherwise, deny to any of its members, by reason of race, color or creed, equal treatment with all other members in any designation of members to any employer for employment, promotion or dismissal by such employer."

The Industrial Commissioner is empowered to enforce these provisions as well as the Mahoney Act and, in so doing, may use the powers of administration, investigation, inquiry, subpoena and hearing delegated by the Labor Law. The commissioner may require at regular intervals, or otherwise, the submission of information, records and reports pertinent to discriminatory practices in industries.

* * *

I SINCERELY urge every employer and every worker to cooperate with our committee in its efforts to effect equal employment opportunities for all loyal workers. If we all work shoulder to shoulder, we cannot fail.

Now, more than ever before, there is need for unity of action and singleness of purpose among all our people. Our war production program needs the productive energy of every able-bodied worker. Discriminatory hiring practices must not stand in the way.

Bias

FASCISM is a world which ranks men on a false and arbitrary basis and uses brute force to keep groups of men submerged. So, in the Nazi heirarchy, comes Germans, Scandinavians, French, Slavs, Poles and Jews. A democracy knows no such group gradations. Each man is ranked individually for what he alone is worth and what he can contribute to the community. Yet in a democracy these cruel and atavistic urges organized by Fascism manifest themselves in prejudices and discrimination. Combating that is the job which the government has set itself to do—and not always so successfully as recent news about the Federal FEPC indicates. The job being done in this State is described here by Frieda Miller, New York State Industrial Commissioner.

Four More Plants Get FEPC Ultimatum

WASHINGTON

Vultee Aircraft, Inc., has taken steps, in keeping with directions recently issued to the company by the FEPC, to eliminate discrimination against war workers because of their race and color, Lawrence W. Cramer, executive secretary of the committee, announced Monday.

The directions followed a public examination of the complaints against the Nashville, Tenn., division of the company at public hearings held in Birmingham, Ala., last June.

3 Others Get Ultimatum

At the same time, the committee announced it had also issued directions to the Alabama Shipbuilding and Drydock Corp., Mobile, Ala.; the A. J. Honeycutt Co., Birmingham, Ala., and the Gulf Shipbuilding Corp., Chickasaw, Ala., after it had found that each of the companies had violated Executive Order 8802 in its hiring and upgrading practices so far as colored workers are concerned.

The Vultee Company was directed to end discriminatory employment practices; to issue formal instructions to its personnel officers that recruitment, training and upgrading must be solely on the basis of the qualifications of applicants, and to give formal notice to all employment agencies that it will accept workers "for any and all classifications of work or training" solely on the basis of qualifications.

Union Bias Out, Too

Vultee was further directed to issue formal instructions to its appropriate officers to delete reference to race or religion from application forms; to inform training agencies from which it recruits workers of its new policies, and to notify all labor unions with which it has contracts that no discrimination was to be allowed.

In the case of Honeycutt, which was erecting pre-fabricated houses for the government, the committee found that the company had refused to employ colored carpenters who belonged to unions chartered by the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, AF of L, and one of which unions belonged to the Mobile Building and Construction Trades Council.

Only as Porters

In the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation, the committee found that the company refused to employ colored men except as porters and janitors and insufficient evidence was found to support the corporation's contention that "white employees will refuse to work if colored men are hired."

In the Alabama Shipbuilding and Drydock Corporation, the committee found that the corporation "has refused to employ skilled colored labor and has failed and refused to upgrade or promote into skilled positions colored men already in its employ, solely because of their race."

The full directions to each company followed the lines of those issued to Vultee, detailing specific steps which the company involved must take to bring its hiring, upgrading and training program in line with national policy as expressed in Executive Order 8802.

Saturday, January 23, 1943

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

ALUMINUM TRUST OBEYS ORDER TO END DISCRIMINATION PRACTICE

FAIRFIELD, CONN.—An agreement to end immediately discrimination against Negro workers was reached here between representatives of the Aluminum Company of America and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice of the War Manpower Commission, following a conference in which the executive board of Local 24, Aluminum Workers of America, participated.

The company, which is one of the largest employers of Negro labor in the Connecticut area, has been charged on numerous occasions with biased practices in its hiring and promotional practices. It is alleged to have refused (1) to employ qualified Negro workers for open jobs, (2) to promote eligible Negro employees to openings in certain departments where colored workers were not ordinarily used, and (3) to employ Negro women.

The company was asked to correct these practices immediately by an FEPC representative, who arranged the conference. Through its general superintendent, Alfred Hinton, it agreed to do so. Instructions were issued to the personnel department to hire colored men to work in departments from which they previously had been barred, and to hire colored women whose qualifications are equal to those of white women now being employed.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 9, 1943

Court Declines to Pass Upon Colored Quotas

By MELVIN B. JOHNSON

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Efforts to secure release of Private Winfred Lynn from Camp Upton failed on Monday when a second writ of habeas corpus was dismissed by Judge Marcus Campbell in Federal Court.

Lynn, a Jamaica gardner, was arrested for failure to report on September 18 for induction as a part of a "colored quota" fixed by a Queens draft board.

First Writ

He applied for the first writ of habeas corpus, which was dismissed when the court ruled that the proper time to argue his case was after induction.

Lynn entered Camp Upton and filed his writ of habeas corpus again. At the hearing Monday the army defense was that Lynn was inducted as a delinquent and not as a part of any quota, a technicality with which the court agreed.

Colored Quotas Illegal

The setting up of quotas based on race is contrary to the Draft Act, Arthur Garfield Hayes of the Civil Liberties Union, Lynn's chief counsel, told the court, in appealing for a ruling as to whether the Queens Board had violated the act by seeking to induct Lynn for "training and service" as part of a "colored quota."

Justice Campbell refused to consider the jim-crow raised by Mr. Hayes, since the induction order did not refer to Lynn's race.

Willing to Be Jailed

A former gardener in Jamaica, Private Lynn told Justice Campbell that he did not enter the army to escape a jail sentence.

"I was willing to go to jail rather than to fight where there is discrimination," Lynn testified in response to a question from the court, adding that he had only

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Court Declines to Pass Upon Colored Quotas

Technicality Prevents Decision on Merits of Lynn Case

(Continued from Page 1)

entered the service on the advice of his counsel.

"I'm still ready to go to jail," he further stated.

Willing to Go as Citizen

Attired in uniform, Private Lynn spoke with deep conviction as he told Justice Campbell of his feelings against racial discrimination.

"Take me in the army as a citizen and I will gladly fight," he said, after pointing out that draft board quotas are not established for Jews, Italians or other racial groups.

Col. Arthur V. McDermott, chief of the Selective Service Draft Board of Greater New York, admitted, when questioned by Mr. Hayes, that the question of color is a factor in determining selectees for military service.

This was a custom, Colonel McDermott added, after stating that he was not aware of any law establishing such a practice.

Definite Quotas Admitted

John Black, secretary of the agency headed by Colonel McDermott, testified at length as to the policy usually observed by local draft boards, also admitting that definite quotas are set for colored and white registrants.

Aware of the importance of the issue raised by Private Lynn and the possible effect a favorable decision would have on the present setup, the War Department sent several high-ranking officers from Washington, D.C., to testify in defense of their policy.

Colonel Johnson There

Included in the group was

Campbell C. Johnson, col- on the National Selec- vice Board. The decision by Justice made the proposed testi- e officers unnecessary. took exception to the refused to given an future plans for an ap- he studies the opinion Campbell.

Will Continue

nn, brother of Private o was associated with n the attack on the

RANDOLPH URGES "I AM AN AMERICAN TOO" WEEK

All 'March' Groups Will Adopt Slogan

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 7—"Because of the non-enforcement of the Bill of Rights and the several Civil Rights amendments to the Constitution, including the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, and the practice of jim-crowism upon American citizens on account of race and color, makes for the nullification and destruction of our American democratic institutions, ideals, faiths and values and prepares the groundwork for the growth of a violent fascism, chauvinist racism and a devastating political and economic nationalism, and intolerant religious dogmatism, I am suggesting a week to be set aside and known as 'I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO WEEK,' with the slogan, "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing the Constitution and Abolishing Jim Crow," declared A. Philip Randolph, head of the "March on Washington" movement and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

According to Mr. Randolph, the week shall be observed the last week in May, 1943, during the time of the "March On Washington" movement's national conference in Chicago, which shall be known as "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" conference.

TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON RACE

The purpose of this "I Am An American, Too" Week is to focus national and world opinion upon the struggles of the American Negroes for their democratic and civil rights and mobilize and enlist the sympathy and co-operative public sentiment of the American people and the liberal-minded people of the world, states Randolph.

As a part of the program of this week, there will be: (1) "I Am An American, Too" marches on the city halls memorializing the mayors and city councils from coast to coast to memorialize the President and Congress to enforce the Constitution and abolish jim-crow in the interest of achieving total democracy over the forces of fascism at home and abroad. (2) Sending of letters and telegrams and the making of long distance telephone calls to the President, Secretaries of War, Navy, Labor, Agriculture, Interior, State, Commerce and chairmen of the War Production Board, War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of Price Administration, and the United States Attorney General, requesting and urging these government agencies to enforce the Constitution and abolish discrimination and segregation in the Armed Forces, the government and defense industries.

(3) Sending of telegrams, letters and making long distance telephone calls to the presidents and personnel managers of every Southern railroad and terminal company to observe the Constitution by abolishing jim-crow cars and terminal railroad waiting rooms marked "colored." (4) Calling upon every Negro and white preacher, paper and magazine to preach sermons and write editorias on "I Am An American, Too" with slogan, "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by Enforcing and Observing the Constitution and Abolishing Jim Crow."

It is Mr. Randolph's suggestion that the Negro organizations throughout the country plan and execute "I Am An American, Too" Week as a symbol of the struggle of the Negro people for the status of first-class citizenship.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 9, 1943

FEPC May Act in Ohio Case

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee this week informed the Future Outlook League, sponsor of discrimination suits against two local war firms, that it will take "appropriate action" in the cases.

John C. Holly, president of the league, said that an official copy of the decision of Judge Frank Merrick, who ruled that the courts cannot enforce the President's Executive Order 8802 outlawing discrimination in war plants, will be sent to the committee.

Appeal Pending

Mr. Holly said that in addition to a letter from the committee, his league had also received word from Paul V. McNutt, manpower czar, that the FEPC is interested in the litigation.

Meantime, an appeal of Judge Merrick's ruling, which held that the Warner-Swasey Company, makers of turret lathes, and the Thompson Products Company, an affiliate of Thompson Aircraft Company, are private industries and entitled to hire whom they choose, is pending in the Ohio Court of Appeals.

CALLS CONFERENCE ON DISCRIMINATION

Roosevelt Suggests a Move to Strengthen Fair Employment Practices

FIRST SESSION MONDAY

President Wants Railroad Cases Involving Negroes Taken Up After Talks

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3—Taking cognizance of complaints among minority groups concerning alleged Federal inaction on discrimination in war employment, President Roosevelt directed Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commission chairman, today to call a conference to consider revising and strengthening the powers of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. It is understood that the committee will meet with Mr. McNutt next Monday to make plans for the conference.

A White House statement said:

"For nearly two years, the President said, the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its executive director have done an excellent piece of work, placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicapped by the fact that the members of the committee were working on a part-time voluntary basis, and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

"The President said he considers it advisable therefore to review the situation, and that, when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been temporarily postponed will be continued."

Most of the recent controversy over the FEPC developed after Mr. McNutt canceled, on Jan. 11, a hearing, which the committee had scheduled for Jan. 25, 26 and 27, on charges that some railroads had discriminated against Negroes. There were complaints from minority groups over Mr. McNutt's action, and the C. I. O. especially condemned him.

The FEPC was established about two years ago by Executive order when there was much talk of a Negro "march on Washington" to protest discriminatory treatment.

Another Open Letter To Paul V. McNutt

Yesterday, I wrote asking you that you reconsider your decision to kill plans for hearings by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) on discrimination against Negroes in the railroads and in the railroad unions.

Today, I repeat the request. On the record, you have shown a keen appreciation of the need for extending that share of democracy so far permitted our Negro people. The request is repeated in the belief that your decision was hasty and that when you re-examine the problem in the light of your previous attitude, you will permit the FEPC to go along with the job of fitting Negroes into the war effort.

Yesterday's open letter discussed threats by Southern Negro-haters to hamstring the President's war program unless the Negro *is kept in his place*. Today, I would like to talk on the problem from the viewpoint of the people.

Anyone who has paid particular attention knows that our Negro people have not yet been made to know that this is their war to the extent that the white people know it. The failure rests with those of us who are white.

This *is* the Negro's war, not because democracy has yet brought the colored man his full measure of freedom, but because it offers the means by which some day he can achieve that full measure of human right and freedom. The Fascists can offer him neither freedom nor the oppportunity ever to achieve freedom.

It would seem simple to get these facts across to our 13 million colored people. But it is not. It is not simple, because the best evidence to the Negro that he can make progress under our democracy is progress itself. If he can't see that he is gaining some greater share of equality of opportunity, some greater chance to get and hold a job and bring himself out of his present condition of poverty, it is natural for his doubts to prevail.

The Negro, by and large, is not asking for the millennium. He knows that progress is slow. But he does expect something, and has a right to expect it. If he can get a decent measure of equality of job opportunity, he can work out many of his other problems for himself. That's where the FEPC comes in.

The FEPC has been successful, to some degree at least, in knocking down the Fascist idea of race superiority and in convincing employers and workers that workmanship doesn't depend on the color of the skin. The FEPC has put men in jobs that could not have been filled without breaking down the prejudices that locked out Negro workers.

That is the kind of an operation that you are destroying when you refuse to permit the FEPC to go ahead with the discrimination hearings in the railroad industry.

On the record to date, the FEPC activity has made the ledger on the Negro question come out on the credit side, notwithstanding some bad entries in the debit column. For example:

Jim Crowism in the Army. While this seems a small matter to many white people, it is not small when you stop to consider it from the viewpoint of your Negro friends. In civilian life, a Negro is in a position to avoid many of the humiliations and embarrassments of discrimination. In the Army, in outfits that operate on a Jim Crow basis, he must live with discrimination. It is unfortunate that the Army doesn't learn by the fine example set in some of its own officers' training schools, where discrimination has been wiped out and where white and colored candidates live and work together during the course with mutual benefit.

The fact that there are such items as Army discrimination on the debit side of the ledger makes it all the more important that entries like the FEPC on the credit side be preserved.

Because of the advances the FEPC has made possible, wise and responsible Negro leaders have been able to go to our underprivileged group of 13 million colored people and show that progress was being made and that, while progress was slow, it was real.

If we kill this agency of progress, we will undermine these leaders, and other leaders, whose counsel is not so wise, may prevail.

For instance, consider the solution proposed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who has been talking about leading a Negro *March On Washington* for a long time now. It was Randolph, you remember, who was cut short from a full discussion of Negro discrimination by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor in Toronto.

Thus far, Randolph's *March On Washington* has been mostly talk, and it is my own opinion, rightly or wrongly, that Randolph didn't actually intend to lead a march on Washington, but used it as a political threat—a verbal weapon to use in the fight for a greater share of democracy for Negroes, rather than a real physical weapon.

Now, if progress like that made possible by the FEPC is cut short, aren't we creating a situation that makes that kind of talk much more real?

In peacetime, I'm not so sure but what a peaceful demonstration of that kind would be justified. It would bring dramatically to the attention of all our people the situation in which our Negroes find themselves: denied jobs, discriminated against, kept in poverty—because of the fact that they happened to be born colored.

But in wartime, there is no question a march on Washington is not justified. It would seriously harm the war effort. It would be a blow to both Negro and national morale, and it might lead to tragic consequences. It is possible that such a march would lead to bloodshed. It is certain that it would lead to ill feeling, and would serve to alienate from the Negro many of the white people who know and appreciate his problem and are working with him to try to solve it. A Negro march on Washington now would almost certainly be a tragic blow to the cause of democracy and to the cause of the Negro people.

I am talking of these things because I think this is the time for frank talk, and this letter is written with that in mind. Isn't it up to us to show the Negro that the way to progress is not through wartime marches on Washington? And isn't a continuation of the same kind of progress that we have been making through the FEPC the best way to show them?

I hope that you will agree and that you will sanction the FEPC hearings.

—JOHN P. LEWIS.

An Open Letter to Paul V. McNutt:

Yesterday you intervened with the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to suppress plans for hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry—hearings that held promise of opening railroad employment to all Americans on an equal footing in this time of vital need.

If you stand by your decision, this is tragedy. But it isn't too late to change your mind. Respectfully, and with some knowledge of the considerations on both sides of the case, we ask that you reverse your decision. Keep the door open for whatever small measure of advance this proceeding may offer to 13 millions of our people.

Exactly what considerations are in your mind, of course, we don't know. But there are some obvious, and serious, factors that may have influenced your decision.

First, of course, are the political facts. We know, as well as you do, that your commanding officer—the Commander-in-Chief of all of us in this war—is faced by an almost intolerable political situation in this present Congress. Hostile Republicans, some of them men who put their hatred of the President and their desire for a return to reaction above every other consideration, are within a hair's breadth of control.

In this situation, the President, faced by constant political sniping and hamstringing legislative action, wants the support of the Southern Democratic bloc.

Now, as we all know, the Southern bloc, by and large, is composed of men loyal to the war effort in its international aspects. Because they come from the cotton and tobacco states, which must export or starve, they know how closely the peace and welfare of our own country are tied up with the rest of the world. But, also because they are from the cotton states—where the poll tax makes most of them the representatives not of the people, but of the privileged minority at the top—they are inclined to be reactionary on domestic issues.

The people who elect them—again by virtue of the poll tax—are people who are best served by cheap labor markets. By the tradition of the South, too, they are largely exponents of the idea of white supremacy. They say, of course, that they are the Negro's best friends—and they think they mean it—but most of them mean that what they want to do is to *improve* the Negro's condition but *keep him in his place.*

In substance, many of them are on the democratic side on the military front and against democracy on the home front.

The President is faced constantly with the threat of losing the support of the Southern bloc on the war front unless he appeases it by sabotaging democracy on the home front.

Realizing the difficulties of running a war with that kind of a Congressional setup, it is the natural and understandable inclination of the President's friends to try to play politics with the Southern bloc and help him keep it in line. This can be done by trading off things like the poll tax or parts of the campaign against racial discrimination. The Jim Crow man will go a long way with anyone who will let him alone in his eternal fight to *keep the Negro in his place.*

Add to this political situation all the old arguments stemming from the whites of the South that this isn't the time to rock the boat by fighting out the Negro question democratically at home while we're fighting abroad, and the arguments of some employers and some workers that taking Negroes into jobs heretofore closed to them might cause friction, and it isn't hard to understand the difficulty of the decision that faced you.

Take a minute before we pass that last point. Since the war started, Negroes *have* been taken into many jobs heretofore closed to them. In most cases, there has been little or no friction as a result. In some cases, there has been friction, and it has been eliminated by the kind of understanding between people that can only be achieved by association. In some cases there still is some friction, but it will be removed by the same process of growing understanding. I know of no single instance where friction has developed that cannot be smoothed out amicably if wise counsel like that heretofore given by the FEPC is allowed to prevail.

But grant that there are tough arguments against giving the Negro a democratic break. There's another side, and it's tougher yet.

We are at war with Fascism—and racism is one of the foundation stones of Fascism. If we make this a white man's war, and, it follows, not a war for democracy—if we insist that one American shall be privileged above another because of his race or his color—we will have lost the essential of our own democracy, no matter how we come out in the field. As a by-product, we will be kissing off as allies on the military front the millions of people in the East.

We are at war, and every one of us is faced with the loss of our lives or everything that we hold dear, if we lose. In a time like this, when every hour of work that every man can give is needed, we cannot afford to close the door on 13 millions of our people who are ready and willing to work. If the white man does not allow the Negro his right to equality of opportunity to work, the white man stands to lose more than the Negro, for the colored man has less to begin with.

We are at war, and our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of every believer in democracy in our country, if he is to be effective. He needs this whole united democratic support more than he needs the support of any factions in Congress. President Roosevelt has done more to bring democracy to all our people, white and colored alike, than any President since Abraham Lincoln. Are we now to destroy the faith of our people—again it is whites and colored alike—in the kind of democracy he has been fighting for?

There isn't room, or need, to go into all of the arguments for the Negro's side of the case—all the arguments for the democratic side. You know them as well as we do.

But cut back to the political question. If we fear that the Southern Negro-haters are going to obstruct the President and the war effort because we won't trade off discrimination for votes, isn't it time we faced the reality:

They can't do as much harm to the President, to the war effort or to the democratic cause by voting openly in Congress against the Administration, as will be done if we sacrifice our democratic principles in an effort to keep them in line by appeasement. In Congress they can only hamper and obstruct the President, just as the isolationist Republicans are out to do. In private deals, which trade away the democratic rights of our Negro people, they can destroy our democracy, turn our war aims to ashes.

If any part of the Southern Congressional bloc is going to join the isolationist Republicans and doublecross our wartime Commander-in-Chief because an American who happens to be colored is given the same fair shake at a job as an American who happens to be white, we can't help the situation by surrendering. What good can come of dealing with a man who has betrayal in his heart? And if his heart is clean, what need is there for a deal?

Any—if there are any—who would betray their leader and their country because they can't stand democracy at home, might as well be found out now.

To repeat: our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of the men and women in this country who believe in democracy, more than he needs the support of the Negro-haters in Congress. We can close the door on this [illegible] support of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. We can [illegible] democracy by appeasement. In Congress

MARKED COPY

INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE

Published by

DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Gleanings from press releases and other sources to inform busy but sincere people of some of the things affecting the lives of racial minorities. Let's do away with walls! "We are all one in Christ Jesus."

The Material in the News Service is given for information and is not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies of the Department of Race Relations or the Federal Council of Churches.

Vol. 14 No. 1

January, 1943

"Democracy . . . Is So Bafflingly Simple That, Like Christianity, We Don't Take Hold Of It." *Edwin R. Embree*

The Finger of Time in 1942

White-Negro Relations

Industry

President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practice Committee, appointed after issuance of his Executive Order 8802 against discrimination in industrial employment, held hearings in Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Birmingham. Heads of industrial firms were questioned where evidence indicated discrimination against Negroes, Jews, or applicants of other national origin. Employers, labor and church leaders, public officials gave statements and testimony before the Committee; at each hearing the majority of firm representatives promised compliance and cooperation. Following the New York hearing, eight war contracting concerns in New York and New Jersey were ordered "to cease and desist from discriminating against war workers because of their race." Eight of nine firms summoned to Birmingham hearing promised cooperation . . . Mark Etheridge of the *Louisville Courier Journal,* resigning as first chairman of FEPC but remaining as a member, at the Birmingham hearing stated that no white southerner "can logically challenge" title of Negroes to full civil rights and economic opportunity, but "that there is no power in the world . . . that can now force the southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation."

In July the President placed FEPC under the War Manpower Commission headed by Paul V. McNutt, this action creating widespread protests and criticism from Negro leaders and organizations, from members of the Committee itself, and also liberal white organizations and newspapers visualizing loss of identity and weakness of the Committee. From the White House came the President's statement "It is the intention to strengthen, not to submerge, the Committee and to reinvigorate, not to repeal, Executive Order 8802."

The work of FEPC, with support of churches, progressive labor unions, citizens committees and individuals has increased employment of Negroes in shipbuilding, air-craft, munitions plants and other war industries. Skilled and semi-skilled jobs were opened; governmental agencies and labor unions have been called to account for their discriminatory practices; Commissioner McNutt has made forthright public statements that war industry needs the employment of all employable Negroes; U. S. employment officials geared up their policies to effect the employment of Negroes in local industries before importing white workers . . . The plight of Negroes in skilled occupations was highlighted when Tom Ray, president of a local Portland (Oregon) shipbuilders union refused membership to about a hundred Negro workers brought to the Kaiser Shipyards of that city among thousands of other workers from New York. Pressure was brought to bear by government officials, religious, educational and national labor union leaders, and after weeks of negotiation the Negro recruits were given work permits and then admitted to the union.

In convention at Toronto, the American Federation of Labor killed a resolution calling for a special committee on racial discrimination, although re-affirming its general policy against racial discrimination . . . The following month in Boston convention, the CIO unanimously approved a strong resolution against discrimination and the previously appointed investigating committe; empowered its officers and executive board to implement the policy . . . Governor Dixon of Alabama refused a war contract for his state prison labor because of a non-discrimination clause giving equal employment to Negroes; criticism through the press of that state and elsewhere followed.

In 18 southern states where Negroes comprised 22 per cent of the population at beginning of the year, they were only 4 per cent of those receiving pre-employment training . . . In New York City Negroes constitute six per cent of the population but one percent of war workers; and, conversely, over 25 percent of the city's relief load as of December 1942 . . . A provisional committee led by A. Philip Randolph, organized Negro firemen on southern railroads, filed a petition with FEPC against an exclusion agreement between the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and the Conference of Twenty-five Southern Carriers. Hearing set for January 25-27, 1943.

Civil Rights

After three years of log-jam, the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill was released from the U. S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, over its chairman, by the signatures of 218 representatives, and passed by the House October 12. Simultaneously in the Senate, the Pepper Bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee and the Joint Geyer-Pepper Bill was put upon the Senate calendar. The measure proposes to abolish poll tax payment as a pre-requisite for voting at election of President, Vice-President, presidential elector, member of the Senate or House.

Main argument for the bill was that it disfranchises both Whites and Negroes in eight southern states. Originally designed to prevent Negroes from voting, it affects more whites. "Ten million citizens will be denied the right to vote this

Various Race Leaders Should Map Program

Outstanding Negroes Ought to Concentrate And Agree on Definite Plan for Progress

by JULIUS J. ADAMS

President Roosevelt has declared for the establishment of the Four Great Freedoms for everybody everywhere in the world. But the fact that Mr. Roosevelt and other national and international leaders are advocating a different and better world of the future, doesn't necessarily mean that anything approaching that ideal is likely to result.

There are many other persons, equally or nearly as influential as those pleading for a new deal, who quite frankly are interested only in winning the war, in fastening their grip on the possessions they hold and in gaining others.

If the war were to end tomorrow it is doubtful if the natives of Africa, India, the West Indies or the East Indies would be in much greater control over their affairs than previously or that the notorious exploitation of their lands would be materially diminished.

What we can expect to follow this war, if the idealistic program of President Roosevelt is ignored as was President Wilson's after the last war, is that the powerful nations will so thoroughly fortify their positions that it will be well nigh impossible to oust them again.

In the past, the powerful nations have established only token defenses in the far-flung areas under their control, depending on their prestige to frighten anyone who dared challenge their position. In the future, however, should Great Britain regain Singapore, Hong Kong and Burma, and if the Dutch regain their islands in the Pacific, sufficient naval, air and land forces will be kept there to hold them. America will also maintain, not a two, but a three-ocean navy and a powerful land army, able to cope with any force which attempts to attack us anywhere in the world.

All this means that Negroes must not be lulled to sleep by songs of peace, equality and freedom as being the inevitable consequence of the present war.

It means that Negro leaders must begin now, not tomorrow, to plan their future role in the United States and in the world. The matter of integration of Negroes into the full political, economic and social scheme of American life is our fight. To most others now engaged in the struggle it is, at most, a temporary expedient.

Nothing Accomplished

About two years ago Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, invited certain Negro leaders to New York to attend a meeting for a discussion of the Negro's part in the war. The gathering was distinguished, the speakers talked loud and long, they praised everybody, they adopted some resolutions, then dispersed, and have done nothing since. No plan, no program, and hence no progress.

Meanwhile Negro leaders and Negro organizations continue to flourish, not any two of which are working in a way that their efforts can be co-ordinated to bring about any single objective.

Without taking into consideration the men and women who exercise influence because of financial position, the persons who are either shaping or confusing the destiny of 15,000,000 Negroes in this country are as follows:

A. Philip Randolph, international president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and chairman of the March on Washington Movement; Walter White, executive secretary, N.A.A.C.P.; A. M. Mitchell, Congressman and author of a plan to establish a Negro commission under an act of Congress; Edgar G. Brown director of the National Negro Council, and author of a plan to raise $100,000 annually to operate a Congressional lobby in Washington; J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler, Imperial Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; Oscar Brown, Chicago lawyer and author of the 49th State plan, in which a separate state would be set up within the United States for Negroes.

Also Father Divine, noted cult leader; Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux, Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute and leader of Negro opinion in the South; Thomasina W. Johnson, director Washington lobby for Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority; Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Carl Hansberry, author of a plan to raise huge sums of money among Negroes to finance Negro business and real estate programs; Max Yergan, executive secretary, Council on African Affairs; John P. Davis, executive secretary, National Negro Congress; Chauncey Townsend, member executive committee CIO; Adam C. Powell, New York City Councilman, minister and editor and author of a "People's Program" and one of five men who drew up a charter for Negroes in 1943, and Euclid Louis Taylor, president National Bar Association.

Added to this group are the newspaper publishers and ministers. So far I have been unable to find any well-planned program of any of these men or organization that appears to be moving in an even, zig-zag line toward the establishment of a definite post-war position for the Negro. Obviously, some good will come from any and all efforts, but it seems to me that a program, well-mapped and strategically outlined, with definite objectives, ought to be agreed upon. The Negro ought to be told in simple, specific language what he is striving to attain. This he does not know.

And, finally, it must be admitted that among some of these organizations and in the minds of some of these men there must be the makings of a workable program for the Negro. We should agree on it and concentrate on it; the others we ought to scuttle.

Leaders of these groups should be made to report to the people on what they are doing and justify their cause for existence. Organizations which prey upon the penury, superstition and religious fanaticism among Negroes, without serving any useful purpose, must be exposed and routed.

Meanwhile, these men and women who represent leadership organization should come together for the purpose of replanning the Negro's program, then get down to the business of executing that program. Educators like Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Mordecai Johnson and scores of other thinkers and technicians could be invited to attend the gathering.

This war isn't going to last always, and despite the talk of Four Freedoms, everybody right now is angling for position to be prepared to use power, political or otherwise, to make the Four Freedoms work—if and when they are established. We can so prepare ourselves even as we go along, doing our share in helping win the war, if we would only set our heads and hands to the task.

Any comment on the proposed meeting of these individuals for an explanation of what they are doing, and for the working out of a new, or at least a concentrated, program, will be welcomed.

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est for the millions of Negro and white people of the South who are effectively disfranchised by pernicious practices which Southern Democrats, in collaboration with many Northern Republicans, have successfully maintained to date. It is, however, a revolt against the war . . .

"We call upon you, therefore, Mr. President, to crush this conspiracy with firm hand. The signatories to this petittion are only a token sampling of millions of Southerners who stand ready to rally to your leadership in the conduct of the nation's war to a speedy and successful conclusion. These Southerners are white and Negro men and women."

REPORTS WAR GAINS IN SOCIAL WELFARE

Taft Tells Church Conference the Nation's Serious Health Needs Are Also Met

VICE IS BEING SUPPRESSED

Federal Aide Declares Against Prohibition—Wider Council Up at Cleveland Today

By RICHARD TOMPKINS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CLEVELAND, Dec. 8—All the serious health and social welfare needs of the country at war, including those of the armed forces, have been met by the government, Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, reported tonight to the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, meeting here with six other interdenominational bodies.

The 500 representatives of a score of denominations in this country and Canada will take up tomorrow a proposal to create a North American Council of Churches of Christ.

Mr. Taft said that in seven years under the Social Security Act and emergency health appropriations, counties having full-time health units had increased from 762 to 1,829, much of the increase being in the last two years, and more than 400 public health officers had been "lease lent" to local communities.

"While much remains to be done," he declared, "the serious needs have been met."

Overcrowding in Schools

He reported, however, that "the school situation is not so good" and that "a number of critical areas" lacked facilities. Teachers were as hard to find as doctors and overcrowded school sessions were common, he added, with bus transportation also a problem.

He asserted that "our schools and local organizations must pull out of ruts of long-time practices" and use intelligence and imagination to care for foot-loose children and troubled parents and meet the problem of "the many single girls."

"No group," he added, "is better placed geographically or better qualified by its philosophy to do this kind of community job than the churches."

He declared that the Japanese alien evacuation of the West Coast was handled "in a way that can make us proud in your government."

He said that "the nation as a whole has met the need for soldier recreation through the USO" and he cited "the remarkably fine job hundreds of communities have done in open-handed hospitality." But, he added, "off the continent, we haven't done so well."

Says Prostitution Declines

"Our social protection section has taken the lead in the attack on prostitution and in a year's time has changed a bad picture into a generally good one," he went on. "We have induced 350 towns and cities to close recognized houses of prostitution and secured the vigorous cooperation of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the American Bar Association and the State liquor commissions.

"We have a real task ahead, but prostitution is on the decrease and venereal disease rates of both Army and Navy are at the lowest point in history.

"The government is concerned to get rid of drunkenness as a serious damage to manpower and vigorous measures have produced great improvement so far as the armed forces are concerned. The situation is not so good as to industrial communities and we are going to work on that problem.

"We are against Prohibition, because we believe it would destroy the progress the police profession is making in handling vice and disorder. Our war health and welfare services lay the basis for the well-organized community life which is both the foundation of the things we fight for and a necessary element in our war effort."

Negro Problem Discussed

A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhod of Sleeping Car Porters, described the problem of the Negro as one of "discrimination, segregation and Jim-Crow in the economic, political and social life of America," a problem having its roots in the slave trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Referring to the "march on Washington" movement of July, 1941, Mr. Randolph said that "Negroes may yet be compelled to march not only to stop the poignant insult of Jim-Crow to their soul, but also to save the soul of America and help prepare it for the moral and spiritual leadership to preserve world democracy."

The proposal for the establishment of a North American Council of Churches of Christ has been called the most far-reaching project ever to be considered by the American and Canadian churches. Much debate is expected on the measure. If approved, the Protestant forces, it is said, will have taken a long step forward Christian unity.

Participating in the discussion will be representatives of the Federal Council, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Home Missions Council of North America, the International Council of Religious Education, the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, the United Council of Church Women and the United Stewardship Council.

The chairman of the committee which drafted the recommendations is Dr. Luther A. Weigle, president of the Federal Council.

DECEMBER 26, 1942

OWI Says Negro Enlistment Rate Highest in U. S.

From N. Y. Journal-American Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26.—Negroes are proving themselves loyal, effective fighting men in this war, the Office of War Information said today, and advanced some facts to prove it.

Negro soldiers are on active duty in most of the overseas theaters of war, and their record for enlistment is higher than that of any other group.

Although Negroes constituted 9.8 per cent of the total population in the last census, Negro selectees and volunteers constituted 10.1 per cent of all persons inducted into the Army through selective service by October 31, 1942.

INDUCTEES EXCEED RATIO.

In 9 of 14 Southern border States, the percentage of Negroes inducted into the Army through selective service exceeded the percentage of Negroes registered in those States.

During the 1940-41 period, Negroes constiuted 16.1 per cent of the total number of volunteers entering the Army through the selective service system.

VOLUNTEERING HIGH.

Discussing the high percentage of Negro volunteers during the first year of selective service, the director of that agency declared in an official report to President Roosevelt:

"One State with a large Negro population over a period of several months filled every call made upon it for Negro selectees by volunteers. In large sections of other States also this has been true.

March on Washington Committee Hires One Full Time Secretary

NEW YORK CITY —(ANP)— In a first step toward a national attempt to mobilize five million Negroes into "one great mass of pressure for freedom and democracy" in America by 1943 the national committee of the March on Washington Movement has appointed E. Pauline Myers of Richmond, Va., as its executive secretary. Miss Myers, now business, industrial and public affairs secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA in Richmond, will relinquish her job there and assume her new duties on January 2.

The need for the appointment of such an official was strongly emphasized at the Detroit conference of March delegations in the fall. Prosecution of the ambitious program layed down at that meeting made it imperative that a full-time job be created and filled.

Aug/43

The Gallup Poll

Southern Whites and Hoodlums of Both Races Get Blame for Riots Such as Detroit's

BY GEORGE GALLUP.
(Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.)

Princeton, N.J., July 28.—President Roosevelt has announced that the Attorney General and heads of a numbe of governmental agencies will begin a study of race riots.

So many factors are involved that only a group of experts can probably get at the bottom of these disturbances, which have flared up in this war just as they did in the First World War.

Meanwhile, it is of interest and importance to know what people of the country think is the real cause of such riots as Detroit recently had.

To find out just how the man-in-the-street explains these disturbances, the Institute had field reporters throughout the nation put this question to a representative cross section of men and women:

"What do you think is real cause of race riots such as Detroit has had?"

Floaters Are Blamed.

A high percentage of the persons interviewed in Detroit are inclined to ascribe the recent trouble there to "floaters and drifters attracted to the city by war work."

Particularly, they are inclined to blame Southerners who have recently taken jobs in Detroit, and the lack of segregation of races both in the city proper and in Detroit factories. Others in Detroit are inclined to blame "young hoodlums" of both races and the present day "fast living" in the city, as well as bad housing conditions. A few typical comments of Detroiters are as follows:

"I think they've got the scum of the country here, and neither one likes the smell of the other. . . . Mrs. Roosevelt is partly to blame because she backs up the colored race all over the South. . . . Straight hoodlums in both races. . . . Factory jobs put too many Negroes too close to whites, and whites don't like it. . . . Beer gardens stay open too late; it's the young people. . . . Detroit's a fast town; things are geared high; the influx of great numbers of Negroes have given the whites the jitters. . . . The many floaters from the South caused the riots, not the people from Detroit."

View in the South.

White persons interviewed in states south of the Mason-Dixon line blame lack of segregation, "trying to put Negroes and whites on an equal basis," labor leaders and politics. Some white persons in the South think the trouble lies in the fact that "the Northerners don't understand the Negro." A few are inclined to blame agitators and ignorant people.

Negroes outside the South who were interviewed in the study ascribe the Detroit riot to "jealousy on the part of the whites," the fact that "white people don't ever try to like us." Others believe the cause to be Southerners who have migrated to the North since the war. A surprising number of Negroes are, however, willing to blame "hoodlums" among their own race as well as among the whites. Or, as one man put it "a lot of uneducated whites and blacks with chips on their shoulders just looking for a chance to scrap."

Among other groups of the country, the reasons cited most often are "enemy influences . . . saboteurs . . . Fifth Column work . . . Nazi propaganda." There are others who believe that "bad living conditions, wrong leadership, and "war nerves" are chiefly to blame.

Comments from All U.S.

Here are some of the comments from across the nation: "Labor causes the trouble. . . . It's the saboteurs. . . . High wages to colored people does it. . . . Ignorance and intolerance. . . . Mixture of races on the same job. . . . Unrest due to war. . . . Fundamental race hatred. . . . Darkies are getting out of hand. . . . Strikes. . . . Bad living conditions. . . . The Negroes up North think they are even better than the whites. . . . Politics . . . Rumors. . . . Jealousy between races is the cause . . . Negroes are getting too cocky from too much money."

During the First World War, President Wilson became so concerned over racial disturbances that he issued a plea which read in part as follows:

"I . . . very earnestly and solemnly beg that the governors of all states, the law officers of every community, and, above all, the men and women of every community in the United States cooperate . . . to make an end of this disgraceful evil."

THRILLING NEW WAY TO SOFT, LOVELY HANDS

Today, there's no need to put up with greasy, messy hand lotions. For here's a new and different non-greasy lotion, called VELURE, which softens and smooths hands without stickiness. Relieves roughness, redness in a flash. Contains no alcohol. 10c, 35c, 50c. At drug, department, 10c stores. Get VELURE today.

USE NEW HI-SPEED Velure HAND LOTION

To Parley On Negro Jobs

Dustin' Off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

AMERICAN RACE PREJUDICE IS WINNING FOR JAPAN

RACE PREJUDICE, that mental cancer forever eating at the vitals of America, seems a greater pestilence and hindrance in the way of our progress to democracy than Hitler's or Tojo's bayonets. Somehow, white America has not yet realized that it is still living a two-faced life before the nations of the world: it continues "to hold with the hare and run with the hound."

Lucius Harper

Up to the time of this war it has been successful in making its racial issues merely political palaver, confined principally to domestic boundaries. Now that it is engaged in a death struggle to preserve its freedom, and proclaim its democratic blessings world-wide, these hitherto inside racial issues and color prob-

DUSTIN', Page 2

A showdown in the sweeping campaign for street car jobs for Negroes loomed this coming week.

Developments in the National Negro Congress drive for employment of Negro motormen and conductors on the Chicago Surface Lines included:

1. Agreement by Frederick Nolan, general manager of the Surface Lines, to meet a delegation of Southside community leaders on the job issue Wednesday morning, Sept. 1, at 10 a.m.

2. Support for the campaign by virtually all Southside legislators with Congressman William L. Dawson scheduled to be one of the spokesmen for the community at Wednesday's conference with Nolan.

3. Rallying of all the Southside behind the big mass meeting Sunday afternoon at the Greater Bethesda Baptist church, Fifty-third and Michigan, as the main feature of "Street Car Jobs For Negroes Day."

4. Announcement by President Teale of the A.F.L. Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, Local 241, which covers the Surface Line employes that "We have no bars against workers because of race, color or creed. We have Negro members here and all over the nation."

National Problem

Indication that the Surface Lines manager would give favorable consideration to the job plea was Nolan's statement to the Defender, Thursday:

"I am fully aware that we have a problem here. In fact, it is not a local problem. It is nation-wide. I can only say that insofar as pos-

See STREET CARS, Page 2

Street Car—

(Continued from Page 1)

sible, this problem will be met."

Nolan is former manager of Detroit municipal street car system which employs Negroes in all capacities.

Sunday's mass meeting will rally thousands of Southsiders behind the delegation which will see Nolan on Wednesday. Speakers will include: Oscar C. Brown, president, NAACP; A. L. Foster, secretary, Urban League; C. Francis Stratford, chairman, National Negro Congress; Rev. Joseph M. Evans, president, Community Church Council; Rev. A. Alfred Watts, pastor, Greater Bethesda Baptist church; Herbert March, chairman, CIO Fair Employment Practices Committee; Willis Thomas, secretary, AFL Federated Hotel Waiters; George Hutcherson, vice president, Council of Negro Organizations, and Ishmael P. Flory of the CIO Council executive board.

Weakens War Effort

"The Chicago Surface Lines, by their policies of discrimination against Negroes, are weakening the nation's war effort," charged Ishmael P. Flory, vice president of the Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress, in describing the group's job drive. Flory pointed out "that the citizens of Chicago, white and black, should know that the service on the Surface Lines is at an inefficient ebb, because of a shortage of manpower — yet they refuse to employ Negroes as motormen or conductors. While they do this, they continue to advertise for men to man the street cars."

Flory declared that "every step backed by decent Negro and white Americans, would be taken to [illegible] management of the Surface Lines that [illegible]

OPA Appeals to Harlem to Aid Battle on Price Gouging

With consumer complaints only trickling into the new OPA office at 135th St. and Lenox Av., established three days ago, J. Woodruff Bissell, chief OPA price executive, emphasized today that Harlem residents must help to achieve a lowering of food and clothing prices.

The OPA office, located in the basement of the Harlem branch public library, yesterday had a staff of three executives and 10 inspectors on hand, but heard only one complaint.

Roy Lancaster, Harlem food price specialist, estimated ceiling price goods are sold at an average of 20 per cent above the legal price in Harlem. This profiteering was acknowledged to be one of the conditions that led to the looting of stores during the recent Harlem riot.

Poultry Dealer Accused

The single complaint was made by Allen G. Wright, of 270 St. Nicholas Ave., who said an upper Seventh Ave. poultry market had asked 38 cents a pound for chicken, 4 cents above the ceiling price.

An investigator was sent to the store, and the owner was summoned to a hearing today. The merchant said he was forced to patronize a black market and could not afford to sell at the ceiling price. The OPA obtained the black market operator's name and will investigate.

The Harlem OPA branch also received a number of telephone inquiries on how to obtain Ration Book 3.

Investigate Conditions

Meanwhile, investigators were making a survey of all the stores in the area, checking posting of ceilings and alleged price violations.

Inspectors alone cannot police prices, however, Lancaster said, because they are up against a grapevine system of communication among some of the merchants. When an inspector appears in one store, that one is likely to send out a runner to warn all the other shops on the block, Lancaster said.

Education of merchants anxious to comply with OPA regulations but needs information, is another function of the office, he said.

In a survey with a reporter, Lancaster visited eight stores, had friendly, helpful talks with the merchants and was promised they would correct minor violations.

In addition to the official OPA staff, 40 Harlem residents have volunteered to aid on a consumer price panel, and when complaints start rolling in, the panel will aid in checking alleged price gouges and dealing with violators.

Post Photo

DR. ROY LANCASTER gives information to Mrs. Christine Sanders shown with children John and Clara Belle.

PM, MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1943

...ks Ask FDR ...o Act on Race Bias

Publishers and editors of Negro newspapers from as far west as Oklahoma met in New York yesterday to demand that President Roosevelt order the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) to hold its cancelled hearing on race bias in the railway industry.

The meeting, held at the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People offices, suggested that FDR supplement his executive order creating FEPC to plug the alleged loophole cited by Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt as justification for abandoning the investigation.

Their statement said:

"Mr. McNutt declared that the railroads held no war contracts and might not be within the jurisdiction of the Committee. We declare that if the railroads are not technically subject to the jurisdiction of the Committee, the President should supplement his Executive Order 8802 to bring them within its scope."

U.S. Negroes Are Pictured Gaining in an Uphill Fight

The accompanying pictograph tells the story of the Negro in the U.S.A. from the time American democracy began 150 years ago up to the Negro's plight today.

It appears in the current issue of the magazine *Survey Graphic*, a number devoted exclusively to the Negro question. *Survey Graphic's* editors labelled the issue *Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy* and chose to emphasize the progress of the Negro and his achievements in striving for equality with his white neighbors.

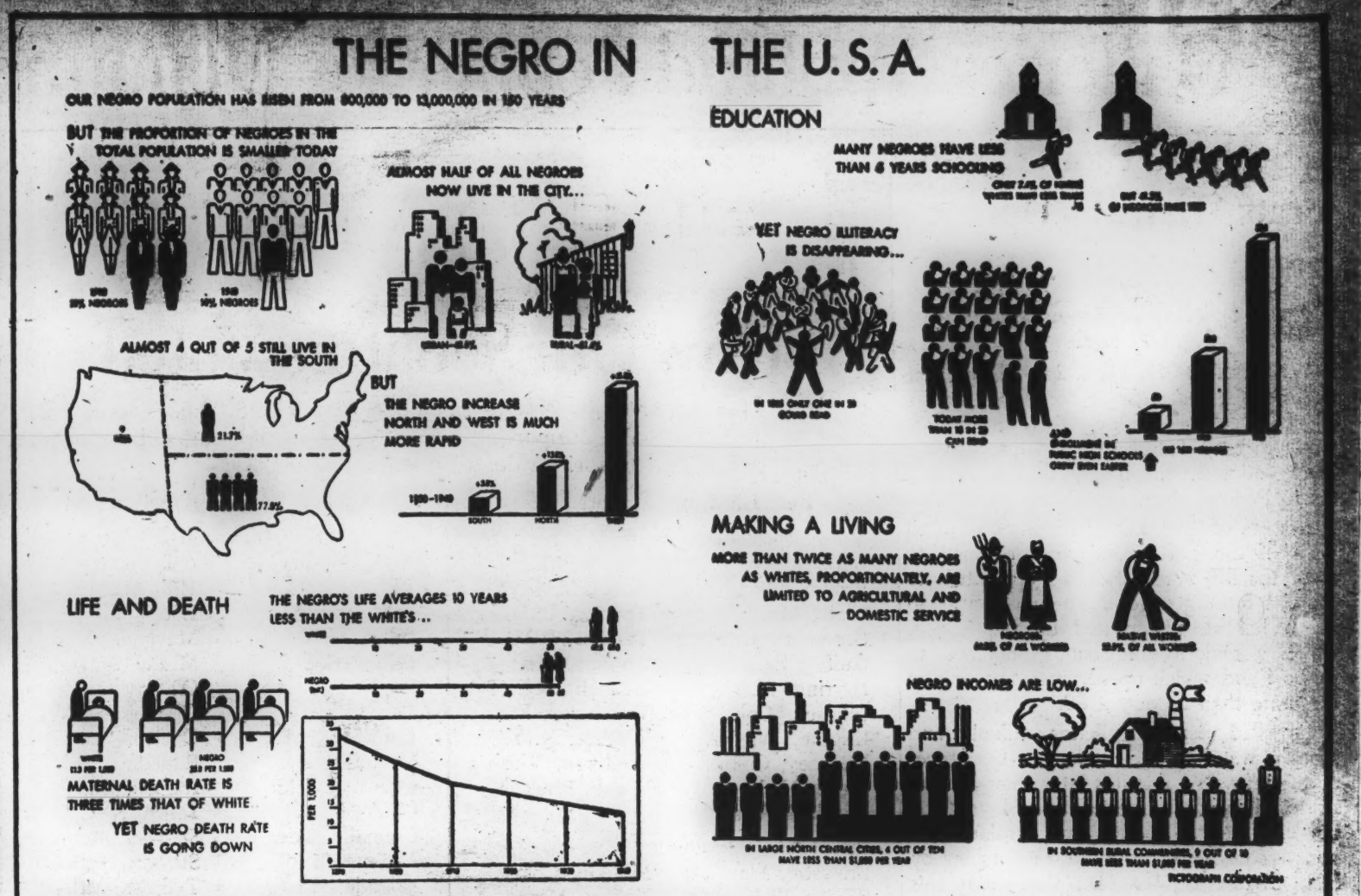
The two-page chart brings home effectively the point that while the Negro's life averages 10 years less than the white's, his death rate is going down in spite of a material death rate three times that of whites.

It shows that Negro illiteracy is disappearing and that enrollment in public high schools has been mounting rapidly through the past two decades.

At the same time, the pictograph reveals that the Negro's income is far below that of the white wage earner, with four out of 10 Negroes in large North Central cities getting less than $1000 a year.

Also more than twice as many Negroes as whites, proportionately, are limited to agricultural and domestic service.

Articles by more than 20 leading journalists, scientists, scholars and public officials appear in the issue, which emphasizes the effect of race prejudice on the war effort and its effect on our influence in world affairs.



Irene West Proves True Friend To Negro People

Meet Irene West, retired veteran of the International stage; inveterate world traveler; author and poet. Irene West is now a bold and courageous champion of the Negro Cause in the United States and of races of color throughout the world. She has been in Los Angeles since the outbreak of the war in Shanghai, where she had theatrical interests at the time. Her scrap books of the stage, foreign travels and her writings would fill a room.

Irene West is a member of the NAACP and though her poems and articles have occasionally appeared in the Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender, the Crisis, Nashville Globe, and National Baptist Union Review, little has been known of her locally, until we made the discovery. Some months ago she delivered two poems, "The Sun-Tanned Yanks," and "The Chocolate Marine," on a Victory House program, still we were not alert to this new voice raised in our behalf.

Miss West has just completed a volume of poems, entitled: "The Twain Shall Meet," dedicated to the Negro Citizens of the U.S.A. We believe this is the first time a white author has written an entire book of poems to our race. Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has reviewed the manuscript and has this to say: "The work which you seek to do through the publication of this book, Irene West, makes my people your debtors. I know this work will be appreciated by millions because it is not only a bold step in the right direction, it is unique in that no white woman has thus far ventured to write of this problem in such strong terms and express it in poetry. Perhaps no other one could do it as you have done it. You are indeed a courageous person or you could not produce this type of poetry and offer it to the public.

Through this book of poems you will take your stand by the side of Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah Parrish, Lovejoy, Pearl Buck, and others. Yours is a voice from the wilderness crying out against the evils of our day. Your voice will be heard around the world. Your book will be read by millions. Your name will be written in the hearts of the oppressed. Your reward will be great in heaven."

Miss West assures us that she is not one of those whites who has experienced a sudden change of heart. For many years past she has managed artists of the black, brown, and yellow races and she mothered a pair of American Negro twins from their early teens until they grew up and were married.

And all this from a Texan. Yes sih, she is a native of Dallas, Tex., but as she facetiously says — "don't hold that against me." Then said she, in closing this interview—"I am going to quote for you the 14 lines Congressman Mitchell used in his recent speech on the floor of the house, taken from a poem of mine, titled: "Let's Settle it Right'." Here it is:

O White-man, why evade the issue,
Your tin-god cycle's done;
You've held it down for centuries,
You've had a lot of fun;
Get ready for the Renaissance—
Your system's obsolete;
It's Providence you're up against,
And that you cannot beat.
You haven't settled anything.
In God's beholden sight;
For no question is ever settled,
Until it's settled right—
And so . . goes on . . the fight!

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1942.

U. S. Negro Troops Do Record Job in Liberia

By the Associated Press.

WITH THE UNITED STATES FORCES SOMEWHERE IN LIBERIA, Dec. 11.—American Negro soldiers in Liberia, encamped in one of the most forbidding regions of Africa's western coast, are proving that they can take the worst this jungle country has to offer.

Members for the most part of service and engineering units, they have worked through the torrential rains of the wet season into the early months of the dry period when the sun glows like a fiery furnace.

They have labored at a gruelling pace because a big job had to be done in a hurry. An airport, necessary in sending planes and supplies to the Middle East, to India and to Russia, had to be built and defended.

Today these soldiers look back to six months of sweat and toil to see a job well done in record time.

But even now there is no rest for the men. Ships must be unloaded and supplies dispatched through the defense areas. Steel landing mats are laid in the emergency airports and a constant battle must be waged against the verdant undergrowth. The fight goes on, also, against the malaria-bearing anopheles gambiae mosquito; and permanent structures must be built to replace those thrown up temporarily.

A million things remain to be done and the immediate future appears to hold nothing more than the promise of more hard work. But these soldiers have tried the worst Africa can offer and they know they have the situation in hand. Their morale is excellent. They would like to go home, of course, but meantime they are getting plenty to eat and plenty of beer, and they get sufficient time off for recreation and passes to visit Monrovia, the capital.

Both the soldiers and the natives have adjusted themselves to the big change.

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Liberian girls who never had heard a swing band before the Americans arrived with a 40-piece outfit, became jitterbugs overnight. Poultry farmers multiplied in a twinkling to meet the demand for fried chicken. Natives who never had bothered to learn English before are now stocked with a full repertoire of pidgin phrases.

Ivory carvers and souvenir dealers started working nights. Stores got fresh stocks. Hotels began to do a hustling business. Bars blossomed. Native workers, lured by the prospect of high wages, descended in droves. The region around the main military area experienced a boom.

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In Liberia, when you see men and women standing behind umbrellas or dashing off into the bush to disrobe it means the driver ant is at work. These ants swarm over a potential victim in a few seconds and unless plucked off immediately can cause serious harm, even death. They crawl on large animals in sufficient numbers to make them topple over. Then they eat everything but the bones.

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Liberia has thousands of square miles of forest and jungle, but

U. S. Army engineers have been ordered to refrain from cutting down a single large tree unless it is absolutely necessary.

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The old native practice of investing savings in cement blocks for homes which are rarely built has been helpful to the Allies in West Africa. The British government, needing materials, put on a drive and bought up thousands of them.

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Crap-shooters are meeting a challenge in a native game called "gamble" in which five shells are handled like dice. The player rolls them and the others determine whether the open or closed surface is uppermost. There are five possible combinations. Stakes range from a small tin cup of rice to things of considerable value—sometimes a wife.

There are mermaids in the Cavally River—fish with faces like monkeys and perfectly formed breasts to nurse their young. . . . Pauline Smith, who came from Harlem, is a sort of sub-queen in a village here. . . . Henri de Vilmorin, a French agent, crosses the desert on a camel with a small radio strapped to its hump. . . . There's a religious cult on the Gold Coast which has a "Garden of Eden," a retreat where its members practice nudity. Visitors must follow suit.

Miss Myers Will Take Post with Pressure Group in N.Y.

MISS E. PAULINE MYERS

RICHMOND — Miss E. Pauline Myers, industrial secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA here, will leave her post soon to become executive secretary of the national committee for the March on Washington Movement.

Announcement of the selection was made in New York by A. Philip Randolph, director of the movement to use mass pressure to gain equality of opportunity and treatment for colored Americans.

Will Be in New York

Miss Myers will have offices in the March on Washington headquarters at the Hotel Theresa in New York, effective January 2.

The new executive secretary has been active in social work in Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago and Richmond.

She has been active in interracial and international youth and student programs, and conducted social recreational work in Philadelphia slums.

Her experience includes service on juries in Chicago, has worked among convalescents there, and has taught public speaking, labor law, parliamentary practices and current events to workmen.

At Howard University she was the student leader, and she was chairman of the Howard forum and president of the Howard liberal club. She also lobbied for unemployment insurance, for public works, and for the anti-lynch bill in Congress.

Miss Myers Gets N.Y. March Post

NEW YORK — Miss E. Pauline Myers of Richmond, Va., has been appointed executive secretary of the March-on-Washington Movement, the National Committee, directed by A. Philip Randolph, announced this week.

A member of the U.S. section of the planning committee which called the first World Youth Peace Conference in Holland in 1928, Miss Myers has served on the grand jury in Chicago, and was the president of the first Howard University Liberal Club under the League of Industrial Democracy.

Miss Myers, business, industrial and public affairs secretary of Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA in Richmond, will begin her new duties on January 2, with offices in New York.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, explains that the March on Washington Movement is an effort to secure economic, political and social equality by political action. The Movement is "essentially a movement of the people. It is all Negro and pro-Negro. . . . its major weapon is the non-violent demonstration of Negro mass power." Its program calls for the abrogation of all laws providing for segregation, passage of the federal anti-lynching law, enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution and enactment of the Pepper poll tax bill, the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the armed services, "an end to discrimination in jobs and job training," the withholding of federal funds from any agency which practices discrimination, and "colored and minority group representation on all missions" sent to the peace conference.

Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, points out the discriminations, described above, which the Negro suffers. On the other hand, he notes the progress the Negroes have made since Emancipation: the rise in the literacy rate from less than five per cent to 90 per cent; the drop in the Negro death rate from about 33 per thousand in 1890 to about 14 per thousand today; the owning of property after being themselves property. Whites should "cease racial discrimination in the armed forces"; "protect Negro troops from insult and abuse"; insist that all employment for war production be without discrimination as to race, creed, or color; equalize educational and other public facilities; where segregation is maintained provide equal facilities for Negroes and whites. Negroes should join labor unions; secure training for industry; utilize educational opportunities; patronize Negro businesses and professional workers; take pride in their own distinctiveness; and leave the South.

Charles S. Johnson, director of the department of social sciences at Fisk University, discusses "Striking the Economic Balance." The place of Negroes in the South has changed. Formerly the vast majority were agricultural laborers or domestic servants, "the two lowest paid occupational fields." Today they have only "marginal status" in both agriculture and industry. But even before the present war there had been "a fairly significant penetration" of Negroes into industry and into positions above the unskilled level. Negro wages, both in the North and the South, are "considerably below the level necessary for a health-and-decency standard of living." This "economic inadequacy" is reflected in Negro mortality rates from two to four times those for whites. Negroes will not be able to retain all the gains they will make during the war period. But "the exposure of the Negro workers to new areas and levels of industries and skills will leave a deposit of mutual experience for white and Negro workers, and new skills and economic expectations which undoubtedly will add to the ferment of Negro labor." Negro labor is being drawn out of the South to work in war industries. To the extent that this occurs there should be a relaxation of tensions. Negro agricultural workers should be included in the planning committees for southern agriculture. The post-war structure of world economics is bound to affect seriously both Negro and white labor in this country.

John A. Davis, professor of political science at Lincoln University, writes on "The Negro Outlook Today." During the '30s a new group of young Negro leaders came to the front, stressing consumer pressure and labor organization. Negro youth movements are no longer playing an important part in Negro life, but the work initiated in that period is being continued. Negro leadership has "increasingly become labor conscious." Professor Davis believes that the Negro should "continue to seek political alignments which will enable him to achieve increased economic security plus full citizenship status, including the franchise, in the South"; "ally himself with the progressive forces of the labor movement"; and "learn to plead his case in America vigorously and with intelligence." In general, the outlook of the Negro is "one of slow but steady advancement toward democracy."

The Negro in American Life

Jonathan Daniels, Assistant Director of Civilian Defense, writes on the changes that are taking place in the South. He believes that "at worst the basic trouble" in the tense race relations in the South "seems to rise from the sudden, startling, hardly to be believed fact that there are jobs—jobs at decent pay and, increasingly, jobs in which color does not slam the employment office door. And this is true even though discriminations in employment remain. . . . Labor shortages do whittle discrimination down." The barriers against the Negroes in southern industry, evil as they were, "represented the tragic understanding that there were not enough jobs for all." For many of the poorest white men in the South color has been "one poor though cruel weapon in a competition for existence." Friction between these men and the Negroes has become so sharp that many southerners have feared bloodshed which might "easily serve as a handle for fascists at home." Nevertheless, "what seems to hold threat to racial peace now, may contain the promise of escape from the poverty which has so long been almost a synonym for the South—the black South, but the white South also."

WORLD FEDERATION IS URGED FOR PEACE

American Institute of Judaism Advocates International Court and Police

FOR A RELIGIOUS COUNCIL

Disarmament of Axis and Succor for the Oppressed Set Forth as Program

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 24—A federation of nations with a court of international justice, and a world-wide police force as a means of perpetuating the peace to come, were advocated here today by the American Institute of Judaism after a four-day session. A World Council of Christ and Judaism to be established as soon as possible also was proposed.

The council, it was recommended, would preserve the integrity of each religion while mobilizing their spiritual resources in a united effort to apply the universal ideals of righteousness and brotherhood after the war.

Under the plan for a federation of nations, it was urged that the United Nations establish a tribunal to pass judgment on those responsible for crimes against humanity and to bring to justice those governments and leaders who brought suffering and destruction upon the world.

Calls for Disarmament

The statement called for a peace plan which would disarm the Axis nations and also lead to the eventual world disarmament. One of the first duties of the victorious nations, it said, would be to emancipate, reconstruct and rehabilitate all oppressed peoples, and to bring an end to territorial imperialism. The proposed federation would assist "all subject peoples, colonies and mandated territories to attain their independence."

Concerning Palestine, the statement declared that all nations must give full recognition to the right of the Jews to a homeland there and that they should help to rebuild the land for that purpose.

The statement went on to say that the spiritual teachings of religion must become the foundation for the new world order and that national sovereignty must be subordinate to the higher moral law of God.

Would Build on Social Rights

"Judaism maintains that no just and enduring peace is possible unless it is founded upon full political, economic and social rights for men everywhere," the statement declared.

"Judaism believes that a lasting peace can come only with reconciliation. It seeks the destruction of evil rather than the evil doer."

The post-war economic program proposed by the Institute would include limitation of hours of labor in accordance with the welfare and economic needs of the worker; rationalization of production; elimination of child labor; expansion of social services; a program of reconstruction in war devastated areas; and a housing program to eliminate slums.

The statement held that there are no superior or inferior races and that all barriers which impede the progress of any one race should be removed. The complete emancipation of Negroes was proposed along with their admission into the councils of nations.

Statement by American Institute of Judaism

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 24—Following is the text of the statement adopted by the American Institute of Judaism and a just and enduring peace:

THE RELIGIOUS BASIS OF A JUST AND ENDURING PEACE

The failure of men to recognize the implications of the sovereignty of God and the sanctity of human life has resulted in moral disruption and world-wide devastation. Misreading the findings of the sciences, both physical and social, men have given their allegiance to false philosophies, spiritual and moral values have been divorced from human life, and materialism has been made supreme in the affairs of men. In order to rebuild our broken civilization the spiritual teachings of religion must become the foundations of the new world order and the dynamic force in a just and enduring peace.

We hold that any attempt to extricate humanity from its present tragic condition must take cognizance of the following basic principles which derive from Israel's historic teachings:

1. International peace is of the very essence of the ethical doctrine of Judaism and the propagation of it has been part of the historic mission of Israel. The ideal of universal peace springs directly from Judaism's concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Racial, national and cultural divisions among men have historical and moral value and serve the purposes of the Almighty.

"The Emphasis of Judaism"

The emphasis of Judaism, however, has been upon their harmonious coexistence and their collaboration in establishing God's kingdom on earth.

2. Judaism recognizes no inherent national or racial superiorities and has consistently condemned the employment of all such fictions for the purpose of dominating and exploiting other peoples.

3. Judaism teaches that national sovereignty must be subordinate to the higher moral law of God. No nation is above this law. No nation can be a law unto itself. Every nation is morally responsible and accountable to God, Who is the source and sanction of all life, individual and collective.

4. Judaism has always urged the necessity of organizing for peace, by creating a permanent international society, the members of which will covenant to observe the moral law of God. Nations can find just and enduring peace only in so far as they merge their separate national interests with the corporate life of humanity.

5. Judaism was first among the great religions of the world to proclaim the ideal of universal disarmament. This will come as a natural consequence of the establishment of a righteous and effective international order. Nations will beat their swords into plowshares only when there will be an international agency strong enough to protect every nation against aggression.

Basis of An Enduring Peace

6. Judaism maintains that no just and enduring peace is possible unless it is founded upon full political, economic and social rights for men everywhere. Only the work of righteousness can yield peace, and only upon justice and truth can peace rest securely.

7. Judaism believes that a lasting peace can come only with reconciliation. It seeks the destruction of evil rather than of the evildoer. Governments and their leaders who are responsible for bringing war, suffering and destruction upon the world must be brought to justice; retribution is neither revenge nor retaliation but a requisite condition of international morality. An enduring peace must be based upon the voluntary association of nations in security within a world community.

8. Despite the complexities and difficulties of building world peace, Judaism does not despair. Judaism believes confidently in the perfectibility of man and in the moral progress of mankind. It affairms unfaltering faith in the future and in man's capacity to achieve a just and enduring peace, once he becomes possessed of the power and the might of the spirit of God. Judaism proclaims that it is man's present duty and ultimate destiny l'taken 'olam b'malkut shaddai, "to perfect the world under the loving sovereignty of the Almighty."

THE INTERFAITH BASIS OF A JUST AND ENDURING PEACE

1. Judaism and Christianity spring from a common source, worship the God of the universe, uphold an ethical way of life, and labor for a common end, the unification and salvation of mankind. The present war has made clear their historic kinship. Today they face a common enemy bent upon the annihilation of both. Their mutual heritage of ideals and beliefs and their present mortal peril must draw Christianity and Judaism closer to each other and induce them to work together in trust and fellowship until their common goal shall be attained.

2. The democracy of the Western World has been inspired by Judeo-Christian religious traditions. The preservation of democracy and the fashioning of a just and enduring peace offer Christianity and Judaism a unique opportunity for cooperative action. Indeed, this time in which we live may be the acid test of religious sincerity. Unless all religions eschew sectarianism and learn to unite upon their essentials, unless they make a valiant and wholehearted effort to interpret their beliefs in terms of social action, they may well forfeit their right to the allegiance of men. They will not otherwise play their due role in the writing of the peace, or in the making of the world to be built after this war.

3. In the light of our common origin, tradition and present peril, we propose that there be convened as promptly as possible a World Council of Christianity and Judaism. While preserving the integrity of each religion, this council should mobilize their spiritual resources and speak in one mighty voice for the application of the universal ideals of righteousness and brotherhood in the post-war world.

4. Beyond this there is a comradeship of all believers. God has revealed himself in various ways and through the genius of different communions. We seek fellowship with all the children of God, our brothers, in the glorious adventure of rebuilding the world. In this spirit we look beyond the World Council of Christianity and Judaism to the formation in due time of a World Council of Religion which, with full regard for the integrity and dignity of each, shall embrace in its membership all the religions of the world. Such a council might well be the conscience of mankind, speaking in the name of the living God.

THE POLITICAL BASIS OF A JUST AND ENDURING PEACE

Judaism recognizes no ultimate distinction between secular and sacred or between the fields of politics and religion. In advocating the following principles and policies for the post-war world we wish to state our conviction that each and every one is deeply integrated with moral and religious issues and ideals:

"1. Total victory for the United Nations shall not lead to a new tyranny of nation over nation.

"2. Every nation shall recognize the inalienable right of every individual within it to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness: to freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from care.

"3. There shall be established a federation of nations in the interests of which the sovereignty of individual States shall be limited.

"4. To enable this federation of States to establish the reign of right among nations there shall be created a court of international justice.

"5. To make such a federation secure there shall be established an effective international police force.

"6. The United Nations shall set up a tribunal to pass judgment on those responsible for the perpetration of crimes against humanity.

"7. Victory shall be followed by the immediate disarmament of the Axis nations as a prelude to eventual world disarmament.

"8. It shall be one of the first duties of the victorious nations to emancipate, reconstruct and rehabilitate all oppressed groups and peoples.

"9. Economic and territorial imperialism shall be terminated and the federation of nations shall assume the obligation of assisting all subject peoples, colonies and mandated territories to attain their independance.

"10. All nations shall have free and equal access to the raw materials, economic resources and markets of the world.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF A JUST AND ENDURING PEACE

In the world that has grown up in the last two centuries, a world of international trade, of large-scale industrialism and mass production, no proposals for peace that do not rest firmly upon economic grounds, that do not grapple with the problems of labor and capital and their relation to the freedom and happiness of myriads, can be either realistic or successful.

As in the case of political programs and principles, we affirm our conviction that the very context of justice and of brotherhood in the modern world is to be found in the conflicts and issues of economic life. Like our spiritual forebears, the great Hebrew prophets, we know that until there is fair dealing between man and man, until nations learn to bring equality of opportunity to all, there can be no complete worship or service of God. Therefore, with due consideration of their importance for the time to come, we enunciate the following principles:

1. By virtue of our scientific knowledge and technical equipment, we of the modern world already possess the economic resources for a wide and equitable distribution of income. All we need is the courage and the wisdom to create and maintain it. Essential to the achievement of the abundant life for all are the right to work, and the right to equality of economic opportunity without regard to race, religion or nationality. There must be no room in the post-war world for exploitation of serfdom.

As to World Living Standards

2. In consonance with the dignity of the human personality, the standard of living in every country and on every continent should provide not only proper shelter, sufficient food and adequate clothing, but all other services now recognized as a part of civilized life, such as medical care, opportunities for culture and education and facilities for recreation. Such a wide distribution of income will involve heavy taxation and will impose sacrifices upon certain individuals and groups. They should be as selfless in the behalf of a peaceful world based on righteousness as in the cause of military victory.

3. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." Man is but the steward over the natural resources which God created. In order that all men may be assured of economic justice our natural resources should be treated as the endowment of society alone, to be controlled democratically for social use.

4. Widespread unemployment was one of the causes of that general social despair which drove men to the desperate recourse of totalitarianism. The problem of unemployment must not be allowed to develop in the post-war world, as it did after the last war. Employment can be provided in our time for every person willing and able to work.

A program toward this end should include: (a) Limitation of the hours of labor in accordance with the welfare of the worker and economic needs, (b) rationalization of production, (c) the elimination of child labor, (d) the expansion of social services, such as health, education and recreation, (e) a program of reconstruction of the areas devastated by the war, (f) a housing program to eliminate slums; and such other construction projects as are socially desirable but which may not enlist private enterprise.

On Rights of the Workers

5. In a democratic society the workers in agriculture, industry, commerce and the professions must possess the right to organize in order to advance their own welfare. This implies their right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and to negotiate with employers the terms of contracts covering wages and salaries, hours and conditions of work, vacations and severance compensation, and the machinery through which grievances are to be adjusted. These rights of labor should be incorporated in the social legislation of every country.

6. The rights of workers imply responsibilities for the welfare of the industry in which they are engaged. The relationship of workers and employers should not be one of conflict but of cooperation. Economic democracy requires that workers participate with employers in the management of industry.

7. A general sense of insecurity was another of the causes which drove men to surrender their freedom to dictators who falsely promised to give them security in exchange for liberty. We believe that social security is a function of democracy and freedom. Our social program should include the following: Unemployment insurance, accident insurance, training of the handicapped, health insurance, old age annuities, maternity and child care.

8. International cooperation must be economic as well as political. Even as individuals cannot live by themselves alone, so no nation can plan only in terms of its own prosperity. Economic isolationism, expressing itself through tariff barriers, and other obstacles which impede the flow and exchange of food, materials and products, at best brings only temporary gains and creates the bitterness, the friction and the poverty which eventually lead to war. Nations, like individuals, have common responsibilities to establish economic justice for all.

THE RACIAL BASIS OF A JUST AND ENDURING PEACE

A corollary to the cardinal doctrine of Judaism, the belief in one God, is the belief in the oneness of mankind. This belief is echoed and re-echoed in biblical and rabbinic literature. The first chapter of Genesis proclaims man's common ancestry, and the rabbinical interpreters hailed this as evidence of the equality of all races.

1. The doctrine that there are superior and inferior "races" is a modern superstition. The physical differences between groups are not profound and the degree of distinctiveness which might justify the use of the term "race" is indefinable within precise limits. The most painstaking investigations have failed to reveal any correlation between physical form on the one hand and mental or social habits on the other.

Neither "race" nor color indicates cultural progress or capacity. Every human group possesses worth. Differences does not mean superiority or inferiority. Difference signifies variety, and variety promotes cultural enrichment. Ethnological arguments used to justify the oppression of one group by another are fallacious. Nothing could be more baneful than the doctrine of the Herrenvolk, the master race. As long as such a concept is permitted to run rampant, the peace of nations is grievously imperiled.

2. There is a deep connection between amicable and constructive relationships across the boundaries of nations and parallel relationships within those nations. By reason of our troubled history and the centuries of persecution we have endured, we Jews should feel ourselves especially obligated to understand the plight of the Negro in all sections of our country and to espouse his cause.

We ask for the Negro the recognition of his right to earn a living unhindered by the disabilities which at present bar his way. He must enjoy the same advantages that other Americans enjoy in education, medical care and housing. The day must come when lynching will be abhorrent to every American. Finally, we urge the removal of all barriers which impede the progress of Negroes as children of God.

Basic Equality Declared

3. We declare the basic equality of all races.

We assert that no race has the right to dominate another.

We reaffirm Judaism's preaching of the brotherhood of all peoples.

We deny that God has selected some races for special favors and others for debasing servitude.

We urge the education and full emancipation of all peoples.

We do not regard conflict between races as inevitable. On the contrary, they must cooperate as equals, if there is to be a just and enduring peace.

We look with especial concern upon the exploitation of many millions in Asia and Africa and urge their admission as equals into the councils of nations.

All racial discriminations and segregation must be eliminated from the laws of States and nations.

JEWISH POST-WAR CONSTRUCTION

Among the peoples who have been victims of the Axis tyranny and aggression that has been directed at the destruction of the life and liberty of men, none has suffered more than Israel. An overwhelming majority of European Jews have already been uprooted and dispossessed. Large masses of Jews have been and are being massacred in pursuance of the publicly proclaimed Nazi policy to exterminate all Jews. This unparalleled tragedy summons all freedom-loving men to forthright action.

Any adequate program of post-war reconstruction must do complete justice to the urgent needs of Jews as individuals and as a group.

The assistance of the United Nations is imperative in order to achieve this reconstruction, since the task is on a scale beyond the capacity of the surviving Jewish communities.

1. Homes must be made available for the millions of homeless Jews. They must be granted the opportunity either to resettle in their former homes, remain wherever they are, or find new homes where they may be free.

2. Together with all other men, Jews must be guaranteed political equality, full economic opportunity and a chance for complete spiritual self-realization.

Because of the global nature and complexity of Jewish life [illegible] the problems of the Jews as a group.

1. Meeting these needs requires the recognition of the right of Jewish groups everywhere to the fullest enjoyment and fostering of their religious and cultural heritage in accordance with their specific needs and conditions in their respective countries.

2. All Jews are bound by spiritual and historic ties to the Holy Land. Since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration a tremendous impetus has been given to successful Jewish settlement in Palestine. Since the advent of the Nazi regime there have been some years in which immigration increased to such a degree as to prove the extraordinary absorptive capacity of Palestine.

After the war conditions must be created to permit as large a Jewish immigration to Palestine as possible, in accordance with obligations assumed under the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandmate. Now more than ever the nations of the world must give fullest recognition to the right of Jews to a homeland in Palestine, and they must help facilitate in every way the work of rebuilding that land.

...YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1942

Frieda Miller Quits; Asks Development Of Job Insurance

Urges Step to Offset Impact of Possible Postwar Depression

Special to the World-Telegram.

ALBANY, Dec. 29.—Announcing her resignation as of Dec. 31 Industrial Commissioner Frieda S. Miller today recommended to Gov. Charles Poletti that the unemployment insurance law be developed to offset the impact of a possible postwar depression.

Summing up her eight years work as state commissioner Miss Miller made eight recommendations for the department's future policy and urged that "the modern labor policy built up by the people of this state" be expanded.

Standards Being Created.

"Attention will be directed," she said, "not only to the immediate circumstances of a war economy but to the implications and potentialities of the new peacetime standards which, willy-nilly, are implicit in the choices we are making."

The commissioner declared that peacetime labor standards are being created today and that minimum wage standards for women must be set up.

The commissioner recommended continuing "responsible appraisal" of the unemployment insurance law, the subject on which she reported at greatest length, development of the law to help head off consequences of the possible postwar deflation, improvement of facilities for hearings and examinations of workmen's compensation cases and "intensive work" on plant accident and health-protection programs.

Other Proposals.

The war-production program can be realized only by a "reasonably healthy, accident-free, unfatigued, well fed and decently housed force," she said.

She urged that the state retain the system for granting temporary suspension of labor-law restrictions to speed war production, continuation of the dapartment council for supervising apprentice training, perpetuation of the employment discrimination committee after the war and told how the state should "protect and extend" women's minimum wage standards.

ame New Secretary Of 'March'

NEW YORK CITY — The national committee of the March on Washington movement, headed by A. Philip Randolph, announced Monday the appointment of Miss E. Pauline Myers, as executive secretary, effective January 2, 1943, with offices at March headquarters in the Hotel Theresa here.

Miss Myers is at present business, industrial and public affairs secretary at the Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA, Richmond, Va.

She was president of the first Howard University Liberal club under the League for Industrial Democracy and was for two years chairman of the Howard University forum.

She lobbied in Congress in behalf of unemployment insurance and a program of public works and initiated and organized many conferences and institutes in the Washington community. She also lobbied in behalf of the anti-lynch bill for the NAACP.

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December 19, 194

March on Washington Threat Is Made Again

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — In the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Statler on Tuesday, A. Philip Randolph, sharing the program with Liu Liang-Mo of China, and Rabbi Hillel Silver of Cleveland, told American Cooperative Christianity in united counsel that Negroes wanted and would fight for full and complete first-class constitutional citizenship in America with no reservations.

He said that in order to achieve this objective. Negroes may be compelled to march on Washington, not only to stop the poignant insults to their souls, but also to save the soul of America and make it truly worthy of the moral and spiritual leadership of the democratic forces of the world.

At the interracial dinner that same evening, at the Allerton Hotel. Mr. Randolph pointed out that the darker races, including the Chinese, Indians in India, Africans and the Negroes in the West Indies and America had contributed to their subjugation, oppression and exploitation by their docility, submission and acquiescene in the theology of racism, but that had passed with the coming of this global war.

"Today, the darker races, including the American Negro, looked with contempt upon the pernicious theory of race superiority, and were ready and determined to put everything they have got into the fight for racial equality," concluded Mr. Randolph.

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Saturday, December 19, 1942

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT ENTERAINS WITH DANCE:

Friday night the New York Branch of the March On Washington Movement entertained around five hundred friends at their Freedom Dance held at the Renaissance Casino, with Al Sears and Band furnishing the music. For spicy entertainment they presented H. C. Handy, Babe Wallace and Canada Lee who turned in a creditable performance.

Mary Langford was presented with fifty dollars door prize for holding the lucky ticket stub.

Mrs. Bessye Bearden was chairman of the affair. Dr. Lawrence Mance Ervin is chairman of the New York Branch

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DECEMBER 29, 194

egro Named to Direc Committee on Job Bias

Charles C. Berkeley, Negro field representative of the State War Council's Committee on Discrimination in Employment, has been promoted to executive director, it was announced yesterday by Frieda S. Miller, Industrial Commissioner.

Berkeley, who was educated at the University of Redlands, Cal., has been active in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, improving opportunities for Negroes.

Seek Job Equality

Representatives of the March On Washington (MOW) met with Fowler Harper, Deputy War Manpower Commissioner, Saturday Dec. 12, in Washington for a conference on the present status of the Fair Employment Practice Committee in view of Paul V. McNutt's appointment as head of US war manpower. Eardlie John and Layle Lane conferred with Harper for more than an hour.

Demands included power for FEPC to take action against employers; a $2,000,000 budget for FEPC in 1943-'44; employment of WPA workers through the United States Employment Service and a training program for farm workers; plus the same standards for farm workers in local areas as for those transported by the USES or FSA.

The National Committee of the MOW, of which A. Philip Randolph is director, announced this week the appointment of E. Pauline Myers of Richmond, Va., to the position of executive secretary. Miss Myers is at present business, industrial and public affairs secretary at the Phyllis Wheatley branch YWCA in Richmond. She will have her executive office in the MOW headquarters, Hotel Theresa, beginning Jan. 2, 1943.

Fair-*field*,)

March on Washington May Save Democracy—Randolph

CLEVELAND—In the grand ballroom of the Hotel Statler here, Dec. 8, A. Philip Randolph, sharing the program with Liu Liang-Mo of China and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, told American Cooperative Christianity in united counsel that Negroes wanted and would fight for full and complete first-class constitutional citizenship in America with no reservations.

He declared that in order to achieve this objective Negroes may be compelled to march on Washington, not only to stop the poignant insults to their souls but also to save the soul of America and make it truly worthy of the moral and spiritual leadership of the democratic forces of the world.

THE NEW LEADER

Conference to Plan March on Washington

By ELIZABETH CHARNEY

Delegates of scores of Negro organizations will converge on Detroit Sept. 26 for the national convention of the March on Washington movement. The conference is being called because of the dissatisfaction of Negro leaders with the work—or rather lack of real work—on the part of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee created to eliminate discrimination in employment, poor showing in eliminating Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

Leader of the March on Washington is A. Philip Randolph, outstanding Negro spokesman and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters.

A proposed march last year was abandoned when the President signed his executive order promising an end to discrimination against the Negro in any type of war effort. Today, according to Randolph, the Negro is practically back where he started . The fact that a few companies holding government contracts now hire a small number of Negroes or that 34 pilots have been trained and commissioned at Tuskegee (a whole year's output), is but a drop in the bucket. Secretary of War Stimson has said that by the end of 1942 there will be 100,000 Negroes in the Army air forces. But the vast majority will not be pilots. They will comprise a corps of technical specialists, airdrome defense battalions, aviation squadrons for general work at air bases, quartermaster truck companies, etc. At present, Negroes are being trained as pilots of fast single seat fighter planes, but are not accepted for training as bomber pilots on multi-engined aircraft as bombadiers or navigators. In the Army, where their position is better than in other branches of the armed services, Negroes are assigned mainly to kitchen police and ditch-digging in the quartermaster and engineering corps.

The Navy has just begun accepting Negroes as seamen above deck. The South continues to object to the stationing in its army camps of northern Negroes, who have been brought up without being subjected to Jim Crow laws.

The F.E.P.C. notwithstanding, Negroes have not been getting anywhere near their share of jobs throughout the country, March on Washington leaders say. Nor has the situation been

(Continued on Page Six)

World Fronts

By A. M. Wendell Malliet

WORLD FRONTS will, this week, devote its attention to the home front. A story is told of an old Greek philosopher by the name of Thales of Melitus, who was so interested in astronomy that he gazed at the stars from night till morn. He was a misunderstood old gentleman. His star gazing inspired Greek maidens to think of him as an eccentric fellow and, on one occasion, while walking and gazing skyward, he either fell into a well or stumbled so near it that one of the maidens said he was so concerned about what was going on in Heaven he did not even see what was at his feet.

Mr. Malliet

Lest we be accused of being so absorbed in everything beyond the shores of the United States that we have no time to devote to some of the major problems of our homeland, we will, like the Prodigal Son, return to the land wherein live our family, children, friends and neighbors.

There is, of course, a great deal that is wrong with America, and every one of us is partly responsible for the plight of the nation and the people. We are just as guilty for the coming of World War II as Hitler and his brutal gang because we made it possible for him to grow strong, although he told us what he intended to do with his power.

But as it is not the white man in America who is to be the subject of our wrath this week, the larger issues of national and international importance will be passed over. Negro leadership will be considered, not in its totality, however.

Attempt at Easy Living

The thing we call Negro leadership is seldom intelligent, courageous and unselfish. It marks the attempt of ambitious Negroes to get an easy living in so-called white collar jobs at the expense of the masses. A half-educated man told us that he had lost all faith in "Negro leaders" because he was sure they were out to "save the race at $5 per cent per head." He may or may not be right.

misleading. As bad as the whole project of Negro leadership is, it would have at least some value if it were Negro leadership. This it is not. We are oppressed and exploited and misled by interracial leadership, which sees to it that human aspirations and the foundations of progress are kept out of the program.

One of these days there will appear thinking Negroes who will rise up and tell our so-called leaders that the enactment of anti-lynching bills and anti-poll tax legislation are fake issues which if enacted into law now may puff the pride of some people, but would not improve the status of the average Negro in any way. We are forever putting the cart before the horse and using our best leadership material to no constructive purpose. The whole program is somewhat like the large endowment of trade schools for Negroes and the non-support of universities for the higher education of men.

Business Enterprises Needed

Associations, leagues and groups for the "salvation" of the Negro may be all right in their places, but they should not occupy the front line of our fight for recognition, integration and development. Economic and educational institutions should have first places in our thinking. So long as we are without business enterprises to give employment, training and experience to our own people all along the line of economic growth, so long will we be a beggar race.

Even with such outstanding leaders-at-large as Walter White, Lester B. Granger, Channing H. Tobias, F. D. Patterson, Mordecai W. Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph and newspapers as The Baltimore Afro-American, The Pittsburgh Courier, The Chicago Defender, The -News, The Norfolk Journal and Guide, The California Eagle and at least 200 more, not to mention our prominent churchmen, fifteen million Negroes and their national news-gathering agency, The Associated Negro Press, are without representation at the President's press conference.

We, like millions of other Negroes, do not want to be told "it's like this," or any other stupid excuse. We want action. Let 15,000 [illegible] black men and women, and now let us include children, [illegible] they are being drafted into [illegible]

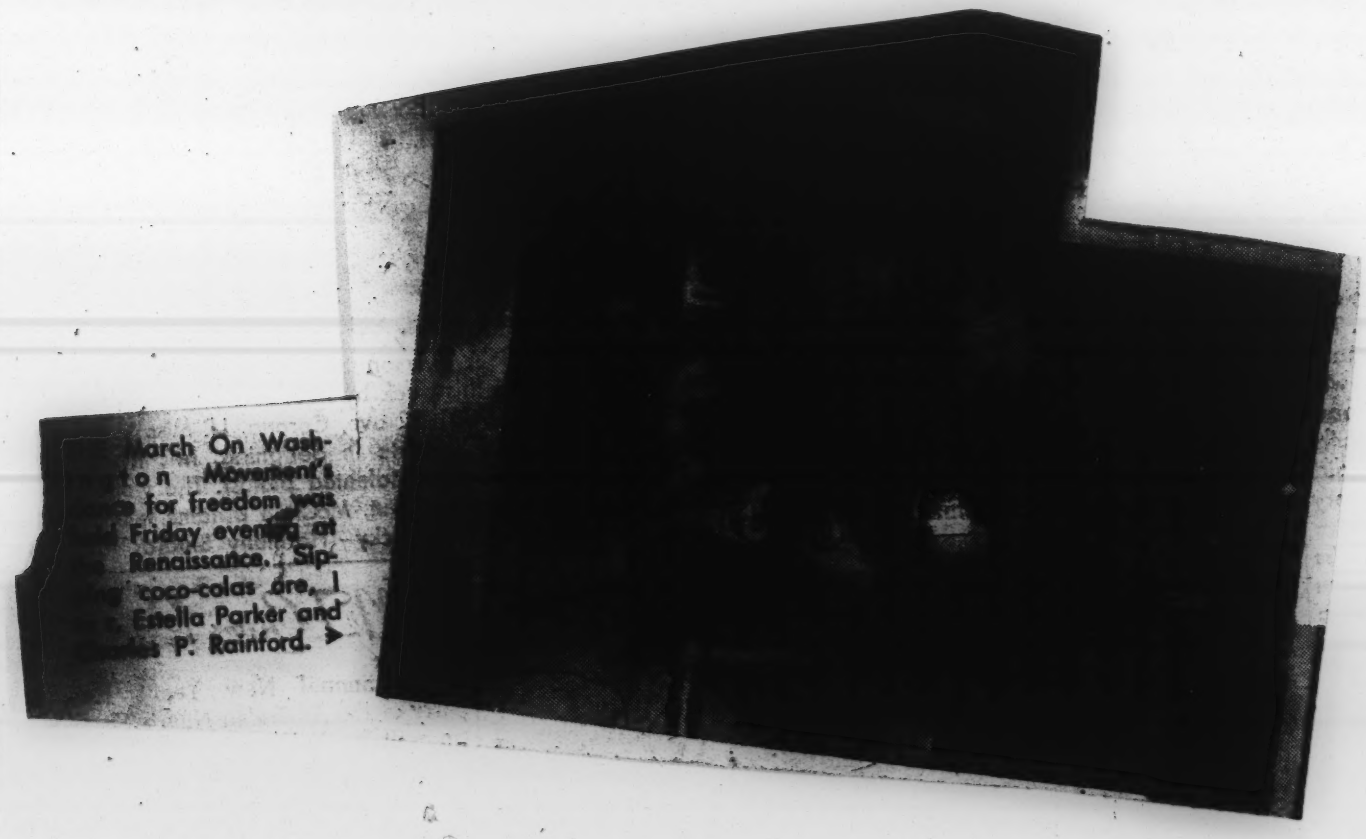
P. V. December 19, 1942

"The Fair Employment Practice committee has done and is doing splendid work. It has a fine future if it has the support of Negro public opinion. It is because of the fact that it is making progress it provoked the wrath of Governor Dixon of Alabama who hysterically blew up and refused a contract which had a clause requiring the employment of workers, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

"The opposition of this race-hater Dixon is sufficient reason alone why Negroes should go down the line to keep FEPC from being hamstrung and sabotaged," asserted Randolph, who was largely responsible for the Executive Order No. 8802 and the FEPC.

Randolph concluded that the March on Washington Movement would use every resource at its command to set FEPC free as an independent agency.

Mr. Webster did not speak for publication on the new status of the committee. He conferred with Cecil Newman, newspaper editor, on the war plant race discrimination in the Twin City area. Mr. Webster was



...March On Wash-
...on Movement's
... for freedom was
... Friday evening at
... Renaissance. Sip-
... coco-colas are, l
... Estella Parker and
... P. Rainford. ➤

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

Saturday, December 19, 1942

Calls Randolph a Light In Leadership Scarcity

To the Editor:

Your Julius Adams has been writing eloquently on Negro leaders, which is probably a more serious problem than any realize. Admittedly, there is a dearth of good material, however. Yet I believe that A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters stands out as a light in the wilderness.

I learned recently, to my satisfaction and pride, that Mr. Randolph had refused financial assistance from whites for his March on Washington Committee. This is a step in the right direction. Moral support is necessary, but Negroes must learn that organizations subsidized by white money cannot be effective in our struggle for equal rights.

Harriett Mason

P. M. December 14, 1942

Civil Liberties Group Asks Stay for Negro

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People have appealed to Gov. J. M. Broughton of North Carolina to stay the execution of William Wellman, Negro convicted of rape, for at least 60 days.

The organizations told Gov. Broughton, in a letter, that they had obtained new evidence to prove that Wellman was working in Washington, D. C., on Feb. 11, 1941, when a 67-year-old white woman was attacked at Statesville, N. C. The conviction [illegible] was [illegible]

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, DECEMBER 12, 1942

Bias Charge to FEPC

Say White Union Stymies Upgrading to Conductor Status

CHICAGO — Pointing out the discriminatory hiring policy of the Pullman Company and the existing practices of segregation by the Pullman Conductors' Union, the Pullman Porters' and Maids' Protective Association filed a brief charging violation of Executive Order 8802 in the Pullman service, which they contend is now. primarily a war industry, with the FEPC recently.

The porters' group specifically pointed out that selected colored personnel are already trained to dispatch the duties of Pullman conductors but that clauses in the ritual of the conductors' union retard the up-grading of these trained porters.

Subterfuges Charged

According to the officials of the association, colored men are classed only as porters-in-charge and are never advanced to the rating in pay or class of conductor.

The association also tells of various subterfuges used by the conductors to force State legislation forbidding the utilization of porters-in-charge, naming the States of Florida, South Carolina and Texas.

Mention is also made of the case of 1940 in which an effort was allegedly made by the union, with the aid of the Railway Department of the AF of L, to enact a national bill that would have frozen colored men in in-charge classifications.

The association asserts that the trained reservoir of colored manpower can aid in forestalling a [illegible]

THE PEOPLE MEET

. . . and check on the balance sh
after one year of war.

REV. BEN RICHARDSON REPORTS TO A CROWDED GOLDEN GATE MONDAY EVENING ON THE STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO ONE YEAR AFTER PEARL HAR

THE GAINS

I. LOCALLY

A—Employment

1. Negroes in defense plants—Sperry Gyroscope, Ford Instrument, Western Electric Shipbuilding Companies.
2. Increased employment of Negroes in retail stores—Lerner's, Bloomingdale, Macy's, Lord and Taylor, Chock Full of Nuts, etc.
3. Employment in public utility companies — transportation, telephone, telegraph, light.
4. Jobs with leading finance, beer, beverage, liquor, cigarette and bread companies.
5. Employment of Negro pharmacists in chain and local stores.
6. Negro on City College staff.
7. Negro nurses in all hospitals.
8. Non-discriminatory policy of U.S. Employment Service.

B—Creation of Metropolitan Council of FEPC

C—Training of Negro youth

D—Appointment of Governor's Committee on Discrimination

E—Abolition of advertisement bias—Mahoney Act

II. NATIONALLY

A—Employment

2. Nation-wide defense employment—use of skilled workers.
3. Negro advisers in key war governing bureaus.

B—Politically

1. Pasasge of the Soldiers Vote bill—all soldiers given right to vote regardless of vicinity in which previously resided.
2. The defeat of Talmadge of Georgia and Dixon of Alabama.
3. Initiation and development of national campagin to abolish poll tax. Its passage in H.R. by 5 to 1.
4. Election of Negro councilman.

C—Favorable attitude of labor leaders—forthright stand by CIO.

D—Increased support from white liberals for demands of Negro people — Pearl Buck, Willkie, etc.

E—Statements by government officials re: discrimination—McNutt, Attorney General Bennett (on Negro membership in unions)

F—Passage of laws in various states against jim crowism and discrimination by employers.

radio operators in Merchant Marine at Gallups' Island.

H—Negro in armed forces:

*May now enter Coast Guard.
**Entrance into Navy.
*Air Corps—pursuit squadron.
*Mixed officer training.
*Employment of Negroes in technical and supply divisions of Army—signal corps, tank corps.
*Promotion of Davis to Brig. Gen.
*Appointment of Hugh Mulzac as captain of Liberty Ship — Booker T. Washington.

I—Negro favorably portrayed:

IN PRINT—Fortune, Harpers, Atlantic Monthly, Survey Graphic, Theatrical Arts, Colliers, Look, South Today, etc.

ON AIR — Negro programs, guest artists.

IN FILMS.

J—Beginning of unification of Negro people—"the new Negro"—outspoken demands of Negro leaders — Randolph, Tobias, White, Bethune, Powell, Yergan, etc.

K—Fight for Civil Liberties.

III. INTERNATIONALLY

A—Liberation of Ethiopia.

B—Formation of United Na- [illegible] dedicated to liberation

THE LOSSES

1. Failure to pass anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills.
2. Failure to enforce Executive Order 8802 providing for defense work.
3. Continuance of discrimination in employment and training policies.
4. Treatment of Negro representatives in the US Senate.
5. Continued lynchings.
6. Murder and mistreatment of Negro soldiers.
7. Continued segregated blood policy of Red Cross.
8. Lack of complete integration in armed forces. No Negro WAVES, WAACS segregated.
9. Retention of Negroes in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.
10. Failure of administration to take a more positive stand on the role and the treatment of the Negro in a democracy at war.
11. Lack of clarification on Atlantic Charter, the India question.
12. Failure to smash completely fifth columnists such as KKK, Father Coughlin, Christian Front and other pro-fascist Negro-haters and labor-baiters.

publicity in press—

New FEPC Budget Is Woefully Inadequate Says Rhilip Randolph

CHICAGO, Ill.—Commenting on the budget of $300,000 which according to reports has been set up for the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, stated When one considers how colossal and difficult the job FEPC has in investigating and eliminating discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin, in defense industries and the goverment, this appropriation is just a match.

"It is a subtle way of starving this vital and important government agency to death. Instead of allotting out this picayune sum to FEPC for the work of breaking down the barriers of race discrimination, two million dollars should be placed at its disposal," observed Mr. Randolph.

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

[illegible] SEVENTH AVENUE—HOTEL THERESA BLDG.

RACE LEADERSHIP NEEDS UNITY IN ITS HIGH COMMAND

CHICAGO, Ill.—Speaking at the Woodlawn A. M. E. Church in Chicago at a mass meeting under the auspices of the March on Washington Movement, to secure jobs for Negroes in the public utilities including the surface street cars, elevated trains, subways, buses, telephone, electric and gas, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, stated that our experience in the War Emergency proves the necessity of unity of Negro High Command—our leadership.

LACK OF UNIFIED COMMAND

"Although the magnitude, gravity and complexity of the problems that confront the Negro people today are tremendous, there is no unified or well-defined policy or strategy among the Negro leaders with which to grapple with these problems. In the main the Negro High Command is working in tight organizational compartments, and very often at cross purposes with practically little or no coordination", Mr. Randolph continued.

"While Negro organizations may and should retain their organizational entity and major policies, there [illegible] of [illegible]

Washington March Movement To Aid In Poll Tax Battle

CHICAGO, Ill.—Having been told by some of the leading liberal and progressive senators that the campaign to pass the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill was weak and unconvincing, the March on Washington Movement proposes to initiate a vigorous fight to help push the bill through the forthcoming congress.

One outstanding progressive leader of the senate stated to a committee of the March on Washington movement in Washington, D. C., that the Anti-Poll Tax measure failed to pass because a quorum could not be maintained against the filibuster and a quorum could not be maintained because the senators were not convinced that public opinion demanded the bill. Only the pressure of the masses can make the senators understand the will of the people on this matter.

Pearl Buck Says Fight for Freedom Has Died . . .

An even dozen of the world's great minds came together in a New York hotel dining room last night to tell one another and the world bluntly what they think about the war and the peace to follow.

The speakers were the writers and scientists whose achievements have been recognized by the award of Nobel prizes. The occasion was the Nobel Anniversary Dinner given at the Waldorf-Astoria by the Common Council for American Unity.

Pearl Buck, author of *The Good Earth* and student of Asia's civilizations, voiced the profoundly pessimistic conclusion that the war between the United Nations and the Axis was ceasing to be—perhaps already had ceased to be—a fight for freedom.

In a speech which unquestionably will be quoted, debated, denounced and evoked for months—and perhaps years—to come, Mrs. Buck affirmed her conviction that "the victory over the Axis does not mean the victory over Fascism." She predicted that, barring a miracle, a second war must be fought for freedom.

Thomas Mann, unable to be present, sent a manuscript which was read by his daughter, Erika. He expressed the hope that "the Peace of Washington" at the end of this war would result in "the Americanization of the world."

Harold Clayton Urey, the American chemist who discovered heavy hydrogen, spoke of the need for post-war collaboration with the Soviet Union in policing the world to avoid a struggle for "planetary supremacy" in the next generation.

Sir Norman Angell, British author and statesman who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933, declared that "the most scientific generation" had denied "the most elementary of all social truths"—that if society did not collectively defend the right to life, that right could not be defended at all.

Sigrid Undset of Norway, author of *Kristin Lavransdatter*, urged that the crimes committed by the Germans against spiritual values be not lost sight of in the overwhelming horror of their physical crimes.

Otto Loewi, German physiologist and chemist, called, as Mann, for an extension of the principles of American freedom throughout the world.

Other Nobel prize winners at the dinner were Carl David Anderson, Arthur Holly Compton, Clinton Joseph Davisson, Victor Francis Hess and Ernest O. Lawrence, physicists, and Otto Meyerhof, physiologist. William L. Batt, vice-chairman of the War Production Board, was toastmaster.

Vital parts of the most important speeches are printed here as a contribution to America's discussion of the peace.

By Pearl Buck

We know now what we could not know a year ago, that this war is not only between the United Nations and the Axis.

We knew that the war between the United Nations and the Axis is only the beginning of the real war, which remains the war between the principles of Democracy and the principles of Fascism. We know, in this, the war has no geographical boundaries.

We have said and it may be true that we are fighting a war to save civilization. But what we must foresee is that unless there is a miracle we will have to fight another war to save freedom.

When did the character of this war change? I think we all entered into the war knowing that however it might have been avoided, it had to be fought with all the strength of body and will, since it was inconceivable that our enemies should prevail.

'Fate Coming Closer'

It is even more inconceivable today that our enemies, Germany and Japan, should win. But the strange thing is that the shadow of war does not grow less as these enemies grow weaker.

The heavy foreboding, which is upon the heart and mind of every thinking man and woman, is not lifted as it should be now, at the end of this incredible year. Why can we not take more comfort in today's news? It is comforting, yes. It is something to be grateful for that our military machine is better than the enemies' machine. Why, then, are we not comforted?

It is because we see a certain Fate coming closer to us, and these victories do not hold back its march. Somewhere in this year the step might have been taken which could have averted this Fate. Until that moment this war was being fought as a war for

You remember how heartily all our allies, in Asia as well as in Europe, entered into the war for freedom. No war that ever has been waged was entered into with more devotion to freedom than was this war. Millions of people, dark and light, rallied to the cause of Democracy.

I am not exaggerating when I say that there was a moment, almost a day, nearly six months ago now, when the great peoples of Asia were very close to the anti-Axis peoples of Europe and America. Could there have been a man great enough at that significant moment to have declared that this war was a war for the freedom of all peoples, we would not have had to face now, as we do face, another war of which this one is only the beginning.

No Man Great Enough

One can only hope at most, now, that there will be a breathing space between this war and the next. One cannot guarantee that there will be that space.

For we had no man great enough to declare at the necessary moment the true meaning of this war. Let us reckon with this fact—our leaders are men of local minds. They have not been able to think in terms of the world.

And I mean by the world not merely the geographical world in military terms, so that an army is sent here or sent there. I mean the world of human beings. This war has been limited in its true aims. It has become a military struggle. It has ceased to be a fight for freedom.

The times do not always produce the man. When the peoples of Asia and of Africa, yes, and when many among our own peoples here and in South America, looked and listened and heard no great voice, at that moment the shadow of the long war

Pearl Buck

ples of Asia are further from us today than they ever have been.

They are realizing soberly that they must find their salvation in themselves, and not with us. Allies we are, to a certain guarded degree, for a moment, for a while, but they cannot trust us.

They see that while this first stage of the war must be won against the Axis, there will be another war, following hard upon this one, a greater war, the real war for freedom, in which none yet sees clearly either friend or foe.

It is not now so certain what this first war will gain us. Perhaps it will not even save civilization for us. For it is in wars that civilizations are lost, if they go on too long. Good ends are too often lost in the means.

Military Gain Not Enough

The oppressed people of France, too, are not as close to us as they were. Military victory in Africa has not won us a victory among those in France who still love liberty.

Our own colored people are not closer to us at the end of this year than they were at the beginning. Military victory is not enough to lift their hearts. . . .

So in this fashion, the danger is that this than one war. There is a good deal of reason on the side of those who say let us fight one war at a time. For example, obviously in a purely military sense it is to our benefit if, in need of all possible allies, we can keep political France with us, even though the earth of France has been seized by the enemy. Obviously then the sensible thing is to sacrifice the faraway peoples of France's empire, and say nothing at this time about giving the hope of freedom to colonial peoples. Will political France fight so well on our side, when the moment comes, if she knows that there would be no empire at the end of this war? Would imperial Holland be so enthusiastic for the allied cause if her empire were no longer to exist if the United Nations won?

There are many persons who argue that England herself would be less enthusiastic if her empire were not to be restored to her intact at the end of this war. One thing is true—the promise of freedom cannot be given to one colonial people without giving it to all and therefore it may be argued, prudently, that it is easier to make no promise of freedom. It is easier to cease talking about freedom at all. It is easier to say that we had better win the war before we discuss the peace to follow. It is less disturbing to

of whom are empires, with vast and rich holdings in the East and Africa.

So in this fashion, the danger is that this war will cease to be a war for freedom and become merely a war against the Axis. All of Asia now knows and acknowledges, and so must we if we are honest, that the principles of human equality and human freedom may have nothing to do with our victory in this war.

Certainly the peoples of Asia are now coming to believe that for them our victory will have nothing to do with freedom and equality.

And who can give them any other hope? One hears everywhere of plans for a reconstructed Europe, of plans for feeding Europe's hungry millions, of health measures for Europe's sick and wounded. But who hears anywhere of feeding India's hungry millions, hungry not only in the brief years of this war, but always hungry?

Eighty per cent of India's people do not know and never have known what it is to be fed adequately. Yet there are no plans made for feeding them. Medical care is even more inadequate, in Asia always has been, but who plans for that?

There are no plans, there never were any plans. A medical watchguard is kept at the gates of the East in Egypt in the Mideast and at the western ports, lest the dread diseases of Asia creep into our country and into the beloved Europe, but who cares how many of the peoples of the East suffered and died?

The war has been limited still further. It is now not even a war to save civilization. It is only a war to save European civilization. For we of the West never seem able to realize that in the East there are civilizations far older and as great if not greater than Europe's civilization. Shall those not be saved?

It was out of the Mideast that Europe's civilization was once reborn. It will be out of the Far East, out of India and out of China, that our own civilization will be reborn.

When we talk of saving only Europe we save a partial thing, a secondary thing. The civilization of Europe has never been integrated, ordered civilization. Because of this Europe has been the breeding place of wars, and will continue to be.

Roots in Asia

The roots of human civilization are in Asia, not in Europe. It is in Asia that people have learned the ways of living together that bring peace and not continual war. It is in Asia that people believe in and practice the laws of individual and collective freedom upon which alone peace can be built.

The only war-like people there are the Japanese whose civilization, like that of Europe, is a derivative secondary thing.

Let us face this moment in this year, therefore, and not be deceived in the nature of the struggle that lies ahead. None of us in this room is safe. Our kind anywhere is not safe.

All the victories now being won do not make us safe. Those of us who are Jews are not safe, here or anywhere in the world. Those of us who are women are not safe here or anywhere else in the world. The determination to continue rule over colonial empires endangers us, the avowed will to maintain white supremacy at all costs in our own country endangers us all, those who belong to the white race.

. . . Jim Crowism Magnifies Complaints

smaller center for the Negroes. Each group must keep out of the other group's rooms.

The top 10 white officers live in one wing of a duplex house, and the top 10 Negro officers in the other wing. The two parts of the house are furnished almost identically. But neither a white girl nor a Negro dares to be found on the other side of the Jim Crow partition through their home.

In the camp kitchens, in classrooms, and wherever necessary, Negro and white girls work side by side. At parties away from the fort, they dance together. But insofar as the Army conveniently can, it keeps them apart.

The USO has adopted the same policy. In the Odd Fellows Temple downtown, there is a USO lounge for white girls. For the Negroes, there is a much smaller, less handy, but more amply staffed clubroom in an old store building in the Negro part of town.

This segregation has led to many complaints of discrimination. Some of these grievances have been found baseless or petty when investigated by Negro leaders. Most of them seem to be the inevitable result of segregation.

Some Complaints

It has not been possible to outfit every girl completely at once. Disappointed at not being equipped more rapidly, some Negro girls suspect there has been discrimination in the issuance of clothing. Not being seated at the same luncheon table, they do not hear the white girls' squawk about the scarcity of army costuming for them, too.

The Fort Des Moines swimming pool will accommodate only about 80 girls at a time. There are thousands of WAACs. The necessary limitations on use of the pool, plus provision for whites and Negroes to swim separately, made the time for Negroes seem unfairly short to some of them.

There are only about a tenth as many Negroes as whites. So there are only about a tenth as many books in the Negroes' library as in the white girls' library. Thus segregation in some cases becomes indistinguishable from discrimination.

The commonest complaint of the Negroes, however, has been against the downtown restaurants. Iowa has a law against racial discrimination in cafes. The Des Moines Restaurant Association's secretary cites the law when complaints reach him. Individual restaurant operators, to whom friends of the Negroes have appealed, have promised to obey the law.

A Chinese restaurant and two drug stores have treated the Negro girls splendidly. But most colored girls hesitate to go elsewhere, unless accompanied by whites. In some cafes, they say, the service is much too slow. In a few, they have been given paper cups instead of glasses.

Southern Attitude Surprising

When Walter S. White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke in Des Moines last month against segregation and discrimination, he was quoted in The *Iowa Bystander*, a Negro newspaper, as saying there was "something hopeful" about the Fort Des Moines situation.

"White women from the South," he explained, "have been so imbued with democracy that they have been able to discard Southern bigotry. But when is Des Moines in general going to become as democratic as the white WAACs from the South?"

Most of the Southern girls, in fact, have amazed Iowans by their willingness to serve with Negroes, but some have been known to turn their heads to avoid being shown in photographs with their sister soldiers.

The Des Moines *Register* has declared editorially: "Old bad habits and prejudice are being sloughed off. They must be if we are to win."

The Des Moines branch of the NAACP has doubled its membership under the leadership of a white man, a *We-the-People* character named Ike Smalls, who also runs a medical aid fund, and has been hailed as Des Moines's "first citizen."

Local Negroes who fought in the last war say conditions are better now than then—but that they have not received the equality that they were promised. They argue eloquently that too little is being done too late.

The Negroes, in short, say they want to serve "in an American army, not a Negro army."

Negro WAACs have to eat separately from the white girls because of Army policy. But their white officers join them.

Negro and white WAACs dance together at a party given by the Des Moines Assn. of Fine Arts. No segregation here.

Democracy of Sex but not of Race in WAAC

By Volta Torrey

Although the Army has introduced democracy of the sexes easily in Des Moines, racial democracy is something else.

The first WAAC to arrive was a Negro. There were 39 Negroes in the first group commissioned as officers. Several of them so distinguished themselves that white girls from small Southern towns praised them. One white WAAC says she does not like Negroes but also says the best lecture given at the camp to date was delivered by a Negro officer. The Negro girls have put a larger percentage of their pay into war bonds than the white girls. Everyone says their morale is marvelous.

But there are fewer Negro WAACs now than were expected. The ratio of colored to white girls has fallen. And the Negroes' hopes of the WAACs seem farthest from fullfillment.

They are segregated. This is "Army policy."

There is no segregation of Indians, or immigrants, or any other ethnic groups. But even white and colored girls who arrive in Des Moines from the same town on the same train, as friends, are marched off to separate quarters. That hurts the Negroes' feelings and irks many of the white girls.

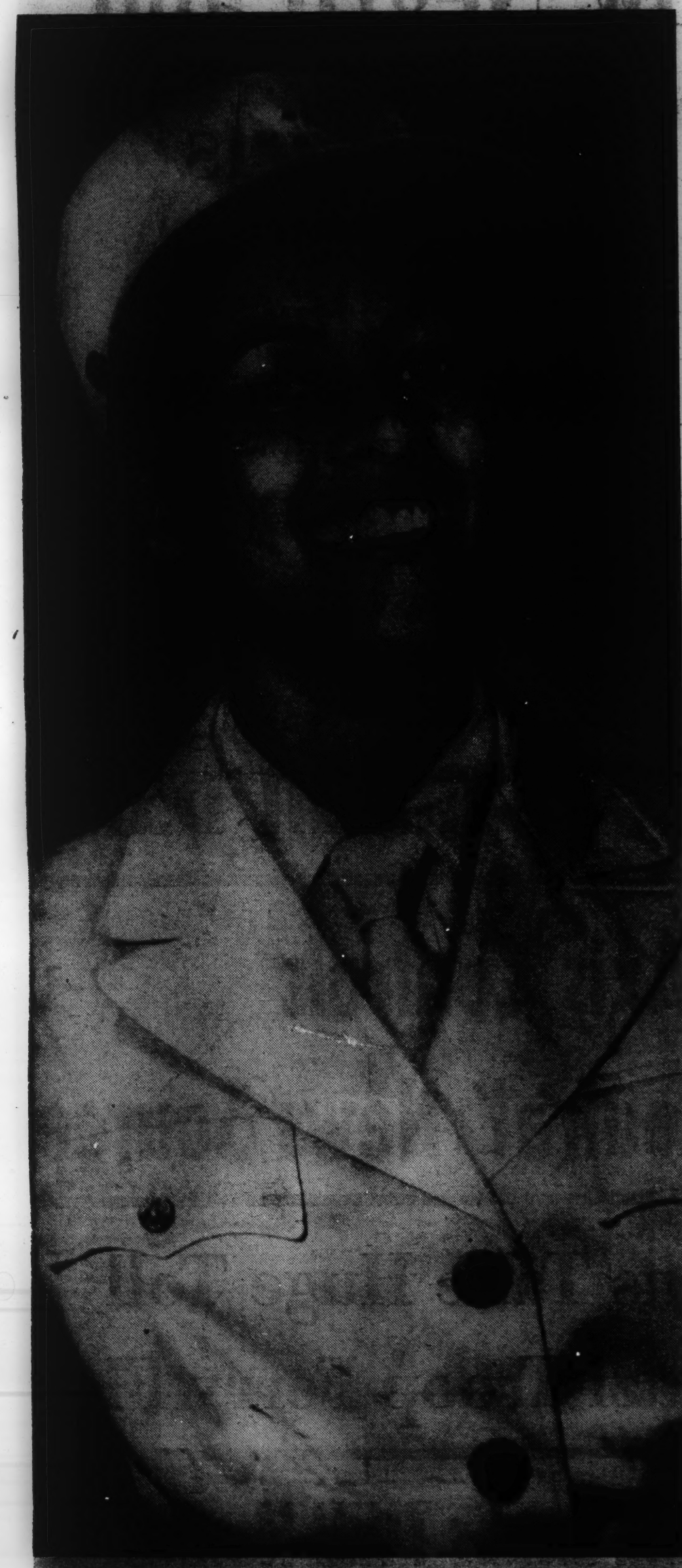
In parades, the Negroes march as a unit, too frequently in the rear to suit them, sometimes, as on Armistice Day, in the middle.

Jim Crow Tables

In mess halls, they sit at separate tables. At first those tables were designated by signs. The signs are unnecessary now. White officers say the chairs beside Negroes are left vacant "for their colored friends."

For the white girls there is a big recreation hall, with pingpong tables, a library, a cafe. There is a similar but smaller

Lieutenants Elizabeth C. Hampton, Los Angeles, and Verneal M. Austin, New York, bid goodby to Maj. A. M. Freeman before a recruiting tour.



Army officers say the morale of the Negro WAACs is excellent. Mrs. Gwendolyn Bright of Pittsburgh, Tex., is typical of the younger recruits.

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune (right), famous ... commissioned by the War Department to inspect WAACs talks to ... ies at Ft. Des Moines.

PM Daily

FIVE CENTS

Copyright, 1942, by Field Publications

VOL. III — NO. 151

Thursday, December 10, 1942

Moderately cold.

COMPLETE EDITION

INCLUDING THE ONLY DAILY PICTURE MAGAZINE IN [illegible]

How Negro and White Girls Get Along in The WAACs

Pages 2 =

Allies, Axis Race With Supplies To Decide Tunisian Battle

Pa 1

Other Headline News

FDR Explains Plan for Dealing With North Africa Politics—Page 15

The General Says: U-Boats Seek to Close African Sea Routes—Page 14

Congress Bowing Out, Gagged by Filibusters —Page 12

Higgins Will Build 1200 Army Cargo Planes —Page 12

Broadway Jack Doyle Puts the Chips Back —Page 30

Marian Anderson Makes DAR Back Down in Concert Dispute —Page 13

[illegible] Keep Up —Page 10

How Axis Controls 'Neutral' News Source

Pa 1

Russians Take Huge Toll Of Nazi Troop Ferry Flee

Pa 1

La Guardia Snubs TWU [illegible]

Pa

RANDOLPH PROTESTS POLICE CONDUCT AT TAX BILL LOBBY

NEW YORK, Dec. 3—Protesting the conduct of Capitol building police in the wing of the Senate building Monday, November 23 as, "outrageous and shocking," A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington movement, this week prepared an affidavit for action against them for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Randolph's protest followed the "pure hoodlum" tactics of the police in their relation with Negro citizens who had gathered there to protest in a lawful and orderly manner, the mockery of democracy which was being staged in the Senate by suffocating the anti-poll tax bill to death.

The NAACP, in a telegram to Randolph from Walter White, secretary, urged him to make an affidavit against the Capitol building police force. It was learned also that charges against them had been filed with the captain of police and an immediate investigation demanded.

Manhandle Delegation.

The policemen not only used abusive language and yelled at Negro citizens ordering them out of the Capitol building but physically pushed them around and manhandled some of them so as to warrant a charge of brutal assault.

The action of the police became so outrageous and shocking that Randolph publicly denounced them, telling them that the Negro citizens were not going to stand to be pushed around.

While Mr. Randolph was condemning the ruthless attitude of the police, one of the officers was approaching him from behind apparently intent upon striking him on the head with a blackjack and was seen to have his hand on his revolver as though he intended to draw it for use against Mr. Randolph.

Protests to Police Captain.

When the pushing of the Negroes ceased for a while Mr. Randolph informed the policeman that he was going promptly to present their conduct to the captain of the police force of the Capitol building.

He was accompanied by Al Hamilton of the Washington Call Bureau; B. F. McLaurin, international field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers' Defense league; Ernest Johnson, staff reporter for the Associated Negro Press, and Pauli Murray, law student of Howard university.

The names of those in the committee making the protest with Mr. Randolph were filed with the captain of the police and the demand made that an immediate investigation be instituted to stop similar attacks.

★

SUNDAY CHICAGO BE
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1942

NEW YORK AGE
December 6, 1942

Randolph Files Charges Against Capitol Building Police For Brutality

During the time a protest was being made Monday, November 23rd, in the Senate wing of the Capitol Building, the conduct of the police can best be described as pure hoodlumism in their relation with the Negro citizens who had gathered there to protest in a lawful and orderly manner the mockery of democarcy which was being staged in the Senate by suffocating the Anti-Poll Tax Bill to death.

The policemen not only used abusive language and yelled at Negro citizens, ordering them out of the Capitol Building, but physically pushed them around and manhandled some of them so as to warrant a charge of brutal assault. The action of the police became so outrageous and shocking that A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, publicly denounced the police in the aisles of the Capital Building, telling them that the Negro citizens were not going to stand to be pushed around, permitting the police to run over them as though they were slaves who have no rights. He demanded that they stop their high-handed, Hitler-like tactics, or he would have them dealth with by proper authorities. While Mr. Randolph was condemning the ruthless attitude of the police, one of the officers was approaching him from behind apparently intent upon striking him on the head with a black-jack and was seen to have his hand on his revolver as though he intended to draw it for use against Mr. Randolph.

When the pushing of the Negroes ceased for a while, Mr. Randolph informed the policemen that he was going promptly to present their conduct to the captain of the police force of the Capitol Build-

ing. This he did, accompanied by Al Hamilton of the Washington Call Bureau, B. F. McLaurin, International Field Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, Ernest Johnson, staff reporter for the Associated Negro Press, and Pauli Murray, law student of Howard University. The names of those in the committee making the protest with Mr. Randolph were filed with the captain of the police and the demand made that he institute an immediate investigation and stop the violent attacks of the police upon the Negro citizens who were there protesting the Poll Tax sell-out by the lynch-law Democrats and Tory Republicans.

Walter White wired Mr. Randolph to make an affidavit for action by NAACP against the Capitol Building police force.

December 5, 1942 NEW YORK STAR-NEWS

Says Lynn Case Caused by Bias

Informed that Winfred Lynn has been held in $2,500 bail for failure to report for induction in the armed services, as provided by the Conscription Act, Dr. L. M. Ervin, chairman of the New York Division of the March on Washington, commented that here is another vivid illustration of the injustices caused by the Army's policy of segregating white and colored citizens called for military services. Lynn has refused to report for induction on the grounds that serving in a segregated unit will lower his status as a citizen of New York where all forms of segregation are illegal.

Conrad Lynn, attorney for his brother, Winfred, addressing the March on Washington Movement on Armistice day, stated Winfred Lynn is eager to serve his country in any capacity or which will insure the defeat of Nazism and advance the cause of Democracy. He feels, however, that serving in a segregated unit of the armed forces, which follow the practice of the South, would impair his constitutional rights by forcing him to perform military service in conditions lower than his civilian status as a citizen of a state which forbids segregation.

TO FIGHT FO SKILLED JOB

Randolph To Appear Here To Open Attack On Public Utilities

CHICAGO, Illinois — (Special) — A. Philip Randolph, national director of the "March on Washington Committee," will appear in Chicago, Friday, Dec. 4, to launch the first in a series of community mass meetings at the Woodlawn A.M.E. church according to an announcement by Atty. Charles Wesley Burton, local director.

The meeting will mark the beginning of a new campaign to secure skilled jobs for Negroes on the Chicago Surface Lines, the Chicago Motor Coach company, the Peoples Gas, Light and Coke company, the Commonwealth Edison company, and the Illinois Bell Telephone company.

Eugene O. Shands, chairman of the committee on strategy and preparation, said that similar meetings are being planned for Englewood, Morgan Park, the Greater West side, the Maxwell street area, and the North side. A city-wide mass meeting will climax the drive he stated.

Randolph in a statement issued last week said "that unless a concerted effort is made now to get jobs, positions such as motormen, conductors, and other skilled capacities will be given to white women while Negro labor is still shut out as is happening now in Washington, D. C."

Committees are in process of formation to wait upon officials of local public utilities, said Burton, for statements of policy as regards the hiring of Negroes in other than menial capacities.

Claiborne Norris, statistician for the committee, said he would enlist the aid of the Chicago Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Negro Chamber of Commerce in compiling a chart showing the percentage of Negroes employed in skilled jobs by the utilities.

March On Washington Movement Sponsors Drive to Aid Program

To carry on the fight for jobs and justice in defense industries and government departments, the March On Washington, which won the Executive Order 8802, under which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established, is planning a dance to raise needed funds, Friday evening, December 11, at the Renaissance Ballroom.

One of the highlights of the dance will be the awarding of over $150 in prizes. The rest of the funds will be used to expand and beat back the rising tide of race prejudice and discrimination.

Music for the occasion will be supplied by Al Sears and his Melodious Syncopators. Boxes for the affair are priced at 54; lodges at $3 and general admission is $1. Tickets may be had at the March on Washington headquarters at 2084 Seventh ave, Hotel Theresa.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1942

The Pittsburgh Courier

RANDOLPH TO CALL WORLD CONGRESS

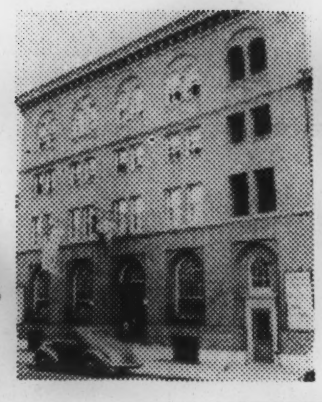
NEW YORK, N. Y., Dec. 3 — Plans for calling a world congress of Negroes in whatever city will house the peace conference after this war were announced by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL) at a dinner given by the Workers Defense League Friday night at the Hotel Brevoort in honor of John H. Finerty. Democracy cannot be preserved if the Axis powers prevail, Mr. Randolph declared, but he added that the Axis cannot be defeated unless democracy becomes a living, crusading and fighting faith, which it cannot be so long as American Negroes are lynched, segregated and jim-crowed while their sons are dying abroad "for democracy."

Mr. Randolph, who is also chairman of the March on Washington Movement and a member of the league's national executive board, presented Mr. Finerty with a silver plaque which is emblematic of the Workers' Defense League's annual award for outstanding service in behalf of workers' rights.

THE CHRISTIAN STREET BRANCH

YMCA VOICE

Merry Christmas Happy New Year



1724 CHRISTIAN STREET

VOL. 2 PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., DECEMBER, 1942 NO. 1

EMBLEM CLUB TO HEAR RANDOLPH ON THURSDAY EVENING, JAN. 21st

PHILLY LAXITY HIT BY A. C. POWELL

Dynamic A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the country's outstanding leaders, will follow Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., on the Emblem Club's parade of national figures.

To speak on "Negroes and the War", Mr. Randolph, one of the founders of the March-on-Washington Movement, will address the Emblem Club meeting of January 21st.

Unless colored citizens continue to exert mass pressure they will lose what gains they have made in their struggle for economic security and equal recognition, Rev. Powell told the December meeting. Breaking down of certain barriers since Pearl Harbor he warned were "surface gains" which may easily be lost in the post war period if there is any lull in united protest.

Challenges Philadelphians

Mincing no words, Rev. Powell, New York City councilman, editor of "People's Voice", and pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, charged that colored Philadelphians were failing to keep stride with the progress made by residents of other large cities. This, he declared, was due to the "lack of backbone".

Officers of the newly formed chapter of the International Emblem Club were installed by Dr. James H. Duckrey, and pins were presented the thirty-six persons whose outstanding work in the recent enrollment effort made them eligible for membership. The officers are: Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president; Charles H. Chew, first vice-president; Dr. John P. Turner, second vice-president; Miss Pauline Jervay, secretary, and Mrs. Susie Washington, treasurer. Executive Secretary Henry C. Parker, Jr., presented the charter.

EMBLEM CLUB MEMBERS HONORED

Reading L.-R.—Standing: Mrs. Susie Washington, Dr. Leslie P. Hill, Henry C. Sparks, Pauline Jervay, Dr. John H. Brodhead, J. B. Deans, Henry C. Parker, Jr., Harold L. Pilgrim, Mrs. Christine Wilson. Seated: Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Mrs. Mamie Thomas.

YMCA VOICE

Published Monthly from September through May by The Christian Street Branch YMCA, 1724 Christian Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Subscription Price Per Year 50c

CHARLES E. WALTON.....*President Metropolitan Board*
LESTER C. HAWORTH.....*General Secretary*
HARRY E. ROWE.....*Associate General Secretary*

(An Editorial)

The condition in which we find the world as the Christmas of 1942 approaches can either be a source of pessimism and discouragement or a challenge for us to meet in a forthright manner. Never in the history of man have the forces of war and hatred, intolerance and desolation swept so devastatingly throughout the world. At times it has appeared that might is prevailing over right, and men have wondered whether brotherhood is a fact or a fiction.

Those of us who have affiliated ourselves with the YMCA have thereby indicated that we have girded our loins to wage a relentless battle against all forces that are destructive to our civilization. For the YMCA is not a building, not merely an institution. It is a *movement*—a Christian movement that is dedicated to the fullest development of the individual personality and the establishment of a true brotherhood among all races of men.

In Philadelphia we are not awaiting the advent of peace to enlarge and expand our program. We realize that now is the time to lay the foundation for the post-war period that will emerge out of this chaos as inevitable as the night the day. Thus we are even now increasing our personnel and embarking upon new frontiers of service. We are expanding our boys' work program, the health service, the war production workers' program, the work with young men, and providing for a democratization of leadership. This is not the end. We must keep alert to changing social, industrial and economic conditions and continually modify and enlarge our program to meet the new demands of a new day.

JAMES H. DUCKREY.

The Y's Owl

URGES WAR CHEST AID

Cooperation of every member of the Christian Street YMCA in helping the United War Chest Campaign was urged by Executive Secretary Lester C. Haworth at the December meeting of the Metropolitan Board.

An imposing fireplace set—including a massive wrought iron grate with coals, andirons, poker and shovel accessories — was presented to the branch on December 20 by the Ladies' Auxiliary.

Said Executive Secretary Henry C. Parker, Jr., as he accepted the gift from the Auxiliary through Mrs. Pauline K. Oates, president: "This was all the Lounge needed to give it a real homelike atmosphere".

Randolph Next Speaker

Dynamic A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the nation's outstanding leaders, will speak on "Negroes and the War" at the next meeting of the Christian Street Y chapter of the International Emblem Club on January 21.

The affair is open to the public. Dinner reservations, at cost price of 75 cents per plate, must be made with Miss Nora Calhoun at the Y by January 15.

MEMBERS TO HEAR LINCOLN U. DEAN

Dean Frank T. Wilson, of Lincoln University, will be the principal speaker when the general membership of the Christian Street Y holds its first meeting in the history of the branch on Sunday, January 24, at 3.30 p. m.

On this occasion, members will have the opportunity of examining at close range the policies and programs of the branch and to offer whatever suggestions for improvement they may see fit. Wives and friends of members are also invited.

BOARD SEC'Y ENLISTS

Newest Y addition to the armed services is Lt. I. Maximillan Martin, former secretary of the Branch board and a member of the board for five years.

Dr. Duckrey Named Head of Y Board

New chairman of the Board of Management is Dr. James H. Duckrey, principal of the Harrison School, who was elected at the December meeting of the branch leaders.

Actively identified with Y work service groups; 9 coordinating and planning agencies; 17 specialized service organizations; the USO, Refugee Relief Bureau, the War Prisoners' Aid Committee of the YMCA.

Scholarship membership cards were presented to over 200 boys and young men during the Jamboree held in the gym on December 12. Games of all types, song singing, and bowling course putting away refreshments were among the activities.

Theodore R. Penney, chairman of the branch's Boys' Work Committee, spoke on "What the Y Means to Boys". The guests were also introduced to Frank (Tick) Coleman, recently appointed Boys' Work Secretary. A scholarship membership fund, large enough to offer 400 boys membership in the Y, was created during the fall enrollment effort.

The Junior League Service Club, one of the smartest social clubs in the East, will hold its annual formal dance in the branch gymnasium on Christmas night. Many of Philadelphia's service men who will be home during the holidays are expected to attend. Mrs. Rita B. Deans, sponsor of the group, has been working several weeks with committee members on plans for the affair.

We know everyone is happy over the election of the Rev. S. Q. Mitchell, leader of our religious training period, to the National Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. He is the first colored minister to serve on the Board.

All members, especially those past forty, who may be looking for full or part-time employment, would do well to contact Henry C. Sparks, the program-membership secretary.

NEW YORK AGE
November 28, 1942

Randolph Serves Notice Negroes Will Fight Stripping Of FEPC; Plan For Protest March Revived

Addressing a group of liberals at the Workers Defense League's dinner-forum in honor of John F. Finerty, at the Hotel Brevoort last Friday night, A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and of the March on Washington Movement, served notice that Negroes had watched with growing anxiety the complete emasculation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, set up to make effective the Presidential Order 8802 to prevent discrimination in employment because of race and color, and that his group was completing plans to renew their proposed protest march to the nation's capital.

Mr. Randolph also told the more than three hundred guests that the movement is planning a national conference to be held next May and is working on a post-war program looking toward gaining for the Negro representation in the peace conference to be held at the close of the war.

He said the March on Washington Movement, is proposing a lobby committee, composed of Negroes from America, the West Indies, Ethiopia, Liberia and other sections of Africa to be maintained at the peace conference to press the cause of the Negro people. Concluding his address, he said:

"Now, the tides of democracy are running low for the Negro, but it is the hour of our greatest opportunity. If we don't fight for our rights now when the government is pressed and needs us, we cannot fight effectively for our rights when it doesn't need us. If we don't fight for our rights during this war, it will be too late after this war."

As the principal speaker, Mr. Randolph presented a plaque to John F. Finerty in behalf of the Workers Defense League for his work in the fight to save Odell Waller, the Virginia Negro sharecropper, and in initiating the fight to repeal the poll-tax in eight southern states.

Mr. Finerty praised Randolph's courage and said that he was the only Negro he knew who had not apologized to President Roosvelt for demanding full citizenship rights for the Negro.

The meeting was presided over by Arthur Garfield Hayes, internationally known lawyer, and was the first of a series of three meetings sponsored by the Workers Defense League on the subject of vote and job discrimination. Other forum meetings were held Saturday and Sunday at Labor Temple.

Also on the program Friday night were: Norman Thomas, author and lecturer; Alfred M. Bingham, editor of Common Sense; Victor Rotnem, chief of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice; Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union; Attorney George of Virginia, representing Moss A. Plunkett, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League; Leon Ransom of the NAACP; Dr. Channing H. Tobias of the YMCA and several other speakers.

NEW LEADER
November 28, 1942

Capital Comment

(Continued from Page One)

ald P. Nye, and Henrik Shipstead—all five of whom are on record as being opposed to poll taxes.

The Republican argument in voting against cloture (which would limit each Senator to one hour in debate on the bill) was that it would deny the minority its rights on "the last citadel of democracy." The fact that poll taxes deny the majority its rights in eight states of this democracy made no impression on them.

But the topper is that McNary is on record as having voted for clotures 11 times on previous occasions—one of them on a bill to aid migratory birds!

* * *

Word has just reached here of an incident at Camp Lee near Petersburg, Va., quarters of Negro troops in the 9th and 11th Quartermaster Regiments. Eight Negro top sergeants presented the Camp's commanding officer, a Col. Henry, with a petition requesting the appointment of armed Negro military policemen with full powers, no segregation of troops in [illegible] although recognizing the necessity of [illegible] segregation in the town of Petersburg, [illegible] gation of troops on buses to and from [illegible] and the appointment of Negro officers regularly assigned to line duty with the regiments.

Col. Henry, it was reported, replied: "The War Department is not concerned with the [illegible] of a few individuals. This is war and we [illegible] have minor matters brought up during [illegible] (Such minor matters, for instance, as democracy . . . or is that fit only for Nazis?)

Result: Two of the top sergeants have been demoted to privates; the remaining six have been dispersed to other camps.

* * *

The Detroit Citizens Committee, outgrowth of the Sojourner Truth Housing Committee, [illegible] Washington Monday after buttonholing [illegible] officials for jobs for Negroes in Detroit [illegible] industries where manpower is desperately [illegible] Before the committee left town, [illegible] Cramer, secretary of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, promised them [illegible] hearings in Detroit next month. After the committee left, it was announced the hearings would be held in February. The Committee brought figures showing that last September [illegible] women were employed in Detroit war [illegible] Of this total 100 were Negroes. A month [illegible] women's employment in Detroit jumped to [illegible] 000, of which 100 still remained the [illegible] figure. The Murray Body plant, for instance, has trained 600 Negro women, has employed none. Ford at Willow Run employs [illegible] white workers drafted, but not wives [illegible] workers.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, NOVEMBER 28, 1942

WASHINGTON

"By direct negotiations with employers and unions, we have greatly reduced discrimination against colored people and other minority groups," Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, declared last week.

In making the formal statement concerning the progress of the commission, Mr. McNutt disclosed the fact that more colored people are employed today in American industry than ever before.

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1942

A COLORED SOLDIER'S PRAYER

PFC. JAMES C. STERLING
(Camp Adair, Oregon)

DEAR GOD:
I'm asking you tonight,
To think of me each day;
I'd like to feel that as I fight
You're with me all the way.

The call to arms I followed
Because I thought it right:
The cause itself seems hallowed
In all my people's sight.

Perhaps I'm just a fool
To risk my life again;
Maybe I'm just a tool
For bigger, craftier men.

Am I just cannon fodder?
Some people say 'tis so,
They say, why do you bother?
Your glory will be woe.

But I've a strong conviction
That this is our fight,
And contrary to some fiction—
Two wrongs don't make a right.

Freedom will never be ours
If we stand idly by;
This is no time to cower;
It's a case of do or die.

And when this war is over
For myself, I'll ask no glory,
But Great God; I pray with fervor
That we'll have a different story.

That my people in that day may stand
In one great, united band
And know a new day's begun.

That's why I fight, Dear God,
[illegible]
And before I rest beneath the sod
May we all sing Freedom's song

Rogers Says:-

BY J. A. ROGERS

THIS ADMINISTRATION IS THE WORST OFFENDER TO THE RACE—AKAs SET EXAMPLE OF INTELLIGENT PROTEST

PITTSBURGH COURIER
November 28, 1942

IN view of the President's Fair Employment Practice order and his stand against discrimination in employment I think an explanation is due from the State Department why Lester A. Walton was recalled as Minister from Liberia and a white man put in his place. Mr. Walton, who had been in his post for some three or four years must have been giving satisfaction or he wouldn't have been there that long.

Of course, we know the reason. Schuyler gave it a few weeks ago. White American troops are now in Liberia and it is too great an honor for an American Negro to act as government representative for white Americans even in a black republic with a black President and black officials. In the adjoining Chad territory white American officials must also deal with a black governor-general, Felix Eboue. But the difference is this: Both those cases do not impinge on white "integrity" in this country, while an American Negro official representing white Americans anywhere does. It is the same sort of policy that inducts Latin-American Negroes, Indians and Chinese into white regiments but will bar an American citizen whiter than Bilbo or Connally if it be known that one of his ancestors of a century or more ago was a Negro. When all is said and done the worst offender against the FEPC is the government, itself.

Mr. Rogers

WORST JIM-CROW ADMINISTRATION

All in all this is the worst jim-crow administration we have had since the Civil War. The government jobs Negroes used to hold when they were much less educated than now, are gone. Time was when Negroes held diplomatic posts as Minister to Bolivia and were consuls or consul-generals in Venezuela, Spain, France, Russia, Madagascar and elsewhere. Ever since Frederick Douglass, a Negro has been Minister to Haiti but under the present administration this was given to a white man. Now even that to Liberia is gone, too.

THERE was a time, also, when Negroes held such high Federal posts as Register of the Treasury and Collectors of Customs in ports at Charleston and New Orleans. One Negro, Charles W. Anderson, was Collector of Internal Revenue for the Third District of New York, said to be the richest in America. Another, John P. Green, was U. S. Stamp Agent, that is, he was in charge of all United States postage and other stamps. Two other Negroes were Asst-Attorneys-General of the United States. Today perhaps the sole surviving bureau headed by a Negro is that of Recorder of Deeds. Of course, a Federal judge was made a few years ago but he was promptly exiled to the Virgin Islands where there are 99 Negroes for every white person.

HOLD WINDOW DRESSING JOBS

Such Federal jobs that Negroes hold today are usually in some NYA, WPA or some such jim-crow set-up. Some years ago I called at the office of an old friend of mine in Washington who was "head" of a high sounding bureau. I expected to see a whole staff of workers, colored and white. But there were only two colored stenographers. When I expressed my surprise my friend said, "This job of mine is only window-dressing." I later discovered that most of these kinds of jobs held by Negroes were just window-dressing, too. Those who held them were entirely without authority.

THE explanation of all the above is that in the present administration, the South is firmer in the saddle than it has been under previous Democratic ones such as those of Cleveland and Wilson, in both of which Negroes held fairly good government posts. I think future historians will record that jim-crow in government circles reached its Golden Age in the 12 years, 1933-1944.

What is the remedy? Protest—organized. Negroes everywhere must organize and let this nation know that they are awake to their rights as citizens. The United States was founded on protest against injustice. And the fact that England, the mother country, was then at war, did not hinder the American colonists from lifting their voices, and their arms, too, against discrimination.

IN this matter of protest, the National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, 961 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., is setting an example that could be well followed by societies of all other kinds in the United States—joining together and acting as a single body. In a letter at hand the secretary of the AKA tells of a "Listen America Week" in which over 5,000 sorors and their friends in forty-six states from Canada to the Gulf will write letters to the daily, as well as the weekly press, to government bureaus, to members of Congress, and to the nation at large over the radio, expressing opinion and calling for action on matters affecting Negroes on local, state and national fronts.

SOME OF THE ILLS

It may be paving a street in Gainesville, Fla.; getting enough qualified Negroes in useful positions in government bureaus; making America understand our position in America; converting anti-Negro persons to a democratic attitude towards Negroes; pointing out that America is not united without the Negro and to the un-Christian attitude of the church towards Negroes; attacking the doctrine of white superiority, showing that we cannot win the confidence of our darker allies until the Negroes of America become a part of American democracy; gently ridiculing the undemocratic, unscientific and ridiculous custom of discriminations and other evils.

I COULD fill several columns with the [illegible] that have been made in the [illegible] years alone through vigorous protest. These 5,000 college women of the AKA are certainly on the right track. Under their united efforts some injustices are bound to crack.

Saturday, November 28, 1942

AMSTERDAM NEW YORK STAR-NEWS

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1942

Randolph Rally To Map Program For Peace Table

NEW YORK — A conference, which it is expected will eventually result in the presentation of a declaration of Negro rights to the peace conference which will terminate World War II, has been called for May 1943.

The conference to be held under the auspices of the March on Washington Movement will be called by A. Philip Randolph, head of the movement and international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It will be an outgrowth of a preliminary conference held last September in Detroit.

The purpose of this conference will be to explore the situation with respect to the Negro people in America from the point of view of discriminations by defense industries, the government and the armed forces with a view to appraising the effectiveness of the strategy and methods that have been and are being used to effect a solution of these problems. The conference will be representative of the mass and collective will of the Negro people in every section of the country and in all callings, endeavors, trades and professions.

Out of this conference will be projected a plan to hold a conference of western [illegible] free Negroes some time after the armistice.

This [illegible]

"Land of The Noble Free"

By LAYLE LANE

"Color-Unfinished Business of Democracy" special issue of the Survey Graphic for November is an important contribution to understanding the issue of race in this global revolution.

From Mississippi to Africa, from New York to Nanking distinguished writers and scholars carry us around the world of darker races—except to Japan. Though Japanese imperialism is just as vicious as white imperialism and is to be condemned as vigorously, a war cartoon of the Japanese militarists—under the caption—"The Savior of the Darker Races"—strikes an incongruous note in a magazine devoted to a plea for racial equality and respect.

We Negroes should never be deceived about the disinterestedness of imperialism whether—yellow or white; we should also never forget that Japan made a plea that the principle of racial equality be a part of the League of Nations covenant. The bluntness and arrogance with which that plea was turned down is responsible for the justifiable charge of hypocrisy against the white races. We have more in common with the Japanese peasant then we have with Winston Churchill. Recognition of that fact will hasten the time when the Brotnerhood of man becomes a reality.

Lin Yutang in his article makes very clear that Japan destroyed forever the myth of the white man's supremacy. He writes—"The prestige of the white man is gone. What the Japanese have destroyed by their bayonets cannot be restored by white bayonets, simply because the spirit of independence of the Asiatic peoples cannot be broken by bayonets." He pleads then for racial equality and respect.

A similar plea is voiced in every article by every writer:

Alain Locke..."By the way of the hard, inescapable alternative of death or survival out of the wide and desperate character of the challenge of these times, democracy confronts her greatest moral opportunity, her biggest historical chasce to win acceptance, the world over, as the full way of life."

Herbert Agar, "The world revolt against civilization, of which this war is the military phase, would not have happened if we had served more faithfully the ideas on which our civilization rests."

A. Philip Randolph..."If freedom and equality are not vouchsafed the peoples of color, the war for democracy will not be won.

One of the major defects of "color" is that it does not recognize sufficiently that racial prejudice stems from economic inequality. Once that economic inequality is abolished, most of our racial tensions will disappear. This does not mean that overnight attitudes and prejudices will be wiped out but it does mean that the conditions under which prejudices are nourished will cease to give them any root or support.

A few of the writers recognize the economic basis of prejudice and indicate its importance. Jonathan Daniels in "New Patterns For Old" states, "evil as have been the barriers put up by labor unions and the big unofficial union of the poor white in the South, those barriers have represented the tragic understanding, that there were not enough jobs for all. There actually were not. That was the reason why a sweat shop wage in the South was a wage nevertheless and one to be grabbed at. . .There are better wages now—more jobs. . .but the white Southerner fears the future. He has heard that a people's country may be ahead for Burma but he is not quite sure that it will include Birmingham."

Neither are we Negroes. That's why Birmingham and Mobile as well as New York and Boley, Okla., must be the First Front not only for Negroes but for white Americans.

To quote only a few writers is an injustice to those who have revealed to us the "Challenge of Color in the New World, and in the old. But it should stimulate the reader to make "color" a permanent part of his material on world revolution 1939—?

MOW Gives Freedom Dance

The NY division of the March On Washington Movement is sponsoring *a dance for freedom*, Friday, Dec. 11, at the Renaissance Ballroom. Bessie J. Bearden is chairman of the dance committee. The committee is using the slogan, *You have danced for fun—let's dance for freedom.*

There will be a door prize of $50 and persons selling more than 100 tickets will have a chance at three prizes: first prize, $25; second prize, $15; third prize, $10.

A partial list of the sponsors of the dance include: Mrs. A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Alma Haskins, Theresa Davis, Angelina Blocker, Bessie Embree, Ruth Handy, Harriet Hill, Gertrude Ross, Henrietta Lovelace McLane, Mrs. Gilbert C. Burrell, Mattie Bowe, Mrs. B. F. McLaurin, Selma Day, Dr. Anna C. Johnson, Blanche Dobard, Geraldine Holland, Katharine Lassiter, Mrs. Andrew Williams, Mrs. James W. Watson, Elsie Dorsey, Blossom Holland and Juanita McKnight.

Tickets for boxes, lo[illegible] general admission are ob[illegible] NY headquarters of t[illegible], 2084 Seventh ave., T[illegible] Hotel building.

They Put Us Out With Guns—

—After the Anti-Poll Tax Bill Was Killed

WASHINGTON—Five New York Negro ministers, leading a delegation of over 100 from all over the country to fight for passage of the Pepper-Geyer anti-poll tax bill, had guns pulled on them in the corridors of the USSenate Monday. The weapons were brandished by two Senate police officers almost immediately following the 41-37 vote against the bill, and climaxed a day in which the clergymen had undergone various forms of "democratic" brush-off including threats of physical violence.

The delegation, led by Abyssinia's Adam Clayton Powell jr, had come here to aid the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax in a last-minute fight to rally support for passage of the bill. With Powell were Revs. Ben Richardson, former minister of Grace Congregational church; Rev. William Young Trigg, pastor of Salem Methodist church; Rev. James Mocre, pastor of Amity Baptist church, Jamaica, LI, and Rev. James Mitchell, of Ebenezer church, Flushing, LI.

POLICE SNARE

Arriving in Washington Monday afternoon, the group was augmented by delegations from Chicago and Detroit, the latter led by Eddie Tolan, former Olympic champion. The ministers were met at Union Station by Washington citizens. As they moved thru the terminal, a group of plainclothesmen, led by a lieutenant, stopped Powell and asked him if he was going to the "White House," because, if he was, a car had been provided to keep him out of the rain—remarkable courtesy in view of later events.

"I felt there was something wrong, so I stayed with the delegation," Abyssinia's pastor said.

The group walked the mile from the station to the Senate building, not being able to find taxicabs willing to take them as passengers. Sen. James Meade of NY had been alerted in advance of the arrival of the delegation, but he was not available and his office was closed.

The delegates proceeded to the office of Senator Wagner, senior senator from NY, where three secretaries gave them cards of admittance to the Senate Chamber, telling them they didn't need individual cards, but could enter in groups of three or four on cards inscribed "and party."

REFUSED ADMISSION

Of this next incident, Powell says:

"Arriving at the Senate, we stood in line with the hundreds who were going in, when a man in a gray suit passing through the corridor spotted us and called the captain of the police, who was one of the worst-looking and worst-talking persons I have ever seen. He evidently announced that no one could go through without an INDIVIDUAL card. I stepped out of line and asked him why the sudden change in the rules. He become very nasty and belligerent, and told me he didn't care about Senator Wagner, and that NOBODY was going in without an individual card."

Powell, accompanied by Clifford McAvoy of the CIO, and Rev. Richardson, went downstairs with the intention of getting Senator Wagner from the floor. They met Edgar Brown of the National Negro Council, who suggested they rush back upstairs and get seats while he did what he could. An attempt was made to keep them from returning upstairs, and to make them go outside, come in the Senate building and start all over again.

THREATEN BEATING

Powell: "While all of this was going on, the police captain, lieutenant and sergeant were leaning over the balcony looking down at the scene. We argued with them, and one of them threatened to 'black us out.'"

A call was sent in to Meade on the floor, but that gentleman answered with a note saying he could not leave the floor—altho there were senators going in and out. A similar call to Wagner brought back the response he wasn't on the floor.

During this time Senator Capper of Kansas, member of the NAACP board of directors, came along. Edgar Brown told him of the difficulty, and Capper turned to a man who was apparently in charge of the Senate police, telling him to take care of the matter, then went on his way without further comment. Apparently, Capper's instructions had some effect, because the police official, after Brown left, took Powell upstairs on a private elevator—but his memory was either bad or his eyesight worst, because, according to Powell:

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

"He didn't seem to recall who I was; apparently he thought I was white because he told me, You know Negroes are very excitable nowadays; we had to be careful. He also stated that the Washington chief of police had received a telephone call from the chief of police in NY relaying the information that about 15 'thugs and strikebreakers led by a guy named Powell' were coming to Washington to cause a riot. When I told him I was Powell, he turned red, and when I told who the 'thugs' and 'strikebreakers' were, he turned redder."

That bit of lesson in discretion mellowed the fellow somewhat, because he said the police would get seats for anyone Powell picked out of the crowd—even tho the group had been told all along that the Senate galleries were packed.

SEARCHED FOR 'LIQUOR'

Before entering the gallery members of the group were subjected to the usual search. One Washington clergyman was asked to check his guns and ordered, if he had any liquor, to turn it over to the searchers! When a younger man retorted sharply to a query as to whether or not he had a gun in his trousers, one of the searchers quipped, "That's what's the trouble with you Negroes – you're too damn smart!"

The only white member of the delegation, a woman, was told by the police, "Don't go in with them; they're by themselves." She ignored the order. A section of the Senate gallery was cleared of whites sitting in it, all of whom were sent to another all-white section, leaving the delegation in lone jimcro exclusiveness.

After the vote on the bill was taken, the group left, but about 15 or 20 gathered in the alcove of an outside corridor. They were told by a young policeman to move "out of the way."

POLICE DRAW GUNS

Powell: "When we said we quite obviously weren't in the way, an of them bared their guns, and repeated the order to 'get out right away.'"

The entire story has been filed with the Vice-President of the US, plus a telegram and the following:

- we demand to know from what individual did the chief of police in Washington hear that a bunch of "thugs" were coming to Washington (NY chief of police denies having record of any such call—Ed);
- we demand to know why the rule of admitting parties changed suddenly on our appearance and who gave that order;
- we demand the immediate arrest and investigation of officer 211 and other officers who opened their holsters and threatened American citizens with guns;
- a wire was sent to Senator Wagner as follows:

"Your secretary gave us passes as a group yesterday, saying in the presence of all three members of your secretarial group that they would admit us and all concerned. When we arrived Senate police would not let us in and stated they didn't care what you said in your office. We demand a statement, apology and investigation."

SEN. WAGNER WIRES REGRETS

Senator Robert F. Wagner (D-NY) was prompt in replying to the telegram sent him by the delegation in the capital Monday. Shortly after noon Tuesday he wired Rev. Powell a promise of prompt investigation. Two hours later a second telegram arrived, is reprinted below:

Have just obtained full facts from capital police and Colonel Turney, Senate Sergeant-at-arms. Deeply regret this unfortunate incident. If I had been in office Monday morning I would have personally escorted you and party to appropriate seats. Am informed that so many special ticekts were issued that even holders of special tickets were delayed for lack of seats. Colonel Jurney advises that he was able to make available seats to you and party. I especially regret this incident, since it occurred on a day that the Senate declined to shut off further debate on anti-poll tax bill. I was among the signers of cloture petition. The adverse vote on this issue was a grievous blow to democracy at home and abroad, especially to the members of your great race, who have contributed their full share for the world's fight for freedom. All of us must and will continue our efforts until the poll tax, the lynching evil and all other factors on race, political and economical democracy are removed.

Filibuster Profile

Mississippi's Bilbo Shows His Colors

"If you will clean up Harlem, New York, and stop murder and rape in that dark spot of your beloved State, I will undertake to do whatever cleaning up Mississippi needs."

So declared Senator (The Man) Bilbo of Mississippi during a recent exchange of letters between him and NY Assemblyman Hulan E. Jack. The assemblyman demanded to know how Bilbo could advocate freedom of the world and at the same time uphold the "barbarian practices" of lynching and the poll tax in his State. For his answer came the following:

POLL TAX AMERICANISM

". . . I desire to say that in making this fight against the unconstitutional anti-poll tax bill I feel that I am as much a soldier in the preservation of the American way and American scheme of government as the boys who are fighting and dying on Guadalcanal. Our soldiers are fighting the enemies who would destroy our government on the outside while I am fighting the enemies who would destroy our scheme of government from the inside. We

Democratic Processes Continue

Democracy took a beating Monday. Not in Europe or Guadalcanal or Africa or Mississippi, but in the US Senate when this "liberating body" for the self-styled capital of the world, capitulated a la filibuster and threw an anti-poll tax bill into the wastebasket. This was the result of a "gentleman's agreement" between the nation's (mis) representatives.

The anti-poll tax bill is "dead" until Jan. 4, unless public sentiment and pressure force an earlier discussion. Practically every liberal and semi-liberal group fought for its passage. Organized labor, both the CIO and AFL, the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, NAACP, and other groups and individuals created a bonfire of public opinion against the bill which led to the filibuster and "agreement."

PLANS FILIBUSTER BUSTER

Sen. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.), co-sponsor of the (thus far) illfated Geyer-Pepper anti-poll tax bill, served notice this week that he is preparing to amend the outmoded Senate rule of unlimited filibustering. The amendment, which he says may be ready for introduction this week, will propose two specific anti-filibuster rules:

- providing that a majority of the Senate at any time may fix a date to vote, not less than ten days after the beginning of discussion on a bill, and
- a change in the present cloture rule requiring a two-thirds vote to limit each senator's discussion to one hour on a bill so that the limitation will cover points of order, amendments and other dilatory procedure.

Poll Tax Fight Censored By Officials, Is Report

One of NYC's daily newspapers reported this week that no reports of the poll tax fight had been allowed to get out of the US, via newspaper or radio. This same report revealed FBI men after the

SCENE OF the shooting of James McCullum by a policeman off d... in plain clothes is shown in this foto by PV Lensman Smith. In... Voice reporter, one of the witnesses to the shooting and a helpful... reenact the scuffle. The witness is leaning over the fence with h... on the shoulder of the "policeman." The broken white line sh... path of a young lady, another witness found this week by P... emerged from the subway, paused and witnessed the incident... turned and hurried away as indicated.

Local Landlords Join To Block Rent Cuts

Fifty local property owners and managing agents met last Thursday in the offices of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce and organized a Real Estate Division of the chamber for the avowed purpose "to help educate tenants on the problems confronting the average Harlem owner." They want to show Harlemites what little is left for them after their expenses.

Their temporary chairman, Herbert Aldhous, veteran Harlem real estate man said, "It is my opinion that Harlem rents are fair."

He said social agencies first spread the word that Harlem rents are high but that he did not agree that the owners were grasping. The cause was due to the fact that,

". . . Earnings of colored workers are lower than whites and, second, because colored workers have settled in a community where property values are high and where assessed valuations (and therefore taxes) also are high. As the only income from real estate is from rent, you can't blame an owner for ... enough rent to produce ... income to enable him to ...

Stone of the Office of Price Administration discuss rent control for New York.

Stone told a *PV* reporter that he was not interested only in keeping NY rents in line with the nation's general price structure. He promised an interview for clarification.

Both the arguments of the uptown realtors and OPA's Stone were challenged by Donellan Philips of the Consolidated Tenants League. Philips said:

"We welcome any organization that faces squarely and honestly the housing problem of Harlem. However, we believe that this is only another attempt to befuddle the issue of rent control for Harlem because the owners and agents have ignored the facts.

EXPLOITING

... ing Negro tenants from 10 to 35 per cent more per apartment than the former white tenants paid.

"In most instances the service formerly enjoyed by the white tenants have been decreased to a minimum for Negro tenants. This immediately starts the property toward a run-down condition for which the Negro is blamed. Where the house formerly retained three ... this figure is reduced to ...

EDITORIAL

The Uptown Chamber of Commerce has not been conspicuous in its material assistance to Harlemites. Its membership, in fact, comprises primarily the larger merchants whose local establishments are merely branches of their chains.

In any community where the average income is very disproportionate to the average rentals, something is wrong. If the landlords can help Harlemites to get higher wages, they have a better chance to charge their higher rents—and get them. But if wages remain too low then rents must come down. That's not sociology, that's simple arithmetic.—STB

Police Heads Promis... Mugging Investigatio...

While youthful James McCullum, victim of what eye-wi... say was a drunken policeman's mugging and cold blooded sh... lies in a prison hospital where ... bars and guards seal his l... the public's ears, every effort is being made to free him, and to ... his attacker to justice.

Commissioner Valentine wrote Councilman Adam Clayton Powell, Nov. 19:

"This will acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of even date, requesting an investigation of Detective Thomas Coleman in connection with the story carried in your paper today. Please be advised that this matter has been referred to an official of this Department for thorough investigation and appropriate action.

... have been found ...

been formed to fight this ca... to act as a permanent D... Council to fight the civil ... of Negroes. This has been ... to be necessary because the ... Liberties Union has not seen ... take local cases for Negroes.

NEW WITNESSES

New witnesses corroborate ... testimony of William Br... had the courage to tell ... saw. One witness says ... ... cried out as he ...

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1942

'RACE EMPLOYMENT BIGGEST IN HISTORY'—McNUTT

Discrimination Felt To Be At All-Time 'Low'

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26—More Negroes are employed today in American industry than at any other time in our history, Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, declared this week in a formal statement on the progress of the War Manpower Commission.

"By direct negotiations with employers and unions," Mr. McNutt stated, "we have greatly reduced discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups."

ELEVEN-POINT SAFEGUARD

Eleven steps taken by WMC to avoid serious curtailment of war production were outlined by Mr. McNutt:

1. Guidance was given the Employment Service so that available labor was channeled to the war industries most seriously in need of it.

2. Selective Service Boards and the Employment Service were instructed as to essential jobs which should be safeguarded by deferment, to permit orderly withdrawal and training of replacements.

3. We stopped up and coordinated our training program. All agencies concerned with training are now under War Manpower. To the limit of our facilities and our budget, we geared our training programs directly to the war needs of each area.

4. By direct negotiations with employers and unions, we have greatly reduced discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups. There are more Negroes employed in industry today than ever before in our history.

5. We have prevailed upon employers to use more women workers—more than doubling the number of women in war work since the first of this year.

6. We have worked with WPB to the end that contracts be let and plants constructed in loose labor areas, as far as is pratical. It is obvious that there are limitations to this. For example, airplane orders must go where there are facilities to build airplanes. They cannot be built in a clothing factory.

7. We have advised the government agencies affected of future needs for housing and transportation.

8. Where migration of essential workers seriously threatened war production, we have put into effect an Employment Stabilization Program. This action in the twelve western states averted a complete breakdown of the non-ferrous metals and lumbering industries—both of which are vital to our war production.

9. We have acted to effect more efficient use of the present labor force, by working through employers and unions to encourage upgrading and job breakdown. This has had widespread effect in getting manpower used at higher skills.

no workers employed in war plant will be consi... cept after clearance with... Employment Service).

11. We have consisten... ed to channel hiring ... Employment Service. A... creasing number of our ... are hiring exclusively ... Employment Service. Th... tember, the Employment ... placed more than seven ... people in 1942.

Lawyers' Guild Assails Deal To Bury Anti-Poll Tax Bill

Urges Senate Majority to Keep On Fighting

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23.—With the anti-poll tax bill slated for burial in the Senate today, the National Lawyers' Guild last night denounced the "deal" between the Senate majority and Southern obstructionists that appears to have ended the fight.

The Guild addressed last-minute appeals to Sen. Alben Barkley, majority leader, and Sen. Charles L. McNary, GOP chief, to "stand up and fight" for the anti-poll tax law. Citing reports that a "gentleman's agreement" had been reached to kill the anti-poll tax bill when cloture is defeated, the Guild statement, signed by Martin Popper, executive secretary, declared:

"The simple fact is that this deal nullifies majority rule and substitutes the two-thirds vote as the pattern of our legislative process. Thus the tradition of more than 150 years of democracy will have been swept aside by the elected representatives of the American people who are yielding to the threats of a small minority of Fascist-minded men."

Public Ignored

The Guild demanded an "honest, deliberative majority vote upon the bill itself," and predicted that, if debate continues, the filibusters will be "stopped in due course by the aroused wrath of a determined people, who will not allow such tactics to defeat our war program."

Pointing out that the filibuster bloc has "not even permitted the bill to be the order of business," the Lawyers' group insisted that "an opportunity be given the American people to make the more than 30 absentee Senators return to Washington to vote on cloture and the bill."

The statement continued:

"But, most important of all, there can be no justification for agreeing to table the bill if fewer than two-thirds of the Senators present vote for cloture. Under such deal, a majority may vote for cloture and yet the bill be defeated. You know full well that many Senators who favor the legislation will not vote for cloture, on the ground that they are opposed to limiting debate on any issue.

Unsound Reasoning

"The reasons which have been given to justify the deal are unsound. It has been stated that it is being done to stop the unconscionable filibuster. But the proponents of the legislation are not responsible for the filibuster. Capitulation to them by the majority merely will encourage its use whenever the poll tax representatives decide to thwart the will of the people. They will be in position to defeat any war legislation to which they are opposed.

"Do not be misled by the propaganda that this legislation injects a discordant issue at a time when harmony should prevail. The fact is that the bill seeks to eliminate dissatisfaction and disunity which now exist in our country and which are a serious obstacle to attainment of the national unity so indispensable to victory. The strivings for democracy of ten million of our citizens

Anti-Poll Tax Committee Warns Senate Against Selling Out Bill

The following statement on the poll tax filibuster was issued by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, which has been campaigning aggressively since last Spring to eliminate the poll tax as a qualification for voting in eight Southern States.

The statement was prepared for the committee by Stanley Moss, of the Advertising Mobilization Committee of the American Advertising Guild. It was published today in the Washington Post as a paid advertisement.

At 1 p.m. today the United States Senate will be compelled by a clique of Southern poll-tax Senators to consider "sellingout" our entire national war effort. This infamous "sellout" will betray also all the allies of the United Nations.

After going on "strike" for seven full days and holding up all the business of a war-time Senate, a handful of Southern Senators finally agreed on Friday to permit the nation's most important legislative body to go back to work. *But on certain conditions only!*

These poll-tax Senators agreed to permit the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill to be considered for debate—if a motion is made today at 1 p.m. to limit that debate. If that motion—which requires the consent of two-thirds of the Senate—is defeated, then the Senate has agreed to drop the anti-poll tax bill for the rest of the present session.

A minority of the Senate has forced this agreement on the majority, who are in favor of this bill. If the Senate had not consented, this clique was prepared to continue its "strike" against the Senate, against the people, against the war effort. They refused to permit any discussion of this bill—or of any other bill—until they had been given their own way.

Hitler never was more dictatorial than that! Hitler never was more infamous than Senators Bilbo, Connally, Doxey, McKellar, O'Daniel, Russell, Smith, and their fellow-conspirators. Hitler himself never defied the will of the people more brazenly!

We the people, must act immediately against this "sellout" which has been forced on the Senate. We are unequivocal in our support of all the Senators who wish to make this bill the law of the land. We urge these Senators to stand firm.

and federal elections [illegible] 10,000,000 Americans in eight Southern States. It will give these 10,000,000 Americans full participation in the war effort by giving them a voice in government affairs, by wiping out an undemocratic political caste system which undermines national unity.

Remember, these are 10,000,000 white and Negro Americans who work in defense plants, airplane factories, shipyards, and on farms. These are 10,000,000 white and Negro Americans whose sons, brothers, and husbands are dying on Guadalcanal and in Africa. These are 10,000,000 white and Negro Americans, however, who have been set aside from the rest of their fellow-Americans, because their eight states compel American citizens to pay for the right to vote.

The eight Southern states which have set themselves above the law and which disfranchise almost 50 per cent of their citizens are: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Remember, too, that the people of Russia, England, China, India, and Europe can have no faith in our desire to crush Hitler and his undemocratic doctrines—if we "Hitlerize" 10,000,000 of our own people. Singapore and other colonial centers fell into the hands of the Axis because their people were not entirely convinced of our determination to offer them real democracy. Similarly, the natives of Africa cannot be wholly convinced of our desire to bring them all the rights of democracy if we deny the fundamental rights of liberty to 10,000,000 white and Negro citizens of our own country. And we need their whole-hearted support!

Senator Barkley asked the people of the Nation to protest the actions of the Southern filibustering Senators. He said that was the only way the majority of the Senate could give the majority of the people what they want. The people throughout the nation have responded—are continuing to respond—to his appeal.

We stand behind those Senators—the majority—who want to pass this bill. The eyes of the whole nation are focused on the Senate today. We are noting which Senators are not present at this crucial time. We will note how the Senate votes. We will remember those Senators who fail to [illegible]

GOODYEAR PLANT IS CHARGED WITH DISCRIMINATION

LOS ANGELES, Calif. —(ANP)— Local citizens are casting about for some means by which to make the Goodyear Rubber Company fall in line with other lrms that have finally dropped long raised bars against Negro workers.

Goodyear displayed large signs calling for women workers but when 15 Negro women applied, their applications were spurned with the curb remark, "As long as you are colored, we can't hire you."

Employment of Negroes in mechanical classifications for the maritime commission in Los Angeles has been consistently balked. Colored men, qualified for certain skilled positions, have been told there is nothing available for them above menial service.

FEPC To Probe Street Car Color Bar In Washington

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee has promised to investigate thoroughly the color bars against Negroes as operators of street cars and buses in various cities throughout the country, it was stated authoritatively this week.

The committee's first move will be against the Capitol Transit Company in Washington. Although it places daily ads in papers begging for help and has had to place some of their cars in barns because of a shortage, the company consistently refuses to h i r e numerous Negroes who have answered the ads.

In Los Angeles, the same situation prevails and sevtral Negro organizations, including the Los Angeles Sentinel, a weekly paper, have started a fight to compel the company to hire Negro operators.

The company in Los Angeles at first laid the blame for not hiring Negroes on union policy but union heads have issued statements that they have tried to have the company upgrade skilled Negroes now working in menial jobs for the company. Tentative threats of a strike if Negroes are not hired have been issued by union officials.

FEPC Orders New Orleans Shipyard To End Bias

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has ordered the Delta Shipbuilding Corporation, New Orleans, La., and Local No. 37 of the International Boilermakers, Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers of America, A. F. of L., to "cease and desist' from discriminating against Negroes in the employment of skilled shipyard workers.

The order and findings of t h e President's Committee were based in the record of a public hearing held in Birmingham, Ala., on June 20, 1942. R. B. Ackerman, vice president of Delta, represented the corp- McCollum, International representative, appeared for the union.

The formal complaint alleged that investigation by the committee's field representative disclosed that out of a total employment of 7,000 at the Delta Shipbuilding Corporation there were only a few hundred Negroes; that all Negroes were employed as common laborers or in menial capacities; that the corporation h a d a preferential hiring agreement with the New Orleans Metal Trades Council through which it recruited most of its workers and that the efforts of Negro organizations and a representative of Local 27 of the Auxiliary Boilermakers union to secure t h e employment of Negroes in skilled and semi-skilled positions h a d met with no success.

By virtue of the authority conferred upon it by Executive Order 8802 "to take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be

(Continued on Page 5)

30 Signatures Gather For Anti-Lynch B i l l

WASHINGTON, D. C. —(ANP)— Thirty signatures were attached in 30 minutes to the petition laid on the speaker's desk Tuesday, calling for the dismissal from committee of the Guyer Anti-Lynch bill.

Most of the signatories were Republicans who felt the measure should be brought out of the committee before the end of this session of congress.

Highly eleated over the first group of signees, the sponsor said he felt little difficulty in gaining enough, 218 required, to bring the bill before the house for this session.

THE OMAHA STAR, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1942

FEP

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Negro Discrimination

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice will hear and examine complaints relating to the employment of Negroes in the railroad industry in a 3-day hearing scheduled for December 7, 8, 9, 1942, Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, Chairman of the Committee, announced today. The sessions will be held in Washington.

For several months the Committee has been steadily receiving complaints of discrimination from practically every section of the country, MacLean explained. These complaints, he said, have come from individuals and from such organizations as the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, the International Association of Railway Employees, the Association of Colored Railway Oilers, Helpers, Roundhouse & Railway Shop Laborers, the National Urban League, and the National Association for the Advance of Colored People.

"A number of railroads and several labor union are involved in the charges so far made," according to the announcement by the Committee which is a unit of the War Manpower Commission. "It is asserted that there there exist between roads, employing the greatest number of Negroes, and certain unions, to which Negroes are not admitted, agreements which in operation excessively restrict the number of Negro firemen and brakemen which may be employed, which bar Negroes as helpers on Diesel engines, and which give non-Negro firemen the preference on stoker-fired steam engines, regardless of seniority or length of service.

Negro complainants have informed the Committee that the result of these agreements has been that "not only have few, if any, Negro firemen or brakemen been hired in the last several years, but that those already employed have been pushed back to the 'extra board' and to the lowest paying jobs."

The Negro firemen especially feels that unless something is done, that continued refusal to hire them, the bar against their

men within a relatively short time. The firemen's fear, it was explained, is accentuated by the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered that all steam engines in most passenger and freight service must be stocker-fired by July 1, 1943.

It is charged that in some areas, particularly on the Pacific Coast, employment in the shop crafts has been largely closed to Negroes, Dr. MacLean said in reviewing the complaints. It is also charged that machinery has been set up by agreement between the railway companies and the shop craft unions which deny to Negroes already employed promotion in the mechanical trades, regardless of the Negroes' experience, training and seniority.

Affidavits submitted to the Committee indicate that on some roads Negroes firemen and brakemen are paid less than whites. In one case this is accomplished by placing Negroes, doing the same work as white employees, in a different job classification which carries a lower pay scale. In another, the company has openly adopted different wage standards under which Negro firemen are paid as much as 2.19 less per day, and Negro brakemen are paid as much as $2.71 less per day, than white firemen and brakemen in the small class of service.

The preliminary investigation by the Committee's staff is continuing under the direction and supervision of a sub-Committee headed by Milton P. Webster, of Chicago, a member of the

SOAPBOX by Adam Clayton Powell

ON MONDAY AT NOON, from the steps of the City Hall, the March On Washington held public prayers that lynching shall be wiped from the earth. Despite the full support of the Negro press, our ministerial conferences, the leading ministers of the community, the response was very discouraging. BARELY A HUNDRED NEGRO PEOPLE SHOWED UP.

As soon as the public prayers were concluded bands began to play, thousands upon thousands of whites surged into the City Hall Plaza until it was jammed with ten or twenty thousand people. What was the occasion? The launching of the United Hospital Fund drive for this year.

The comparison between those two meetings is the comparison of two races. As long as the Negro people fail to be aroused concerning the monsters that tower over us there can be no hope. If we do not take advantage of this opportunity then we do not deserve to continue existing as a race. I cannot understand the indifference of my people. We can blow so very hot one minute and so icily cold the next. We lack sustained indignation. We lack ofttimes even indignation itself. There is only one thing that is going to salvage some democracy for us—that is unity of the mass. That unity of the mass must be accomplished right now, in these trying hours. Anything that we do not gain now we are not going to get after the war is over.

I cannot understand the pathetic showing at City Hall last Monday. It is not that the Negro has lost faith in prayer because my prayer meeting is packed and jammed every Friday night with a thousand people. That's true on Wednesday and Friday nights all over town. There were enough Negro civil service workers in the surrounding city and state buildings Monday to have swelled the crowd to thousands. I saw as many Negroes sitting on the benches and along the City Hall Park rail eating their lunch and talking as those who were standing in front of the platform listening to the public prayers.

Brother, this is the hour of destiny! Not tomorrow's world, but today's world. Freedom is being spoken of today in strange and far off lands where that word has not had a hearing for centuries. For the first time we are beginning to think in terms of a globe, a world, a oneness of humanity. But here in New York there are still Negroes going along with their handkerchief-head, Uncle Tom, house-Negro ways.

Let's examine our racial conscience. Are we really prepared to live in this coming free world? Shall we continue voluntarily to enslave ourselves for another century or two until we make up our minds?

"MY PEOPLE! MY PEOPLE!"

AFRO-AMERICAN
October 31, 1942

Give FEPC More Power or Abolish It, Says Randolph

Committee Has Inadequate Funds, Can't Select Own Staff Members; Mass Protest to F. D. Is Urged

NEW YORK.—Either the Fair Employment Practice Committee should be given adequate funds and more power, or it ought to be abolished, declared A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, last week.

Mr. Randolph pointed out that since the transference of the FEPC to the War Manpower Commission practically no progress had been made by the committee.

He said that the committee has no definite sum of money with which to work and that it cannot even select the members of its own staff without reference to the WMC.

Urges Protest

"The usefulness of the FEPC to our workers will soon be at an end," Mr. Randolph stated, "unless the people through letters and telegrams to the President impress him with their dissatisfaction with this condition.

"It would be much better for FEPC to be wiped out than remain as a joke with litle or no money and the object of political manipulation of a Southern general."

He explained that although the committee is under the direction of Paul V. McNutt, WMC administrator, the commission's contact man who is doing the hamstringing is General McSherry, a Southerner.

LaGuardia Fails to H... Prayer Against Lynchi...

By WITTIE ANNA BIGGINS

The attempt of Mayor La Guardia to incite officials of the M... On Washington Movement (MWM) Committee to call off the ... prayer meeting scheduled for City Hall Park on Minday at noon ... false pretense that Harlem's Councilman Adam Clayton Powell ... interpreted the meeting to the City Council as a protest aga... Mayor's regime, availed him nothing other than satisfaction of ... attendance. The prayer meeting went on, and prayers echoing "ly... as sin," and declaring that "lynching must be removed from our ... tion if America is to prevail as a democracy and a Christian nation," arose from the hearts and throats of Negro and white ministers regardless of denomination, nationality, or color.

In spite of the wide publicity given the meeting by the committee, the attendance of Negroes was swamped by that of whites as little more than 50 Negroes assembled for the meeting. Whether or not the protest of the Mayor was responsible in general for this situation, it had its effects upon members of the City Council since only four dared put in their appearance aside from Harlem's own Councilman Adam Clayton Powell jr: Louis Goldberg (ALP), Meyer Goldberg (Rep), Genevieve Earl (Rep.), and Anthony di Giovanni.

Other than that, the powers-that-be were responsible for shortening the time of the prayer service from one hour to 40 minutes to make way for a parade of lily-white nurses, WAACS, WAVES, and other women's auxiliaries and soldiers—the only brown mixture being a few Negro wardens bringing up the rear. The flag raising was in honor of hospital service. Several thousand white citizens, parade participants, police, ambulances, automobiles, photographers, and what have you in parade equipment was already occupying the space designated for the prayer meeting fully 15 minutes before one ... time the public prayer servi... scheduled to close.

CHURCH HEADS FAIL

The ineptness of church ... bers who failed to attend ... courage the public prayer ... because they believed it the ... sibility of the church rather ... the March On Washington Com... tee, was revealed in personal ... views following the service. ... both Mayor LaGuardia and ... short-sighted Christians will ... numerous opportunities to ch... their tactics or build a stronger ... wark, because last week the ... mittee served notice that praye... all the people are essential to ... democratic government. T... these meetings are being launc... throughout the nation "in order ... arouse the Christian elements ... this great democracy to a full ... zation of the horror of lynching ... the injustice of racial discrimin... tion," and cooperation of ... churches has been solicited.

With Rev. S. T. Eldridge, pre... dent of the Baptist Minister's C... ference as divine guide for ... March On Washington Committee ... the Monday afternoon meeting ... brought to those in attendance ... eral leaders, irrespective of ... nomination, all of whom bowed ... prayed that the evils of lynch... might be removed from our land.

N.Y. March Unit Prays for End of Lynchings

NEW YORK — Prayers were offered in City Hall Plaza Monday noon "to arouse the Christian elements of this great democracy to a full realization of the horror of lynching and the injustice of racial discrimination" at a meeting sponsored by the March on Washington Movement.

The prayers were offered by a group of colored and white clergymen. About two hundred persons were present. Clergymen participating included:

The Revs. Dr. J. C. Jackson, president of the New England Baptist Conference and pastor of the Hartford Union Baptist Church; Rabbi David de Sola Pool of the Spanish and Portugese Synagogue; the Rev. S. H. Sweeney, president of the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance of Greater New York; the Rev. Shelton H. Bishop, rector of St. Philip Union Church, Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, and the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church.

Anti-Lynch... Held in Cit...

In an effecti... in City Hall Plaza ... by the March On Washington ... mittee, a group of Negro and ... clergymen offered prayers ... ending of lynchings, while ... ence of 200 joined in silently ... their heads.

Among the ministers participating ... Dr. J. C. Jackson, president of ... England Baptist Conference, who ... cently the victim of a brutal ... Southern whites; Rabbi David ... Pool of the Spanish and Portuguese ... gogue; the Rev. H. S. Sweeney, ... of the International Denominational ... isters Alliance of Greater New Yo... Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, rector ... Philip's Union Church, Bay Ridge, ... lyn, and the Rev. Wendell Lloyd ... pastor of the St. James Presb... Church.

The Rev. Eldridge, pre... the Baptist Ministers' Co... presiding, after the ...

AFRO-AMERICAN
October 31, 1942

EPC Gains Control Campaign Against b Discrimination

Will Take Over Field Staff of Dr. Weaver's WMPC Office, Ending 3-Month Controversy

WASHINGTON

[illegible] controversy over the [illegible] Practice Com- [illegible] ended Monday, when [illegible] McNutt, chairman of the [illegible] Power Commission, un- [illegible] the FEPC had [illegible] delegated, issued a state- [illegible] giving the FEPC full charge [illegible] discrimination.

[illegible] the order issued by Mr. [illegible] the entire field staff and [illegible] of Dr. Robert Weaver's of- [illegible] to be transferred to the [illegible] as soon as is possible.

[illegible] of as an "amalgama- [illegible] this eliminates Dr. Weaver's [illegible] from the picture and leaves [illegible] FEPC in sole power to deal [illegible] discriminatory practices [illegible] on race, creed, color or na- [illegible] origin.

[illegible], MacLean Confer

[illegible] announcement was made [illegible] a conference between [illegible] and Dr. Malcom S. Mac- [illegible] chairman of the FEPC, on [illegible], and a full meeting of [illegible] committee on Monday, with [illegible] V. Harper, deputy chair- [illegible] War Man Power Com- [illegible].

[illegible]quent to this meeting, it [illegible] announced that the FEPC [illegible] determine all policies relat- [illegible] the enforcement of Execu- [illegible] Order 8802, and such poli- [illegible] will be binding upon the [illegible] Man Power Commission, [illegible] approval of Chairman Mc- [illegible].

[illegible] FEPC is to function as an [illegible] integral entity of the War [illegible] Power Commission, in pur- [illegible] of the order of transfer [illegible] President last July 30.

derstanding, but they and others in the office appeared entirely pleased with the outcome of the controversy.

This leaves no doubt as to the disposition of Dr. Weaver and Dr. Will W. Alexander, director of the minority groups' section of WPB. Dr. Weaver, if he wishes, is free to join the FEPC as is Dr. Alexander, who formerly took care of all minority groups other than the colored population.

It is believed both will be assigned to the office of General McSherry, training division, in the capacity of advisors.

west: "The following would be my answer to any friend requesting a loan. 'I am sorry but I don't have any money. If I had it I would be only too happy to lend it to you.'"

* * *

Mrs. M. W. Arter, 609 Kastle Street, Northeast: "I have never had to face that situation, and hence I do not know what I would do. I probably would refer them to some one else who I thought had the money to lend."

* * *

Mrs. Viola B. Yates, 1939 Ninth Street, Northwest: "If I didn't have the money I would have no alternative but to say that I didn't have it. If I had the money and needed it for another purpose I'd tell the person that. To sum it up, I'd be frank about it."

Good writing: "No" Day [illegible] umph," an autobiographical [illegible] of an odyssey through [illegible] in which the author, J. [illegible] Redding, found that the [illegible] of the humanities in [illegible] schools tend to become [illegible] and to look down upon [illegible] ers of the trades.

* * *

The school board at [illegible] meeting dodged a decision [illegible] question of the summ[illegible] ger of Nathan Dobbins, [illegible] and Marjorie Hopkins, [illegible] marm.

George Parker, [illegible] representing Pauline [illegible] and Pauline herself [illegible] against Marjorie's [illegible] change of her name [illegible] Hopkins to Dobbins.

Garnet Wilkinson, [illegible] ant superintendent, [illegible] matter to the board with [illegible] saying the question was [illegible] the civil courts. The board [illegible] ed this view, [illegible] ie's request for change [illegible]

* * *

The Jimmy Julians [illegible] infanticipating. She's [illegible] Dr. Percy Julian and a [illegible] medico. She's a teacher [illegible] local schools.

Anne Winnie and Bobby [illegible] formerly a sportsman [illegible] soldier with the Fifth [illegible] Squadron, Denver (Colorado) [illegible] plotting a Christmas [illegible]

* * *

Charley Elam has enlisted [illegible] United States Army. [illegible] kard Harshaw, a teacher [illegible] School, is taking maternity [illegible]

Randall Evans, recently [illegible] ed teacher of agriculture [illegible] Phelps Vocational, has [illegible] ed leave of absence for [illegible] purposes. Mary Young, [illegible] at Logan School, is relieved [illegible] count of physical disability.

* * *

Gladys Duncan, mate [illegible] Duncan (Porgy of "[illegible] Bess"), is at the Mayo [illegible] Clinic. Roscoe Lewis, [illegible] Virginia State College, has [illegible] accepted appointment [illegible] of agriculture at Phelps [illegible] al.

Nettie Sewell, a [illegible] has requested change of [illegible] to Nettie Wood, according [illegible] ment of her marriage.

Unless parents [illegible] serve hot school lunches [illegible] privileged pupils, the [illegible] be abandoned. So [illegible]

CHICAGO DEFENDER
October 31, 1942

End Staff Duplications

There will be one staff in Washington and in the field dealing with problems of discrimination under Executive Order 8802 and the FEPC is to select and remove all field or headquarters personnel in accordance with established government procedure.

All field personnel of the War Man Power Commission dealing with problems of discrimination will be combined with and become a part of, the field staff of the FEPC.

The committee will determine, in operations bulletins and in instructions, all procedures for investigating and redressing complaints and for the development of programs intended to insure the full and equitable participation of all workers in war industries and the Government service.

Hearings Authorized

Under the arrangements agreed upon, the committee will have the power to conduct hearings in any areas where evidence shows there has been discrimination in violation of Executive Order 8802.

Dr. MacLean, chairman, speaking for the committee, manifested satisfaction with the agreements reached and expressed the conviction that the President's intent to strengthen the committee and maintain it as an organizational entity has been fully met.

Neither Milton Webster nor Earl Dickerson, Chicago alderman, both committee members, would comment on the new un-

RANDOLPH HITS PRO JAPANESE NEGRO GROUPS

Brotherhood Chief Warns Against Sympathetic Axis Leanings

Commenting up on the rounding up and imprisonment of 82 Negroes in Chicago last week—and some Negroes in New York—and other sections by the FBI for pro-Japanese activities, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national director of the March On Washington Movement, stated that he had no sympathy for Negroes who are put into jail for being used as spies or for any activities in the interest of Japan.

"Any Negro who thinks the Negro people have anything to gain by the victory of Japan in this war, is hopelessly dumb, ignorant and ridiculous, and is living in a 'fool's paradise,'" said Randolph.

"Of course, these Negroes who were preaching the cause of Japan are pure fanatics or evidently believe they are going to get some money from Japan.

"In the first and final analysis, the Negroes' interests in America are tied up with the interests of America. If America goes down, Negroes go down. If America survives, Negroes will survive; if, of course, they have the guts to fight to survive. Negroes must fight for their democratic rights [illegible] under the flag of the United States of America, not under the flag of Hirohito of Japan or Hitler of Germany.

"The Negroes' task is not to fight for Japan who will oppress them and exploit them as quickly and as ruthlessly as they do the Chinese, but to fight for America and themselves in America," concluded Randolph.

FEPC Renews Battle for Negro Rights

Special to THE NEW LEADER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The battle for Negro workers' rights, which has been stalled on various fronts for several months now, may see new and more vigorous action shortly.

In the West protest is mounting against the refusal of five of the nation's largest copper mine operators to hire Negroes furloughed by the Army in order to make labor available in the "Western critical area." This reactionary industrial move is cutting down the supply of copper available to the munitions industry.

On the Coast government officials were moving toward a showdown with the lily-white union leaders of the Kaiser shipyards. According to Paul Porter, chairman, a conference is going to be held soon for labor leaders, Kaiser officials, and Government representatives "to make certain that no discrimination against Negro employees will be practiced by unions. . ." It is expected to be Tom Ray's last-ditch fight against equal employment rights for Negroes at the Kaiser Yards. Ray is head of the Kaiser AFL local.

Meanwhile here in the capital a bad administrative situation is being corrected. It has become apparent that the transference of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to the War Manpower Commission was hardly an effective move. For practically no progress at all has been made by the Committee in advancing programs for the integration of Negro workers in defense industries and the government. Its functions, labor and Negro groups charged, are being "emasculated" because of inadequate personnel, lack of funds, and meager powers. The FEPC struggle for "autonomy" within the McNutt set-up, or for rights as an "operating agency," has been won, a WMC announcement revealed this week. The machinery is still far from perfect, or even really effective, yet. Sufficient funds are still lacking. And as A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters has protested, the FEPC needs amplified enforcement powers. It investigates and probes and exposes Negro discrimination in industry, but nothing can be done about it.

New enlargement of authority, scope, and personel will be needed before the government can wield an effective instrument in the democratic struggle for Negro labor's rights.

BUY
WAR BONDS
NOW

Randolph Urges Colored Youth To Study Trades

NEW YORK CITY—"No more important task confronts the Negro youth of America today than that of securing training for the performance of skilled work in defense industries. The possibility of getting training in the skilled crafts is greater now than ever before for the Negro, since the government is providing certain training in the interest of war defense. When the skill is acquired, the fight can be made for opportunity to use the skill in defense industries. Headway has been made in this respect but there are far too few Negro skilled workers in the country today, and this is the time for Negro youth to take advantage of these government training courses in which skilled artisans are being prepared," says A. Philip Randolph.

Post War Demands

"When the war is over, there will be continuous demands over a period of years for skilled workers to carry on the enormous job of the rehabilitation of Europe. If Negroes prepare themselves now, they will be available for work then. The argument that there is discrimination against Negroes for performing certain work is not sufficient reason for Negroes to refuse the opportunity to acquire training for such work. Preparation should be secured whether a job is available or not, and a fight then should be made to get the job," concluded Randolph.

Unfair Classification

"Because for a long time the U. S. Employment Service of listing Negro workers as janitors and laborers without regard to their status, skill and training, it is estimated that some two or three million Negroes are now employed at jobs that do not utilize their skill or training. If legislation is enacted freezing manpower in employment as it now is, a great injustice will be done the Negro workers who will be fixed and frozen in jobs that do not give them an opportunity to exercise their skill and training, and they will be receiving compensation far below that which they could earn were they allowed to perform services commensurate with their ability," says A Philip Randolph.

"This condition can be corrected, however, if some machinery is provided for the continuous upgrading of workers upon a basis of skill and merit possessed by them now or which may be acquired in the future through training courses within the industry and outside," he concluded.

N. Y. AMSTERDAM STAR NEWS
October 24, 1942

It's The Truth — By J. Robert Smith

FROM TIME TO TIME an organization should pause to consider whether it still has cause for existence; and whether it is doing its utmost to live up to that cause. This is particularly true in the case of a labor or civil liberties organization, made up as it is of a variety of individuals wherein the possibility of poor management or indiscreet decisions may cause that organization no longer to represent the real desires of its membership.

J. Robert Smith

An independent organization, composed of people from all walks of life, is closer to real democracy than any other type where but a fragment of groups or classes is represented. One of the prime necessities of building and maintaining a strong organization is that its control must rest in the hands of those it intends to represent. Another essential for its success is that young blood must flow through its arteries. And a major requirement of sound organization is that decisions on important policies must be presented to the individuals affected for their approval and disapproval. In this way the "grass-roots" elements of the organization will be preserved.

Members Must Act

Above and beyond these necessary principles is the question of the type of problem with wihch the organization should concern itself. Only a full realization and understanding of its problems and the full participation of its membership can help attain the desired goal.

This week, I choose to review the activities of the March-on-Washington Movement, an organization in which I am deeply interested. Knowing the organization from its inception—from the early days of last year when A. Philip Randolph conceived the idea and labored day and night making trips to Washington and all over the country selling it to Negro America up to and including the passage of the President's Executive Order 8802 and the historic Madison Square Garden rally, I am in a position to write in the present vein.

I shall confine my treatise to the New York chapter since I worked with it and have knowledge of its machinery. It would be safe to assume that many other chapters throughout the country are operating on a similar basis.

Interest On Wane

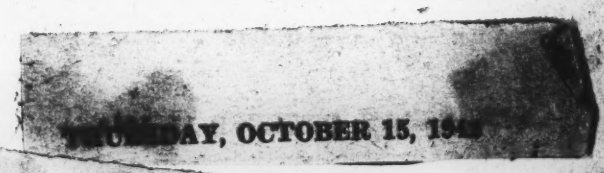
Following the Madison Square Garden meeting the organization dozed off into a long nap for lack of a program. The best proof was the fact that more than 20,000 Negroes attended the Garden rally in June and less than 5,000 showed up at the Golden Gate to hear Randolph's undelivered speech. The "fathers" had a grand time at the Garden that night. O' it was a "good thing." They sold everything except the program of the March-on-Washington Movement. Even the Little Flower nipped off a slice. With the closing of the Garden gates thus also passed the performance and interest of the "fathers" of the movement. Randolph has not heard from them since. The progress of the movement was left to the young men and women who gave all of their time to make the mass meeting the success it was and who were frozen from the program.

The picture now takes us to the post-rally days up to the recent Detroit conference. There have been many internal squabbles. Many executives have been using the movement to further their own political and selfish ambitions. Youth has been shunted aside. The "little chiefs," unknown to Randolph have tried their best to see that they run the show. They were and are still fearful to permit the youth of the movement to play the leading role.

Must Reorganize Setup

It seems to me that if the movements is going to put into effect the principles recently adopted in Detroit, the first move Randolph must make is to reorganize the local set-up, replace those politically-minded and selfish opportunists with qualified youngsters who are eager to serve. The America of tomorrow is to be shaped by the youth of today, not by the sire who has seen his spring and summer and is now snoozing in the winter of his life. Youth needs the advice and guidance of old age, but youth must man and captain its own ship. Every other group gives its youth a chance except the Negro race. That old Negro wants everything, he knows everything, his youth is always "too inexperienced" to run this or that.

Youth loves to work with Randolph, and Randolph loves them, but this great leader must be warned that he should not be victimized by the slick wiles of the "fathers" and the "little chiefs." The March-on-Washington Movement will never attain its desired goal once Negro youth is playing a secondary part. It is their movement and they have a right to run it to suit themselves. Therein lies its future and success.



THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 194[illegible]

LOS ANGELES SENTINEL

'Free Negro' Mov[illegible] Launched By Rando[illegible]

TORONTO — Just as there as Free French, Free Yugoslavian, Free Greek, Free Norwegian, Free Holland, Free English, Free India, and Free Czecho-Slavakia movements that will press their claims for justice for the subjugated an doppressed peoples by German, Italian, and Japanese tyranny, so there ought to be and must be a movement known as the Free Negro which will send a strong delegation of Negroes and their true friends to the Peace Conference at the end of this war, to present the claims of the Negro people in America, the West Indies and Africa for freedom, justice and equality, stated A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and National Director of the March On Washington movement to a small group of Negro and white [illegible] Conference [illegible] the Free French and other [illegible] people's groups that are now fighting for freedom from the yoke of fascist slavery.

T. Arnold Hill Named Special Assistant In Office Of OPA

WASHINGON, D. C.—Acting to bring the nation's 13 million Negro consumers into a closer working arrangement with the price control and rationing programs of war-time America, the Office of Price Administration this week announced appointment of T. Arnold Hill, well-known Negro leader and former assistant director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration.

Mr. Hill will act as special assistant to the senior deputy administrator, John E. Hamm. While he will be concerned with the entire OPA program, Mr. Hill's immediate assignment is the problem of rent control and its relation to the Negro tenant, who for many years has been the classic victim of the combination of poor housing and high rents. The impact of war industries and military establishments on cities already faced with housing shortages and the attendant scramble for all available housing has enormously increased the Negro shelter problem.

Mr. Hill was born in Richmond, Va., and was graduated from Virginia Union University which made him an Honorary Doctor of Laws in 1939. He has been on the staff of both the National and Chicago Urban Leagues. From 1938 to 1940 he was consultant with the Works Progress Administration in Washington. He has been a member of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection and the President's Emergency Committee on Employment. He is a now a member of the board of directors of the Council of Inter-State Migration and since 1938 has been a member of the New York State Board of Social Welfare.

A frequent contributor to the [illegible]

By Albert Deutsch

WarManPower

. . . Wasted by Housing Bans Against Negro Workers

Miss Louis D. Lasker, of the National Committee on the Housing Emergency, picks an opportune moment to remind us of the flagrant waste of a most valuable man-power reservoir—the 13,000,000 Negro Americans — when everybody's hollering about the "acute man-power shortage."

Hurdling the color ban to get jobs in war industry is only part of the Negro's problem. He has the added problem of finding a place to live where he does get a place to work

The Federal housing authorities have, in general, been trying hard to find suitable living places for Negro war workers. But they've had a tough time bucking prejudiced officials, real estate men and white residents. Here are some typical examples of housing bottlenecks that check the flow of good colored workers to vital war industry:

¶ In Philadelphia, public housing is supposed to be on a nonsegregated basis. A state civil rights law of Pennsylvania is supposed to bar race discrimination. Yet not a single Negro war worker has been allowed to live in any of the regular war housing projects built with Federal Lanham Act funds.

¶ In overcrowded Washington, D. C., Federal housing officials planned a large reception center, to be located on public property near the Union Station, for newly recruited women Government workers. Part of this project was to be occupied by eligible Negro girls. But the Congressional Building and Grounds Committee, dominated by Southerners, refused to grant permission to locate the white and Negro project on public property. So the whole project is still up in the air. The Washington housing problem grows more acute.

¶ Some 6000 dwelling units, including 600 trailers, were programmed for Wichita, Kansas, a booming war-industry area. A field man of the War Man Power Commission has observed that "Negro employment will be lessened at the Wichita plants unless some of the housing units are set aside for Negro workers." But no effort has yet been made to accommodate Negroes in any of the planned projects.

Among those who place prejudice above patriotism are white real estate men who stubbornly refuse to sell, lease or rent property for Negro occupancy, no matter how badly black workers are needed.

"Housing for all workers, regardless of color, is essential to the success of our war industrial program," says Miss Lasker. "This is no time to let past prejudices hinder our war effort."

Remember the Sojourner Truth housing riots in Detroit, incited by an organized Fascist group? White and Negro tenants are now living side by side in that project in peace and content, showing that color is no natural barrier to neighborliness.

We could use a lot more of the spirit displayed by Mayor Kimbrough of Benson, Arizona, when a group of Negro officers from nearby Ft. Huachuca sought homes there:

"During a crisis such as this," he declared, "we must pull together and co-operate. There will be no [illegible]

NEW YORK AGE
October 24, 1942

N. Y. AMSTERDAM STAR NEWS
October 24, 1942

FORM PERMANENT STRUCTURE FOR MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Detroit—Forty delegates from principal cities of the east, south, and midwest met here Sept. 26-27 and set up a provisional structure for a permanent March on Washington Movement. Delegates representing local committees in Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Tampa, Fla., New Orleans, and St. Louis drafted a constitution and by-laws, worked out organizational plans for a nation-wide movement, and set in motion machinery for a national convention to be held in Chicago, May, 1943.

The convention will pass on the work of this conference, and upon the basis of elected representatives from local committees will decide the question of whether Negroes shall march on Washington, and if so, when.

Board Is Created

Setting up a National Executive Board of thirteen members, consisting of a national director, secretary, treasurer, and two representatives from each of five regions to function pending the convention, the Conference recommended local marches on city halls to memorialize mayors and city councils, to memorialize the President and Congress to abolish discriminations, segregations, and Jim Crowism.

COLORED FIREMAN WINS CITATION FOR BRAVERY

White Rape Suspect Is Released On $1,000 Bond

The recent "wave of brutal attacking and rape of white women in Los Angeles by the burly Negro" angle received a shock Friday when Mrs. Willie Robinson, prominent citizen and active member in Hamilton church, while returning from a club meeting of janitor's wives, was brutally assaulted and rape attempted by a white man.

Her husband, who has been employed for 20 years at the Hall of Justice as janitor, responded to her screams and drove her attacker off with a baseball bat. The man fled to his car and speeded out Avalon boulevard. He was pursued but his trail was lost at Slauson. One of the persons present during the attempted attack got the license number and reported it to the University police station, where Lieutenants Stelson and Bright arrested Robert H. Lynch at 3796 Rockston avenue, in Leimert Park. He was arrested Saturday morning and was released Saturday afternoon on a writ by Judge McKay and bond fixed at $1,000. In spite of the fact that he was positively identified by Mrs. Robinson and other witnesses, as the man who attempted to rape her on the past Friday, the suspect claimed that he was in the vicinity and that he and his wife had had trouble and he was looking for a room, and that he was beaten by a group of men. The case was transferred to Detectives W. I. F. George and Radcliffe, who took the matter to district attorney's office where deputy Percy Hammond, after hearing the evidence of Mrs. Robinson in company with her husband and publisher Leon H. Washington Jr., fixed bail at $10,000. The write, which freed Lynch, was returnable at 2 o'clock in division four of the Superior Court, presided over by Judge Barom Walters.

Attorney Leland E. Zeman stated to the court that the bond was excessive and that such an amount was for the purpose of granting Lynch's appearance in a show-up which the officer had promised to have other persons, who were attacked, to view the suspect. He further stated that the case appeared to be a trumped-up one and stated that Lynch was a toolmaker and was married and had a 17-month-old baby. No effort was made by the district attorney's office to bring out the facts that Mrs. Robinson was an elderly lady and that she had been brutally attacked by the alleged rapist. Further that the place where the crime was committed was only two blocks from where a white [illegible] and murdered [illegible] week ago.

In the meantime Lynch was released and will appear at a preliminary hearing Thursday, Nov. 15. "It is hardly conceivable," said publisher Leon H. Washington Jr. "that a case in which the evidence was so clear, that the woman deputy of the district attorney's office had failed to bring these facts before the court."

Mrs. Robinson is a Negro woman, a fine citizen, and for 30 years

(Continued on Page Four)

Coleman Pardon Sought

Speeding an appeal to Gov. Culbert L. Olson to grant an unconditional pardon to Festus Lewis Coleman, young San Francisco Negro now serving 65 years in San Quentin, the San Francisco CIO Council urged the governor "to right the injustice done to the Negro people," "During these critical days of war, when the United States is fighting on the battlefronts of the world against the vicious racial doctrines of Hitler Germany," declared the Council's resolution, "it is imperative that the civil rights of Negro Americans be protected against miscarriages of justice in the courts."

The Northern California Conference of AME Zion Churches, meeting in annual session in Oakland, California, memorialized the governor to pardon Festus Coleman after a presentation of the facts of the case by Rev. H. T. S. Johnson.

In Los Angeles, the Democratic Youth Federation added its voice to a pardon plea in a strongly-worded resolution which declared: "We cannot call for the continued great sacrifice and loyalty of the Negro people in the fight against Fascism unless we remove those injustices which serve to hamper unity."

Dr. W. A. J. Bullock, regional director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, S. W. Area, Oklahoma secured a large number of signatures on petitions for the release of Mr. Coleman.

The Hollywood Women's Council, the Hettie B. Tilghman club of Oakland, California, the Musi[illegible] Protective Association, A. [illegible], the Contra Costa Indus[illegible] Council are among [illegible] which have [illegible]

Mob Lynches Two 14 Year Old Boys

(See Editorial on Page One)

MERIDIAN, Miss. — The lynching of two 14-year-old Negro boys was disclosed today when their bodies were found at the Shubuta river bridge, about 35 miles south of here.

The boys, Charlie Lang and Ernest Green, both of Shubuta, were taken from the Quitman jail by a mob of irate, unidentified men who overpowered City Marshal G. F. Dabbs.

Lang and Green were arrested last Tuesday and accused of waylaying a 13-year-old white girl who was walking home from school.

When Dabbs answered a knock at the jail door, members of the mob threw a blanket over his head, pinned down his arms, took his keys and locked him in a cell.

Sheriff Lloyd McNeal of Clarke county, who began looking for the boys, found their bodies suspended from the bridge where the girl was waylaid.

Apply at Sentinel Saturday

Academy Sportswear To Hire 50 Negro Women

Voicing his protest against racial segregation and bigotry, Sidney Weitsman, proprietor of the Academy Sportswear Company, revealed to the Sentinel his plans for employing an all Negro crew of women workers. In order to accomplish this feat, Mr. Weitsman has asked the Sentinel to secure 50 women who have had experience in sewing—preferably those with power machine experience. The Academy Sportswear company is one of the largest of its kind on the Pacific coast and is the manufacturer of shirts for men and women. This plant is modern in every detail and is considered one of the most sanitary and healthful shops of its kind. "We have been continuous readers of the Sentinel," said Mr. Weitsman, "and we have long deplored the many cases of segregation and racial prejudice which has been exposed. We have recently employed Colored girls and find that they are just as efficient, and therefore we feel that they are entitled to the same employment as any other American. Mr. Al J. Gursey and I have discussed this move, and we believe that it will prove successful and beneficial to all." "We considered this a step in the right direction."

We are turning over the facilities of our office on Saturday, Oct. 17, from 12 noon to 2 p.m. where prospective workers may be interviewed by [illegible]

G-Men

Clear Memphis Negroes After Probe of Rumors Regarding War Unrest

MEMPHIS (ANP)—The lie has been put to mounting rumors of racial unrest and agitation here according to findings contained in a report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Negro leaders, Mayor Chandler and the local police force.

Percy Wyly, special agent in charge of the Memphis office of the FBI, said his probe has revealed no indication of organized sabotage among Negro citizens.

He added that repetition of rumors is an old axis trick to create confusion and inspire disloyalty. Repeating of rumors therefore is harmful to civilian morale and hinders the war effort, he said.

Captain Captured Slayer

For "exceptional bravery" in [illegible] Lawrence, an ex-convict, after the latter had fatally shot Rev. William Walker at Central avenue and Newton street on August 20, Acting Captain William H. Byrd, Negro fireman who resides at 1158 East 34th Street, last Friday received official commendation in the form of laudatory resolution ordered by the Fire Commission.

Acting Captain Byrd, in a statement to the Sentinel, gave plenty credit to Fireman J. H. Addison who assisted him in completing the capture of Lawrence. Byrd, who was in command of Truck Company 30 of the Fire Department, located at 14th and Central, at the time of the shooting, will be eligible for retirement in about 18 months. He is the treasurer of Phillips Temple C. M. E. Church and has been active in church affairs since 1928.

The action was recommended by Chief of Police Horrall after an investigation of the circumstances.

On the day of the tragedy, Boyd's attention was drawn to the shooting, according to Alderson. Walker, who as a special Deputy Sheriff, had stopped Lawrence for a traffic violation and had been shot twice in the stomach.

Walker, who also had a gun, was struggling with Lawrence and spectators were keeping a safe distance away when Byrd quietly stepped up, took both guns and held the ex-convict until Fireman J. H. Addison had summoned the police.

Beautician Jailed On Assault Rap

Mrs. Ezora Pillows, beautician of 1111 E. [illegible] been [illegible]

To Faculty

NEW YORK (ANP)—Dr. Kenneth Clark (Ph.D. Columbia U.) is receiving the congratulations of friends and associates following his appointment as assistant professor at City College of New York, the first of his race to hold that distinction.

Heretofore, City college from time to time has used Negroes as guest professors and lecturers, but Dr. Clark is the first Negro to be added to the regular faculty.

Correction

Maurice Brooks, MP, who was arrested for a shooting on Central Avenue last week does not come from the 76th Chemical as described in the Sentinel issue of last week. According to the correct information received this week, Corp. Brooks hails from the 75th Chemical of Inglewood, California. Excuse us!

[illegible] the United States.

Highway Crash Fatal To Cotton Pickers

POCAHONTAS, Miss. (ANP)—A report of the state highway patrol revealed that eight cotton pickers were killed and seven others injured Monday, in an accident on a bridge forming part of U.S. highway 49 near here.

[illegible] charged that [illegible] being used and attempted to take her money and leave the premises. Other members of the party however, restrained her from doing this and the woman left in a huff and assertedly returned armed with a gun and began firing. Attorney Curtis C. Taylor denied his client did fire the bullet which wounded Mrs. Richardson.

gh Courier PITTSBRUGH COURIER
October 10, 1942

Around Baltimore

Paul V. McNutt, director of the War Manpower Commission, was principal speaker on Tuesday afternoon at the dedication exercises for the Defense Center at 1315 Druid Hill avenue. Governor Herbert O'Connor accompanied Mr. McNutt.

The speaker told a capacity audience that America must achieve unity of all its races in order to win this war. Other speakers were Charles Sylvester, assistant superintendent of schools; Kenneth Douty, WMC executive assistant; Alexander J. Allen, industrial secretary of the Urban League; Miss Rosa Anderson, Mrs. Lillie Jackson, president of the local branch of the NAACP; Miss Ida Cummings, representing the women of the city, and Mrs. Martha Pulley of the Citizens' Committee of Justice.

The WMC predicts that before the end of the year over 30,000 women will be employed in the various defense factories and urges all interested persons to register and be prepared.

A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national director of the March-on-Washington movement, was principal speaker at the opening meeting of the NAACP's annual membership campaign at the Sharp Street M. E. Church on Thursday evening.

Mr. Randolph impressed his huge audience with the fact that now if ever was the time for the members of the colored group to fight for their rights and that if we didn't demand them before the war it would be too late after the war. Randall Tynis, national director of NAACP branches and campaign director, introduced Mr. Randolph and the other speakers, Mrs. Martha Pulley, Dr. J. E. Camper, W. A. C. Hughes Jr, and Mrs. Lillie Jackson. The Douglas Memorial church choir furnished music for the occasion.

The Druid Hill Branch of the YWCA will soon move into their new home at 1912-1916 Madison avenue. The "Y" has occupied the building at the corner of Druid Hill avenue and Dolphin street for the past 40 years. Their new home is occupied by the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. Plans are being developed for the improvement of the new home and the members will not occupy it until these improvements have been completed. Mrs. Alice Arrington is executive secretary at the "Y"; Mrs. Grace B. Hunt, industrial secretary; Miss Wilda Parker, younger girls' secretary; Miss Portia Miles, room registry secretary, and Miss Emma Bright heads the committee of management.

The Domestic Workers Union was the first of its kind to become an official union. Frank J. Bender, white, regional director for the Maryland CIO, presented the Workers a charter at the Union Baptist church on Thursday evening. Miss Nannie Gibbs, president of the Domestic Union, received the charter for the group. The purpose of the union is to cut down working hours, increase rates of pay and generally improve the working conditions of the domestics. To date, over 300 persons belong to the union.

NEW
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Letters to the Times

Negroes Also Have Fee

Distinguished Group Suggests Ways in Which These Might Be Regarded

To the Editor of The New York Times:

We offer a list of situations wherein white people most often offend the feelings of Negroes. Unintentional slights are grouped with perversely malicious acts because what is done in honest ignorance by one person may be a deliberate insult by another. Perhaps there is scant logical justification for the Negro's sensitivity in some of these cases. Logic, however, is able to explain very little in the realm of personal attitudes, white or Negro.

1. The word Negro should always commence with a capital just as the words Jew and Indian. Such capitalization contributes to racial self-respect. Colored and black can begin with a small letter the same as white. The logic is that the term Negro refers to a specific racial group and hence deserves the capital. The terms colored, black, white, brown, yellow are simply descriptive of the color of one's skin.

2. Negroes like to be addressed by the customary titles of polite and civil society, Mr., Mrs., Miss. Where there is no familiarity they resent being addressed by their first names or by the slightly more formal last name. Adults dislike being called "boy," "girl," "aunty," "uncle." Negro women dislike the term Negress, because in Southern newspapers it is used in derogatory fashion.

Epithets to Be Avoided

3. Taboo, of course, are the epithets "nigger" and "darky." Negro audiences do not appreciate them in jokes. The argument is that such jokes hold the Negro up to ridicule.

4. A sentimental tale about one's "old black mammy" will prevent or destroy rapport with a Negro audience. Colored students will frequently hiss a white speaker who eulogizes his father's old black mammy.

5. The Negro population has upper, middle, and lower class distinctions which closely approximate those of the white population. Snobbish, perhaps, but an upper class black intellectual does not like to be treated as some people treat their cooks. Negroes resent the blanket generalization that all of them are alike, just as do white people.

Movies Could Help

6. The movie industry seems determined to perpetuate a myth about the place of the Negro in contemporary America. Who has seen a movie in which a Negro was something other than a servant, buffoon or criminal? There is no reason why the movies should continue to be condescending or offensive in their portrayal of the Negro.

7. Negroes want to be treated like ordinary human beings. Paternalism is almost as deadly a sin as deliberate mistreatment. The point at issue is that the Negro in America today feels that on the basis of accomplishment he should be treated as an equal. This, of course, is the crux of the problem.

Observance of the points mentioned will go far toward improving the relations of white and black in our common land. But surface politeness is not all that is needed. While mending our manners let us also give sustained thought to basic reforms that will extend democracy to our Negro fellow citizens. The solution of these problems cannot be achieved overnight, but to be aware of the evils of discrimination is a necessary step in planning for their eradication.

Things to Remember

Let us therefore bear in mind that by State law at least four million eligible Negroes are not permitted to register and vote; at least five million Negro children have schools below the minimum standards for white in the same areas; Negro youth have only one-fifth the opportunity of white youth to go to college.

At least seven million Negroes have pitiably inadequate hospitalization or none at all; there are thirteen million Negroes in America, about one million of whom are in the upper class; at least nine million Negroes live below the poverty line.

By law, or by policy approved or condoned by the Federal Government, Negroes can serve in the armed forces in only restricted capacities, whatever their abilities may be. Drafted Negro college graduates are finding it extremely difficult to work up through the ranks. Even the most ignorant Negro troops resent the way in which Negro ability is disregarded and not used.

Most Negroes are inclined to believe that they have everything to gain by a victory of the United Nations. But it is not enough to "incline to believe." They should be made to feel certain of it.

LOUIS ADAMIC,
GORDON W. ALLPORT,
C. L. GOLIGHTLY,
MARK STARR,
ORDWAY TEAD,
HENRY P. VAN DUSEN.

New York, Oct. 13, 1942.

NEW YORK AGE
October 10, 1942

PAGE THREE

A. Philip Randolph Condemns Pro-Japanese Negroes, Calls Them Dumb And Ridiculous

CHICAGO, Ill.—Commenting upon the rounding up and imprisonment of 82 Negroes in Chicago last week—and some Negroes in New York—and other sections by the F. B. I., for pro-Japanese activities, A. Philip Randolph, International president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and national director of the March on Washington Movement, stated that he had no sympathy for Negroes who are put into jail for being used as spies or for any activities in the interest of Japan.

"Any Negro who thinks the Negro people have anything to gain by the victory of Japan in this War, is hopelessly dumb, ignorant and ridiculous, and is living in a "fool's paradise," said Mr. Randolph.

"Japan," he continued, is an imperial nation which suppresses free speech, free assembly, free press and the right of organization and collective bargaining of the workers among its own people in Japan. What on earth can Negroes hope to get from a power-hungry, war-mad, arrogant nation like Japan, I cannot see.

"Of course, these Negroes who were preaching the cause of Japan are pure fanatics or evidently believe they are going to get some money from Japan.

"In the first and final analysis, the Negroes' interests in America are tied up with the interests of America. If American goes down, Negroes go down; if America survives, Negroes will survive, if, of course, they have the guts to fight to survive. Negroes want their democratic rights within and under the flag of the United States of America, not under the rule of Hirohito of Japan or Hitler of Germany.

"Negroes must fight to save America because they have fought and worked for a quarter of a thousand years to help make it what it is, and they don't propose to let anybody lick America, or run Negroes out of America, or deny Negroes their rights in America, and get away with it," stated Randolph.

"This is why Negroes must fight to wipe out discrimination, segregation and jim crow in the armed forces, the Government and defense industry,—now, during the war, and not wait until it is over.

"The Negroes' task is not to fight for Japan who will oppress and exploit them as quickly and as ruthlessly as they do the Chinese, but to fight for America and themselves in America," concluded Mr. Randolph.

March On Washington Movement Is Growing By Leaps And Bounds As Fight For Democracy Continues

By PETER DANA

Harlem offices of the "March on Washington" movement, on the ground floor of the Hotel Theresa building, 7th avenue at 125th street, are busy full-time these days, as the idea of protest in the name of democratic unity and full mobilization of American manpower, symbolized by the movement, reaches throughout the country.

A. Philip Randolph and his associates, who have been speaking in a score of metropolitan areas throughout the country in recent weeks, are now a force for democratization of America's war effort which, whatever the embarrassments of the Administration at Washington, must, it is generally believed, count for the total national good.

If there should be any question of the sincerity of the "March on Washington" movement as the result of the calling off of the projected march in the summer of 1941, after certain concessions from Washington, most notable of which was the establishment of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, it would appear that there is not sufficient acquaintance with the continuing work of the movement's staff and the increasing enthusiasm with which the idea guiding the movement is meeting among Negro citizens throughout the nation.

About one thing there can be no doubt: the energetic and efficient staff of the movement, mostly volunteers workers, entertain no doubt as to the value and timeliness of their enterprise. Their belief in their leader, A. Philip Randolph, which apparently is spreading to more and more people, is unquestioned, and would appear to explain the vigor with which they carry forward the work of the organization.

NEW YORK AGE
October 10, 1942

The Time Is Now

Typical of the feeling of the people carrying on the organization's work is the comment of Theophilus Lewis, recently put in charge of the movement's publicity. Mr. Lewis says:

"The March on Washington idea must be understood, if at all, in terms of the need to mobilize our total citizen power. The March is no mere pressure group, motivated by selfish impulses, trying to win an advantage over other citizens. While the movement is attempting to bring pressure to bear on our responsible government authorities —and this is a notable and approved democratic practice—the pressure is completely democratic and patriotic. It is said on every hand that America needs her full resources and strength to win this war. We of the March on Washington movement take this as the literal truth; and we believe that the time is now, to do what we can to see that no prejudice or previous shortcoming in our national life is allowed to hinder an all-out effort for victory."

Continuing, Mr. Lewis asserted that he did not, for one instant, agree with those colored Americans who say this is no time to be kicking up a fuss about the situation here at home, when we are fighting a war. On the contrary, he said: "So far from this kind of talk being patriotic or sound, it is of a piece with the complacency of our pre-Pearl Harbor, pro-isolationist days. And it is the sort of thing which has failed us and will fail us in the trying days ahead. The March on Washington movement doesn't hope for a miracle, for the millenium; it is immediately concerned to implement the total defense of this country—what all our important leaders are calling for—by insisting on the full and equal participation of colored Americans in American citizenship and its obligations, whether in industry, government work, or the armed services."

N. Y. Amsterdam Star-News
October 10, 1942

INSURE NEGRO GAINS

Must Elect Own People As Members of State Legislatures Congress to Prevent Threatened Reaction at War's End; Have 24 Solons Now

By JULIUS J. ADAMS

At the present time there are 24 Negroes in [illegible] Legislatures throughout the country and one in the [illegible] tional Congress in Washington. Two of the state [illegible] sentatives sit in upper chambers, while one is in the [illegible] braska Unicameral (single house) legislature.

We stand to increase our representation in the next Congress since Negroes are running in at least two districts—Illinois, and it is hardly to be expected that any of the seats in the state legislatures will be lost.

In spite of all this, there are far too few Negroes serving as members of legislative bodies—which are most vital in our political system.

On the question of a national movement to get more Negroes into General Assemblies and into the Congress of the United States, too little has been said, and practically nothing has been done. And, it is my considered opinion that all the gains we make now are likely to be wiped out if they are established for the duration only. This is sure to result unless, meanwhile, we put men and women in legislative and other key positions where they can protect our interests against unfair and discriminatory legislation and other acts by bigoted officials and corporations.

In this connection, it is well to remember that such a measure as Executive Order 8802, under which the Fair Employment Practice Committee was created, deals only with discrimination in plants working on war contracts. The Order will be utterly worthless after the war ends unless the Congress adopts it or a similar measure, and makes it applicable to all corporations and other businesses engaged in peacetime production. In view of the fact that a reaction against the Negro is almost certain to set in after the war, it is necessary now that the Negro move swiftly to head off the onslaught.

We cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of electing Negroes to the National Congress. It is the one place where an individual may speak out boldly against any man or any evil without fear of reprisal except from his own constituents, and if he gives proper representation he will not fear them.

Mitchell Is Able

I count Rep. Arthur W. Mitchell, lone Negro member of the present Congress as a warm personal friend. He is an able speaker, and when he has stepped to the floor of the House to deliver a speech, members of that august body have hurried to their seats to hear what he has to say. I have sat in the gallery and listened to him. He is a master, but I'm thoroughly disappointed to know that he has not appeared more frequently before Congress to rail out against the indignities being heaped upon Negro soldiers and civilians both here and abroad and has not unloosed all-out assault on Talmadge, Dixon, Wilkinson, Rankin and others of their kind, who have been stirring up disunity and hatred for the colored people.

Why the Congressman has not been more vocal I do not know, but what I do know, and what I am trying to stress is that Mitchell, as a member of Congress is the only Negro in America who could attack these bigots and exponents of other injustices with

who at the same time could a fair hearing in the public [illegible] He could not be ignored. [illegible] the President could fail to [illegible] what he said with grave [illegible] Mitchell is still a congress[illegible] and there is still time for him [illegible] catch the boat, and justify [illegible] faith of the thousands of [illegible] who voted for him and have [illegible] fidence in him.

Sure of One Member

The fact that the Illinois [illegible] gressman is retiring vountarily [illegible] the close of his present term, [illegible] may run for Congress from [illegible] ginia at some later day, prob[illegible] has some bearing on his [illegible] on the activities and rantings [illegible] the Dixie "rebels."

The 78th Congress is certain [illegible] have one Negro member. He [illegible] come from Mitchell's district, [illegible] 1st Illinois, and will be either [illegible] Former State Senator William [illegible] King or Former Alderman Will[illegible] L. Dawson, both able lawyers [illegible] both eloquent orators.

The one-time cronies have been [illegible] political rivals for a number [illegible] years. At first they were members [illegible] of opposing Republican factions [illegible] and every time they met at the [illegible] polls, King was the victor. Dawson is now a Democrat and is opposing Republican King for Mitchell's seat. Regardless of who is victorious, it is sincerely hoped that he will throughly comprehend the magnitude of the opportunity at his disposal and make the most of it.

In New York, Mrs. Layle [illegible] is running for Congress on the Socialist ticket, and Ben Davis is running as a Communist. There are many persons here who insist that Harlem missed a boat when it failed to nominate a Negro on the Republican and Democratic tickets. According to Edgar G. Brown, of the National Negro Council, there are about 50 congressional districts from which Negroes could be elected, and there are more than 200 in which Negroes provide a large percentage of the voting strength and, therefore, could or should exercise telling influence. Failure of Negro leadership is responsible for this not being more representation in the State and National legislative assemblies.

States having Negro members in their respective legislatures are Nebraska, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, New York, Michigan, California, Virginia, Missouri and Ohio. New Jersey's only member, Dr. Frank S. Hargraves died in March.

It is time for the N.A.A.C.P., the March on Washington Movement, the Urban League and other organizations which claim that they are fighting the Negro's battles to start cutting at the heart of the real problem so that there will be fewer situations to clear up after they have been permitted to become problems.

Lip service and ballyhoo don't mean a thing, and anybody who keeps kidding the Negro about the possibility of solving his problems at a mass meeting or with a parlor speech, however [illegible] either a traitor [illegible]

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1942.

Democracy and the Negro

The Mirror of Public Opinion

Discontent among his people is caused by denial of rights other citizens enjoy, educator says; barring them from opportunities is not in keeping with democracy for which nation fights, he adds; views humiliating discrimination as a carry-over of slave pattern.

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch:

SO far as legal enactments are concerned, the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution establish the Negro people in the United States in the full possession of their citizenship.

But as a matter of practical functioning, these amendments are far from bestowing upon the Negro people the enjoyment of these rights and privileges so fully shared in by other citizens, and even by aliens in our communities.

To be sure, there has been no lessening of responsibilities of the Negro people in the general administration of our community affairs. They must pay taxes of all kinds as other members of our society. In times of war, they must offer themselves to the call of their country, even though they do not share with others in the choice of service they may wish to render their country.

In times of peace, they are denied the kinds of education requisite for efficient service, in both peace and war. At the same time, when war is waging, many think they should be at their posts, fighting bravely, without adequate preparation for warfare.

In restricting and limiting the opportunities for their education, for their participation in the political and economic life of the nation, there remains fixed upon the Negro people a pattern of life of slavery days. Because this pattern of Negro life is traditional, there are those who also regard it as sacred, fixed and unalterable.

* * *

A former slave-holder who in later years had become rich in the manufacturing business, and so employed a number of domestic servants, found his home affairs inconvenienced by his Negro butler leaving him. He remarked, "What a luxury was slavery." Recently a white man in one of our Southern states, on being informed of a discussion between a colored and a white man, ventured the statement, "I did not know a colored man would talk to a white man in that way." There are many who do not know that the old ways are passing, and so are struggling to maintain the status quo.

Earlier this year, Zion's Herald, a forthright periodical of the unified movement of the Methodist churches, carried an editorial, "Tongue-Tied," which challenged the church membership for its policy of segregation of its Negro membership. A reply to this editorial by one of the Bishops of the church made it clear that when the traditions of the Southern Methodist church come in conflict with the doctrine of brotherhood as taught by Jesus of Nazareth, the traditions of the church stand. The pattern persists.

The Governor of Alabama refuses to concur in a plan of the Federal Government to produce certain defense material in his State because the regulations of the Government required that workers be hired without regard to race or color. A Senator of one of the states proposes that Negro draftees in the Southern states be placed in camps in the same states and Negro draftees in Northern states be placed in camps located in Northern states. Pursuing the same philosophy, a woman member of the Southern Methodist church proclaimed, "We must protect our Negro people against the Northern Negroes."

Many educational institutions in some of the states refuse admission to the descendants of former slaves. At the same time, they admit Chinese students, Japanese students, East Indian students and Puerto Rican students. Here is no protest against color per se. It is a consciously conceived purpose to maintain the slave pattern for the Negro people of the United States. And so a subtle, well-formulated purpose works its way in humiliating the Negroes of the United States in the eyes of all the darker races of the world.

An earnest desire of the Negro people to share with other American citizens in the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter stimulates restlessness, provokes protestations against unjust practices and culminates in a great flood tide of emotion in a "March on Washington."

As a manifestation of their grief and suffering, 18,000 Negro people assemble in Madison Square Garden of New York City, and send up a wail that reverberates throughout the nation. In quick succession, similar meetings are held in Chicago and St. Louis, and a fourth is planned for Washington, in the approaching months.

* * *

What is the cause of all this restlessness, discontent, protestation and resentment of the Negro people?

These causes are not far to seek. They are eminent in every community where Negro people have their homes. They are the first topics of conversation when Negroes congregate for any purpose.

The cause of this growing sensitiveness, and even bitterness, is found in the fact that Negro people are denied the rights and privileges shared by other citizens of our communities. This denial affects the problems of feeding, clothing and housing the Negro people. The lack of a just and equitable adjustment of these problems affects all the other conditions and relationships in living—their entire life—physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual.

The Negro people share with other people in the desire for freedom of opportunity to aspire to and achieve in areas of service for which their aptitudes and training fit them. They are disturbed at this time when their country expects a full expression of their loyalty and at the same time denies them the rights and privileges of their fellow citizens.

It is a curious paradox that people as a nation are fighting other nations to secure to themselves something which the larger group of a nation refuses to grant to a minority group in the same nation.

This, of course, immediately upsets our whole conception of democracy and brotherhood. A democratic social order would hold that all members share alike in the rights and privileges of their society. Henry Watterson, former editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in his last address to the colored people of Louisville, declared: "I wish nothing for myself or for my children which I am not willing to grant to you and your children." One would hardly regard it as a wholesome relationship where a majority of the children refused to grant to a minority equal participation in the affairs of the family life.

But then, from the viewpoint of democracy and brotherhood, sharing alike is fundamental in the working of social relationships.

FRANK L. WILLIAMS,
Former Principal, Vashon High School.

[redacted] NEW YORK TIMES
THURS[redacted]BER 8, 1942. 20 C

LABOR HUNT BRING[redacted] $1,000 GEORGIA FI[redacted]

Agent for Newark Scrap [redacted] Threatened With Year T[redacted] —Gets 24 Hours to Leav[redacted]

WPB INTERCEDES IN VA[redacted]

Asks Judge to Suspend Action Pending Inquiry—Told 'WPB Isn't Running This Court'

Special to The New York Times.

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 7 [redacted] ing mad at having [redacted] $1,000 for sending an agent [redacted] Georgia to recruit Negro [redacted] for his scrap-iron business [redacted] B. Freedman [redacted] night to [redacted] Donald Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and [redacted] Jersey members of Congress, charging that Negroes were [redacted] fighting the Civil War.

Meanwhile, Joseph G. W[redacted] 32-year-old [redacted] manager for Mr. Freedman's [redacted] cial Steels Corporation [redacted] tion of 128 Stockton Street, [redacted] homeward bound after three days of terror that he might be lynched and tortured by indignant lumberjacks, or sent to prison for [redacted] by an irate judge who gave him twenty-four hours to get out of the State of Georgia after he paid the fine.

Mr. Freedman explained that his business had been hard hit particularly by an acute labor shortage and had fallen behind on its contracts of scrap to the Atha works of the Crucible Steel Company of Harrison. This was confirmed by Peter Van Cleve, manager of the Atha works, who said that the plant's scrap reserve had consequently been reduced to a dangerous minimum.

Foreman's Idea Starts Trouble

Floyd Weaver, a Negro employed in Mr. Freedman's [redacted] suggested that he be sent [redacted] pick up some likely workers. Mr. Freedman agreed, according to his story, he told reporters today, and authorized Mr. Weaver to promise the men $30 to $40 a week, which he said were the wages paid workers in Newark for scrap sorting.

A few days later Mr. Weaver notified Mr. Freedman that he had rounded up about a dozen men in Cordele, Ga. Last Saturday Mr. Freedman dispatched Mr. Weston to Georgia to look the men over and bring them back if they seemed satisfactory. Mr. Freedman heard nothing further until Monday, when he received a telephone call from Mr. Weston, who said he was [redacted]

Unable to get [redacted] of his friends, Mr. Freedman [redacted] to a lawyer, who [redacted] Weston was [redacted] charges of [redacted]

[redacted] up [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

TOBER 9, 1942 P. M.

This is Tom Ray, West Coast union leader, whose anti-Negro stand became a continent-wide issue and threatened the hiring here of workers for the Kaiser shipyards. Ray has now promised that Negroes will be permitted to do skilled work in the yards.

Photo by the Portland Oregonian.

Kaiser's Gets Union Pledge

Edgar Kaiser, son of Henry J. Kaiser and general manager of the three Kaiser shipbuilding yards at Portland, Ore., yesterday told PM that he was confident the problem of employing Negroes was solved. (*Story of working conditions at Kaiser's on Page 6*).

"I have been definitely promised by Tommy Ray, head of Local 72 of the Boilermakers Union, that the union will permit employment of Negroes in any skill for which they are qualified.

"He has further promised that the union will not place any barriers in the way of upgrading Negroes on an equal basis with other workers."

Kaiser said that the exact relationship between Negro employes and the various unions involved would be worked out at a conference tomorrow in Portland among representatives of the unions.

Kaiser said Ray had made the promise at a conference in Washington with Paul McNutt, head of the War Man Power Commission, and other Government representatives.

Ray flew back to the coast today, as did Harry Morton, personnel manager for all Kaiser enterprises.

Kaiser Special No. 6 Leaves With 467 More

The Kaiser Special No. 6 left the Jersey City Erie station yesterday in two sections, with 467 workers recruited for the West Coast shipyards by the U. S. Employment Service (USES). More than 50 were Negroes, many of them skilled boilermakers and welders.

The men were a curious mixture. They ranged from obvious bindle-stiffs to equally obvious ex-clerical workers. Some carried their belongings in paper bundles; others had two or three suitcases.

The USES announced that no more New Yorkers would be shipped West until those already there had been absorbed. But it is expected 20,000 men will be recruited here before Jan. 1.

MOWM Financial Status Listed in Public Report

The final report of receipts and expenditures of the finance committee of the March on Washington Movement in connection with the monster Madison Square Garden mass meeting June 16, was made public this week. A summary of the report issued by Eardlie John, chairman of MOWM's finance committee revealed the following:

Total receipts from February thru August were $12,781.86. Total expenditures for the same period equaled $9,973.63. Balance in the bank totals $2,808.23. The reports showed that contributions came from many states and almost every well known organization and individual interested in Negro welfare.

PITTSBURGH COURIER
October 10, 1942

NAACP-'March'

CAYTON SPECULATES ON APPARENT CHANGE BETWEEN WALTER WHITE AND A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

IF you can figure out what is happening between the March on Washington group and the NAACP you are better than I am at puzzles. Of course I have got an idea and it seems to me that I saw what is developing before the boys in the Association did. However, all I have to say today is pure speculation.

To start the story at the beginning and get the record straight we might begin with the first March on Washington threat last year. At that time Walter White and A. Phillip Randolph were the moving forces. After they had gained the concession of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, Randolph flew to Houston where the NAACP was having its annual convention and reported the victory and the calling off of the 'March' at one of the large night meetings. After that Randolph and White appeared at two large mass meetings: one in New York at Madison Square Garden and the other at the Coliseum in Chicago.

Mr. Cayton

WARNING FOLLOWED LAST CONVENTION

At the annual convention of the Association, in July of this year, Randolph was given the Spingarn Medal and made a speech which aroused more enthusiasm than any bit of oratory at the convention. I felt and wrote, at that time, that Randolph had stolen the show. The convention, however, passed the following resolution:

We endorse and continue our affiliation with the March-On-Washington Movement. We urge our branches to participate actively in the local committees of this movement where they exist and elsewhere to take the initiative in seeking to organize local March-On-Washington Committees.

WHAT I could not understand, when I was at the convention, was why the NAACP that had been struggling for leadership in the Negro world for the past 25 years was willing to give up that leadership to another organization. It seemed to me that the Association, or at least some of its officers and members, felt that the March on Washington was a big thing from which they did not want to separate themselves. On the other hand, they were afraid of its policies and embarassed by the fact that it was a purely Negro organization in contrast to the interracial character of the Association.

NO NAACP REPRESENTATIVE

Now it seems that there has come a parting of the way for at the convention of the March-On-Washington in Detroit, the NAACP sent no representative even though the resolution to continue to support and help form new committees was approved by the convention just a few months before. The question is—what has happened?

TWO or three things suggest themselves as possible reasons for the change in attitude of the Association. In the first place perhaps the Association did not realize that sooner or later the March-On-Washington was going to form a permanent organization—rather a competing organization. But, if this is true it reflects upon the insight of the officers and members of the Association who should have realized it at the time of their convention.

'MARCH' FEARED IN WASHINGTON

Since the time of the convention, the Federal Administration in Washington and many liberal whites throughout the country have become pretty jittery about the movement. Recently while in Washington every government official that I visited questioned me about Randolph and his "March." Most of the governmental officials were frankly antagonistic or else scared to death that Randolph was going to throw this country into a bloody series of race riots. A few stated that Randolph's movement was dangerous but was the only thing which got much respect or might be able to gain concessions from the Administration. At least everyone agreed that the "March" was the hottest thing in the muddled field of race relations. It could be that because of the enormous pressure from both within and outside of the organization the Association wants to drop that "hot potato."

THIS much can be said, the present position of the Association has to an extent cleared the atmosphere and now it is up to Randolph to see if he can organize a mass movement. How it will be effective or whether it will turn out to be a dangerous move remains to be seen—but now he is on his own.

New York October 3, 1942
HE PEOPLE'S VOICE

March Group Plans Further Mass Protests

Sixty delegates from prinicipal cities of east, south, and midwest met in Detroit, September 26-27 and set up a provisional structure for a permanent March on Washington Movement. Delegates from Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Flint, Tampa, New Orleans and St. Louis-in a two-day session drafted a provisional constitution and by-laws, worked out broad organizational plans for a nation-wide movement and set in motion machinery for a national convention to be held in Chicago in May 1943.

The proposed convention will ratify or reject the work of the Detroit conference, and, on the basis of elected representatives from local committees thruout the country, will decide whether Negroes shall march on Washington, and, if so, the date upon which such a march shall take place.

The conference recommended local marches on city halls of large cities to memorialize mayors and city councils, the President and Congress to abolish discrimination, segregation, and jimcroism in the army, navy, air corps, marines, coast guard, defense industry and government. Thirty-five resolutions were adopted by the conference, including support of the United Nations' effort to wipe out the axis menace; opposition to any cooperation with the Communist Party; enforcement of the trade union movement; and a call on both AFL and CIO to abolish segregation and discrimination within the unions.

The program and strategy Committee of the conference called for the use of mass meetings; street meetings; poster parades; marches on city halls, defense plants; development of national and local boycotts; and a plan for attack upon the various forms of discrimination in hotels, restaurants, stores, buses, and other public places. Strategy called for the initiation of test cases, organized refusal to accept discrimination until such discriminations are eliminated or public action is taken to eliminate the situation.

The report adopted by the conference made clear that the March on Washington Movement is not, and is not intended to be, a rival or organization to any established agency already functioning to advance the interests of the Negro, but exists only to demonstrate the technique of militant mass pressure in the field of minority problems where other techniques have broken down. The fundamental policy of MOWM, the report said, should be to cooperate with other agency groups in a multiple attack on the problem.

N. Y. "March On Washington" Delegates Off To Detroit Meet

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 1—Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, president of the New York division of the "March on Washington" movement, with Miss Layle Layne, member of the National Executive committee; Treasurer Aldrich Turner and Chairman of the Finance Committee Eardlie John, left Grand Central station aboard the Empire State Limited bound for Detroit to attend the conference of the national officers and representatives of the movement throughout the county.

The conference was called by National Director A. Philip Randolph for the purpose of drafting a constitution and determining structure and policy of the movement. Delegates will also consider goals and discuss the advisability of calling a large national conference which will decide the all important question of whether Negroes will march on Washington, and if so, when. The conference will also seriously consider and decide upon a proposed nation-wide movement of marches on city halls in every large city in the country.

—VV—

PITTSBURGH COURIER
October 3, 1942

Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organ

(Continued from page 1)

ing to sound the "death knell" to American and British capitalism, but to preserve it.

Randolph was compelled, in fact, to attack the chief embodiment of the war aims of the Allied powers, the Atlantic Charter:

"We score the Atlantic Charter as expressing a vile and hateful racism and a manifestation of the tragic and utter collapse of an old, decadent democratic political liberalism which worshipped at the shrine of a world-conquering monopoly capitalism. This system grew fat and waxed powerful off the flesh, and blood and sweat and tears of the tireless toilers of the human race and the sons and daughters of color in the underdeveloped lands of the world."

In laying down the broad policy of MOWM on the war, he declared emphatically: "We say that the Negro must fight for his democratic rights right now, for after the war it may be too late. This is our policy on the Negro and the war."

THE KIND OF ORGANIZATION THE NEGRO PEOPLE NEED

Outlining the character of the organization to be established, Randolph pointed out that while the Negroes are highly organized in various types of religious and social groups, "nobody cares how many whist clubs or churches or secret lodges Negroes establish. . . They don't seek to transform the socio-economic racial milieu. They accept and do not challenge conditions with an action program. Hence, it is apparent that the Negro needs more than organization. He needs mass organization with an action program, aggressive, bold and challenging in spirit. Such a movement is our March-On-Washington."

Stressing the need for mass organization and action, he cited with enthusiasm the present struggle of the Indian people for national liberation. As an example of the type of actions he had in mind, he stated:

"We must develop a series of marches of Negroes at a given time in a hundred cities or more throughout the country, or stage a big march of a hundred thousand Negroes on Washington to put our cause into the main stream of public opinion and focus the attention of world interests. This is why India is in the news."

Randolph particularly emphasized that while the MOWM is an all-Negro organization, it does not aim to evoke an attitude of "Black Nationalism." "Our policy is that it be all-Negro, and pro-Negro but not anti-white, or anti-Semitic or anti-labor, or anti-Catholic. The reason for this is that all oppressed people must assume the responsibility and take the initiative to free themselves. . . because Negroes build an all-Negro movement such as the March, it does not follow that our movement should not call for the collaboration of Jews, Catholics, trade unions and white liberals. . ."

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

The principal discussion and debate occurred today, after the conference yesterday was divided up into a number of committees to bring in reports on the constitution, program and strategy, resolutions, etc.

A great part of today's session was devoted to adoption of the provisional constitution. The debate on this brought out the keen desire of the Negro ranks for a completely democratic organization. In the course of the discussion, one young woman delegate bluntly pointed out, "We have been attacked as a one-man movement and having an undemocratic structure." This referred to the fact that up to now the MOWM has been controlled completely from the top by Randolph and a few hand-picked aides, and that no organizational structure had been established to give genuine voice to the rank and file.

On a number of important constitutional questions, the delegates asserted theselves in the interests of democracy. The constitution committee, which was appointed by Randolph as were all the other committees, brought in a proposal that the National Director "shall have power to act or decide on any emergency affecting the welfare of the organization."

WANT DEMOCRATIC SETUP

A delegate arose immediately to demand if, "this gives the director the power to call off the March!" This related to Randolph's action last summer in calling off the original March on Washington at the last moment without consultation with the rank and file.

Others took the floor to insist that the highest power in between conventions should rest in the hands of the entire executive board of 18. Randolph himself then expressed his approval of vesting the final authority in the hands of the executive board.

A further debate arose over the proposal that "this constitution may be amended by the National Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote."

The delegates argued that the constitution represents the decisions of the membership, as expressed in convention, and can only be amended by the national convention. Randolph spoke on the issue and declared that "the final authority must rest in the hands of the members, either through convention or referendum."

First resolution to come before the conference this afternoon was a brief one calling for endorsement of "the fight of the United Nations."

One delegate, a woman, strongly opposed this resolution, arguing that "if we give a blanket endorsement to the way this war is being conducted, we weaken our own fight here at home." She insisted that any resolution on the war should include an analysis of the role and objectives of American and British imperialism, the question of India, Negro rights, etc. Her remarks drew strong applause.

However, Randolph pointedly insisted that it would be "unwise" to have "any reservations on support of the war." The resolution was finally adopted, although at no time during the conference was any enthusiastic support expressed for the war.

OPPOSE STALINISM

A significant resolution was then adopted placing the MOWM on record "as opposed to any cooperation with the Communist Party or Communist Party front organizations, although this is not to be construed as an expression of opposition to Russia in her heroic fight against Hitler's Germany." The resolution also stated, however, that this did not bar members of the Communist Party from participating as individuals in the MOWM.

The discussion on this resolution brought out the efforts of the Stalinists to sabotage the MOWM, the complete distrust that the Negro masses today have of the CP, and their recognition that the Stalinists have no interest in advancing the real cause of Negro freedom.

A couple of delegates took a pure red-baiting position on the matter, arguing that if this resolution were not passed it would leave the organization open to the charge of being "red" and that the "ultimate objective of the CP is world-wide revolution." Of course, the "red" label is attached to any group which fights for its rights, and it is ancient history now that the Stalinist parties today are bitter opponents of any revolutionary movements.

The resolution was finally passed principally because the delegates desired to place on record their opposition to the Stalinists for their attacks on the MOWM and attempted sabotage of the present Negro struggle.

The role of the Stalinists was clearly brought to the attention of the conference by the St. Louis delegates, who represent a fighting militant local group of Negroes. These delegates displayed a large scrap-book containing hundreds of news clippings about their recent mass picket lines and demonstrations, which at one big arms plant won 3,500 jobs for Negro workers recently. The scrap-book also displayed a large leaflet, printed on both sides, put out by the Communist Party, which directly attacked the picket lines and demonstrations as "disrupting the war effort."

Because of the tremendous scope of the work which had to be covered in a brief time by the conference, most of the resolutions were approved without complete reading and placed in the hands of the new executive board for final editing.

However, most of these resolutions were of an extremely progressive and militant character and undoubtedly, with some minor changes, would have been overwhelmingly approved by the conference had they been read completely.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

An important resolution adopted covered the question of a future mass Negro March On Washington. This resolution declared that "discrimination, segregation and Jim Crowism are spreading in this country and there is no visible effort on the part of the President or the Congress to recognize the Negroes as first-class citizens in this so-called democratic war," and concluded by calling upon the forthcoming national convention of the MOWM to "declare its approval of a March On Washington of Negroes from all over America for the purpose of pressing home to the President, the American people and the Congress that Negroes want their full democratic rights now, during the war."

Another resolution, titled "Mass Action," states that "the day of 'individualism' is passed and that power only resides in the masses" and places the MOWM "on record endorsing mass-action including marches on city-halls, city councils, defense plants, public utility works, picketing and sending mass letters and telegrams to the President and Congressmen and Senators to stress the will and desires of the Negro People for their rights as American citizens."

A special resolution was adopted on the attitude of the MWOM toward organized labor, which asserts that "the free trade union movement is the bulwark of democracy and is the most fundamental and constructive institution in our contemporary society—through its principles of unity of all workers regardless of race, color, religion or national origin."

The resolution then goes on to "endorse the trade union movement and bona fide collective bargaining and calls upon the AFL and CIO to abolish discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow and the color bar in all forms and collabborate with the Negro people in their struggle for equality and freedom." It further urges all Negro workers "to join trade unions that accept them and form independent unions when rejected to continue to fight to break down the color barriers and protect their economic interests against the employers."

The conference did not fail to tie in the struggles of the American Negroes with the battles of the oppressed peoples everywhere. It passed specific resolutions calling for the immediate independence of the peoples of the West Indies and India.

The resolution on India declared the conference's support for the present struggle of the Indian masses for national independence, demanded the release of the arrested nationalist leaders and an end to "the wanton murder of

AN IMPORTANT STEP

There is no question but that the MOWM faces a tremendous task ahead. There are many obstacles, internal and external, which will have to be surmounted.

But the basic and immediately urgent task has been undertaken: the establishment of a nation-wide mass membership organization based on the principle of an all-out mass action program to battle for the rights of the Negro people right now, during the war, and every day.

The program laid out by the conference is brave and ambitious and sound. If the Negro masses rally around that program, make it their own, and carry it out in action with the support and aid of all the working people, they are certain to help usher in the day of their full emancipation.

Stalinist Choice Of "Best Man" In The U. S. Senate

"Best Man in the Senate: Claude Pepper of Florida" is the title of an article praising U. S. Senator Pepper in the Sept. 28 Daily Worker.

The real reason for this highly laudatory article is that Pepper has been advocating a [illegible] front. Any reactionary [illegible] the Indian masses." The resolution stated in part that "the people of India are in a desperate struggle to achieve independence and freedom now from British Imperialism" and that "the freedom of any section of people in the world is not secure so long as any other nation is in bondage."

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VI.—No. 40 NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1942 FIVE

Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization

Detroit Conference of March-On-Washington Movement Decides To Establish A Permanent Organization to Fight Jim Crowism

By ART PREIS

DETROIT, Sept. 27. — Taking a historic step forward in the struggle for democratic rights for the oppressed 13,000,000 Negro Americans, 63 delegated representatives of the Negro March-On-Washington Movement at a policy conference held here yesterday and today voted to establish a permanent national organization, based on a program of mass action, "to fight to abolish discrimination, segregation and Jim Crow now, before the war ends."

The militant delegates, representing local March-On-Washington Committees in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Detroit, Flint, Mich., and Tampa, Florida and New Orleans in the Deep South, set as their immediate organizational goal the mobilization of a million Negro men and women. They drafted a provisional constitution; established a provisional national executive board of 13; worked out a broad plan for building local units and conducting immediate mass struggles on a local scal throughout the country; and set in motion machinery for a giant national convention to be convened in Chicago the week of May 1, 1943.

The planned convention, to be composed of elected representatives from the local units, will establish a permanent organization set-up, amend and ratify the constitution, [illegible] permanent officers and determine if and when a national Negro mass march on Washington shall take place [illegible]

The resolutions adopted at the conference, the discussion of the delegates and the key-note statement of A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the MOWM and head of the AFL Pullman Porters, gave strong testimony to the fact that the Negro masses place no hope in the promises of the Roosevelt administration to protect their rights and reflected the tremendous pressure from the ranks of the Negro people for militant and decisive action now in an all-out fight to win full and unconditional democratic rights for themselves right here at home.

Of decisive importance for the future growth and effectiveness of the MOWM was the insistence of the majority of the delegates on a democratic organization, run by the membership, and with final power resting always with the rank and file.

While certain elements at the conference sought to place into the constitution provisions which would have vested almost unlimited power in the hands of the National Director, their proposals were voted down. The final draft of the provisional constitution vests highest authority in the national executive board between conventions, with the right of membership referendum, and with a representative convention to be held no less than once every two years to have final and binding authority.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Randolph's key-note statement laid down the basic policies and program subsequently adopted by the conference. In general, this statement was sharp and bitter in tone, stressing the need for militant mass Negro struggle and reflecting the lack of faith of the Negro people today in achieving their rights through any means but their own organized effort in collaboration with the progressive sections of society, particularly the labor movement.

While he opened his remarks with an expression of hope "for the triumph of the United Nations," Randolph was immediately compelled to characterize, at least by implication, the true character of this war. "Unless this war sounds the death knell to the old Anglo-American empire systems which is the hapless story of exploitation for the profit and power of a monopoly capitalist economy, it will have been fought in vain." Of course, Randolph knows well that Churchill and Roosevelt are not fight-

(Continued on page 2)

LOS ANGELES SENTINEL
October 1, 1942
[illegible] PAGE NINE

Capital March Planned By A.P. Randolph

NEW YORK—(ANP)—A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington movement, gave clear recognition to the possibility of violence in any projected march upon the capital, when he addressed 3,000 persons at a meeting in the Golden Gate ballroom here Friday, but heavily underscored his determination to stick to the objective. "It is written in the scripture," he declared ominously, "that there is no remission of sin without the shedding of blood." He said this immediately following a recitation of the sins of government that have been practiced against Negroes.

Mr. Randolph called the federal government itself the "carrier" of the "germ of race discrimination" and pointed to the tendency of American soldiers abroad to transplant their home-grown prejudices to the soil of ordinarily unbiased countries. He complained of the refusal of the President to confer with him on Negro problems although "he always finds time to talk to representatives of AFL and CIO, or other groups seeking a hearing. The trouble, he said, is that "the President has not been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy."

The director here reiterated the intention of his organization to go forward with the march," he stated. "This is our major strategy and the MOWM will lead such a march. Personally I have no doubt that the march will be necessary during this war to let the President and the nation know that the Negroes are not going to take a licking from Jim Crow lying down.

"If the President wants to stop our agitation [illegible] let him stop [illegible]

Freedom on Two Fronts

March on Washington Leader Sees Danger of Race Losing the Peace

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

NEGROES ARE fighting on two fronts. This is as it should be. They are fighting for democracy in Europe. They are fighting for democracy in America. They are trying to stop Hitler over there, and they are determined to stop Hitlerism over here.

These are the horns of the dilemma. There is no alternative. Were Negroes not to fight for democracy on the world front, in Europe and Asia, their fight for democracy on the home front would be in vain. Conversely, were they not to fight for democracy on the home front, their fight on the foreign front would be a farce and a mockery, without point or meaning.

That this is so, is a blessing to the Negro and the world today.

While the old medieval doctrine of salvation through suffering and sacrifice may have only relative validity, it is, perchance, written in the stars that the "peoples who walk in darkness at noonday," must point and lead the world to democracy and freedom, justice and decency, peace and love, today.

This is the high task and mission of an humble but not docile, serving but not servile, democratic but not demagogic, plain but not pliant, compassionate but not compromising, people. Such are the people of India, Africa, China and the Negro people of America.

Those proud, pretentious and powerful leaders of the empire systems, resting upon the slavery, squalor and suffering of the colonial masses of Africa, India and China, who are guilty of bringing the world to the brink of destruction, are hardly fit to lead it to freedom, peace and plenty.

Cling To Old Mores

Winston Churchill still resents the just claims of Gandhi and Nehru for the independence of India. Even Sir Stafford Cripps seeks to smear the sainted leader Gandhi of the Indian people before the bar of world opinion, by charging him with unloosing a violent revolt against the fight of the United Nations for Victory over Axis powers. Nor has one word been heard from the British Trade Union Congress condemning the wanton murder of the Indian people and the imprisonment of the Nationalist leaders, for their projection and execution of the movement of civil disobedience against the continued tyranny of the British Empire.

Callous, indifferent and apathetic to the cries of the people of India for freedom, and although aware of the strategic importance of the geographical position of India to the Victory of the arms of the United Nations, British political leaders still cling with a death-like grasp to the

Apparently, wholly incapable of learning their lesson from the tragedy of Singapore, Malaya and Burma, English war-leaders go on repeating over and over again the same mistakes and blunders by disregarding the significance of 1,700,000,000 of people of color in the world, and sabotaging the moral and spiritual front, the real foundation of a nation's power for survival and progress.

Withal, the patterns of oppression and exploitation are brutally similar throughout the world. This is doubtless due to the fact that the distinctive areas of oppression stem from a world-wide monopoly capitalist economy. The forms of oppression may be more subtle in one country than another or in different sections of the same country, but in the main, the oppression of a people or a class does not materially differ either in kind or degree.

Repeat Same Blunders

Look at America, our own country, witness the problem of the Negro. What basic difference is there between the problems of the Indian people under British rule and the Negro people under American rule? The answer is, "None."

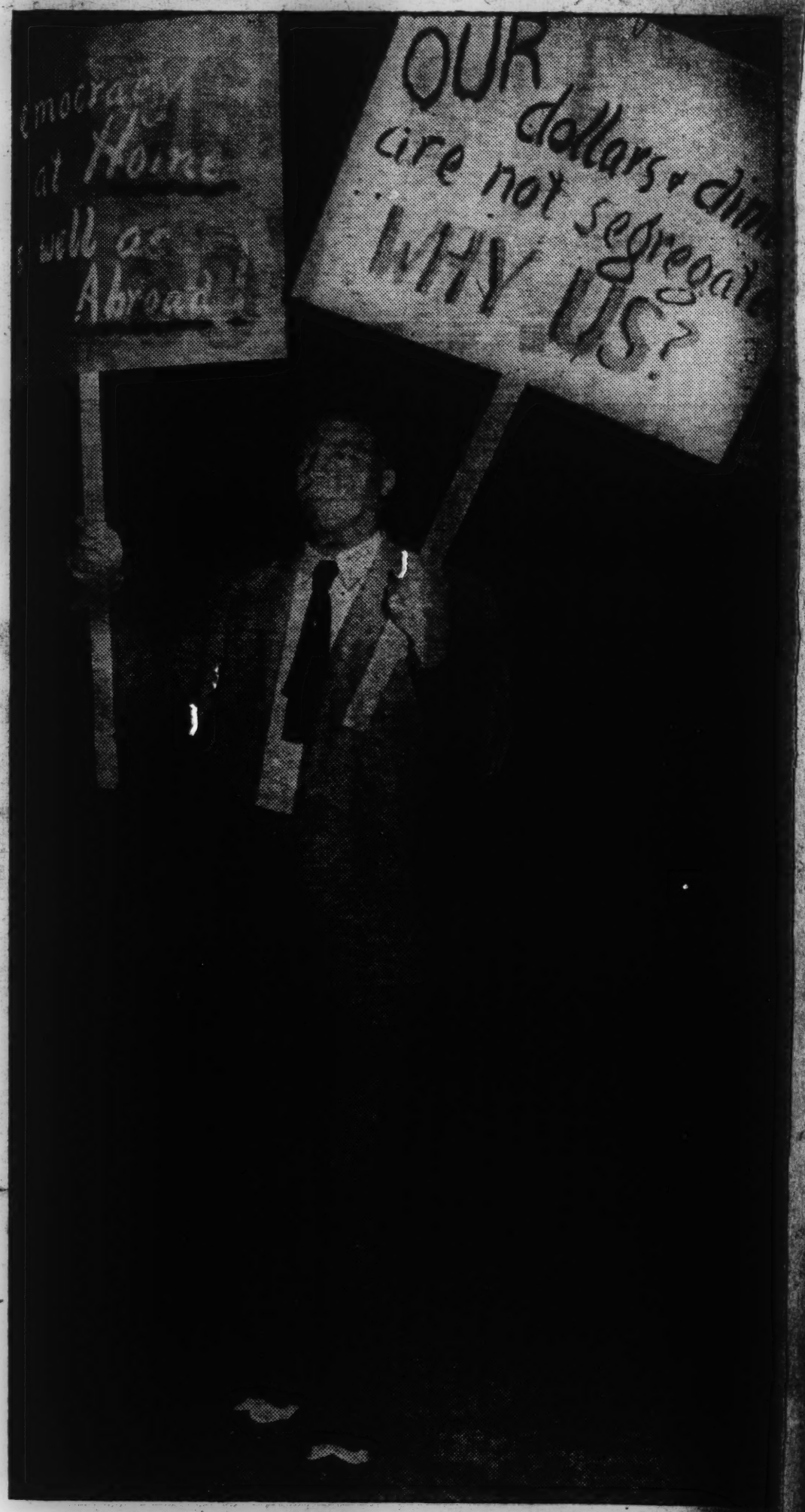
Both countries are greatly influenced by the doctrines of racism. Both countries have highly developed forms of monopoly capitalism with Great Britain's highly decadent, and America's still in the last phases of progressive monopoly capitalism, but swiftly moving toward a period of decadence. Both the Indian people and the Negro people are subject people, lacking the constitutional civil and political rights of a free people. The Indian and Negro people are immensely important to the winning of this war against totalitarian tyranny. But, the Indian and Negro people insist upon their right to fight for democracy in the true spirit of democracy, namely, as a free people.

Neither Britain nor America is willing voluntarily to concede this right.

To secure it, the Indian people have been forced to declare and conduct a social, political and economic program of civil disobedience. And in America, to secure their rights as American citizens, the Negro people have been compelled to threaten to March On Washngton.

Both of these challenges won some concessions from British and America. In India, the movement of civil disobedience hurried Sir Stafford Cripps from England with a belated proposal for dominion status. It was rejected.

In America, the March on Washington Movement secured from the President the Executive Order 8802, under which was established the President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice. While some pro-



NO SWIVEL-CHAIR GENERAL is A. Philip Randolph in lead... big March' on Washington movement. The AFL labor leader j... picket lines along with his followers to help win the fight against ... crimination.

stitutional rights, has not yet been touched by the government, except that the Negroes' basic democratic rights have been flagrantly violated.

For our own Federal Government is guilty of introducing and attempting to perpetuate and freeze the segregation pattern as a way of life for Negroes in various departments of the government itself. And, of course, the armed forces, including the Army, Navy, Air-Corps, U. S. Marines, U. S. Coast Guard, reek and stink to high heavens with race ... discrimination and discrimina-

recognizes and adopts the pri... of the equality of all races, ... and nations. If the Axis ... should win, the principle of ... equality will not get a hearing ... peace table. If the United N... win, the principle of racial e... will only get a hearing if, and ... the oppressed peoples of color in ... Africa, the West Indies and ... gro people in the United State... for equality now.

It is quite possible that the ... American - Australian - Canad... liance or Anglo-Saxon syste...

salvation through suffering and sacrifice may have only relative validity, it is, perchance, written in the stars that the "peoples who walk in darkness at noonday," must point and lead the world to democracy and freedom, justice and decency, peace and love, today.

This is the high task and mission of an humble but not docile, serving but not servile, democratic but not demagogic, plain but not pliant, compassionate but not compromising, people. Such are the people of India, Africa, China and the Negro people of America.

Those proud, pretentious and powerful leaders of the empire systems, resting upon the slavery, squalor and suffering of the colonial masses of Africa, India and China, who are guilty of bringing the world to the brink of destruction, are hardly fit to lead it to freedom, peace and plenty.

Cling To Old Mores

Winston Churchill still resents the just claims of Gandhi and Nehru for the independence of India. Even Sir Stafford Cripps seeks to smear the sainted leader Gandhi of the Indian people before the bar of world opinion, by charging him with unloosing a violent revolt against the fight of the United Nations for Victory over Axis powers. Nor has one word been heard from the British Trade Union Congress condemning the wanton murder of the Indian people and the imprisonment of the Nationalist leaders, for their projection and execution of the movement of civil disobedience against the continued tyranny of the British Empire.

Callous, indifferent and apathetic to the cries of the people of India for freedom, and although aware of the strategic importance of the geographical position of India to the [illegible] political leaders still [illegible] culture [illegible]

[illegible] Intolerance of the struggles of India for independence has become so dominant in the British imperial mind that there is what the psychiatrist calls a paranoid coloring in all of the thinking and pronouncements on India which take the form of a pathological distortion, magnification and misrepresentation of every legitimate and normal effort of the Indian leaders to secure a fair world audience on their case.

So completely delusional has the mentality of the British government become on India and her colonial possessions, and obsessed with the mythical postulates of a superiority racial complex that the United Nations may lose the war because of their dangerous culture and mind-set against equality, freedom and independence of the darker races.

in kind or degree.

Repeat Same Blunders

Look at America, our own country, witness the problem of the Negro. What basic difference is there between the problems of the Indian people under British rule and the Negro people under American rule? The answer is, "None."

Both countries are greatly influenced by the doctrines of racism. Both countries have highly developed forms of monopoly capitalism with Great Britain's highly decadent, and America's still in the last phases of progressive monopoly capitalism, but swiftly moving toward a period of decadence. Both the Indian people and the Negro people are subject people, lacking the constitutional civil and political rights of a free people. The Indian and Negro people are immensely important to the winning of this war against totalitarian tyranny. But, the Indian and Negro people insist upon their right to fight for democracy in the true spirit of democracy, namely, as a free people.

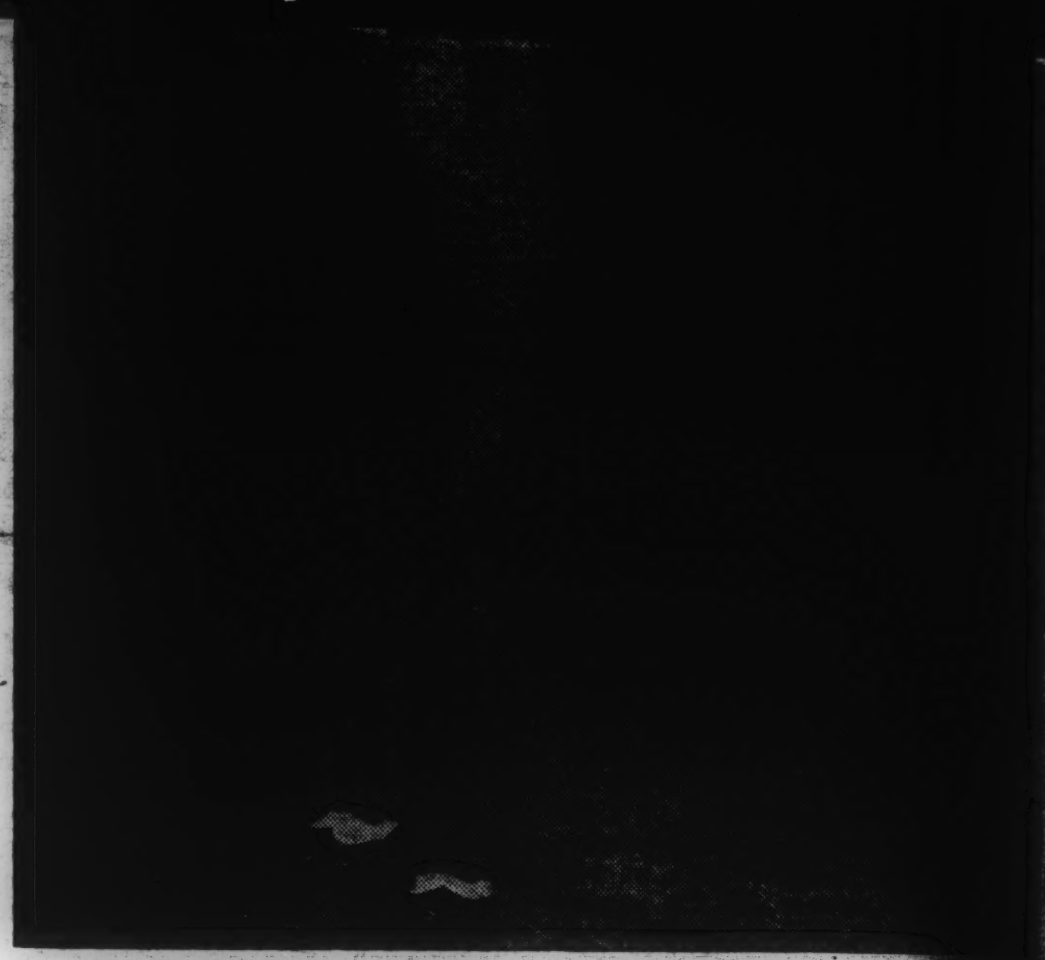
Neither Britain nor America is willing voluntarily to concede this right.

To secure it, the Indian people have been forced to declare and conduct a social, political and economic program of civil disobedience. And in America, to secure their rights as American citizens, the Negro people have been compelled to threaten to March On Washngton.

Both of these challenges won some concessions from British and America. In India, the movement of civil disobedience hurried Sir Stafford Cripps from England with a belated proposal for dominion status. It was rejected.

In America, the March on Washington Movement secured from the President the Executive Order 8802, [illegible] which was established the President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice. Some progress has been made toward achieving the integration of Negroes in defense industries, although the surface in this field has just been scratched, the whole question of the Negro's status as a man, a full-fledged American citizen, clothed with all of his constitutional rights, has not yet been touched by the government, except that the Negroes' basic democratic rights have been flagrantly violated.

For our own Federal Government is guilty of introducing and attempting to perpetuate and freeze the segregation pattern as a way of life for Negroes in various departments of the government itself. And, of course, the armed forces, including the Army, Navy, Air-Corps, U. S. Marines, U. S. Coast Guard, reek and stink to high heaven with race [illegible]



NO SWIVEL-CHAIR GENERAL is A. Philip Randolph in lead[illegible] big March' on Washington movement. The AFL labor leader [illegible] picket lines along with his followers to help win the fight against [illegible] crimination.

This raises the question: What are the United Nations fighting for? What kind of Victory and Peace should the people fight for? Obviously, the freedom-loving people of the United Nations do not want to bleed and die for a Victory and Peace which only serves to entrench the old imperialism of the United Nations or the Axis powers. All imperialisms are oppressive, exploitive and do not only serve to rob the darker races of their land and labor but by the arrogance and smirking manner and satirical insolence of the imperial agents of the colonial state apparatus, humiliate and insult the very souls of the natives.

Equality Now

Another type of Victory and Peace which is possible is one which destroys all imperialisms and accepts, recognizes and adopts the p[illegible] of the equality of all races, [illegible] and nations. If the Axis [illegible] should win, the principle of [illegible] equality will not get a hearing [illegible] peace table. If the United [illegible] win, the principle of racial [illegible] will only get a hearing if, and [illegible] the oppressed peoples of color in [illegible] Africa, the West Indies and [illegible] gro people in the United State[illegible] for equality now.

It is quite possible that the [illegible] American - Australian Ca[illegible] [illegible] win the war and the darker [illegible] the peace.

If the darker races are to [illegible] the Atlantic Charter as a sy[illegible] the Anglo-American philoso[illegible] Victory and Peace, it is apparent [illegible] no democratic, free world awa[illegible] peoples of color. For the A[illegible] Charter expressly states its co[illegible] only about the fate of the Euro[illegible] peoples that are now subjugated [illegible] the Nazis. No thought is given [illegible] hundreds of millions of brown, [illegible] and black peoples who are under [illegible] yoke of despotism of the U[illegible] Nations.

Thus, India and the Negro [illegible] of America call for freedom [illegible]

And the Negro and Indian [illegible] are not fighting for freedom [illegible] themselves alone, but for the [illegible] and spiritual salvation of [illegible] and England, if not of [illegible] civilization.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and originator of the March on Washington movement. He successfully organized the Pullman workers in a bitter struggle, which was the first major victory for Negroes in the labor movement.. His March on Washington campaign led to President Roosevelt's issuance of Executive Order 8802, which prohibits discrimination in defense industry. He has been president of the National Negro Congress and was editor of The Messenger, a magazine which gained wide circulation in the early 20's.

CHICAGO DEFENDER
September 26, 1942

RANDOLPH RECOGNIZES VIOLENCE IN 'CAP' MARCH

Addresses 3,000 Persons at Meeting in Golden Gate Ballroom

NEW YORK. — (By Ernest E. Johnson for ANP)—A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington movement, gave clear recognition to the possibility of violence is any projected march upon the capital, when he addressed 3,000 persons at a meeting in the Golden Gate ballroom here Friday, but heavily underscored his determination to stick to the objective. "It is written in the scripture," he declared ominously, "that there is no remission of sin without the shedding of blood." He said this immediately following a recitation of the sins of government that have been practiced against Negroes.

The meeting was sponsored by the local division of the MOWM for the purpose of permitting the national director to make his undelivered speech, originally scheduled for the Madison Square Garden demonstration in June, and to permit the public to see the play presented that night which told eloquently of the Negro's complaint with democracy in America.

Mr. Randolph began with a hope and desire for a victory of the United nations over the axis but saw no "certainty" of a "new order" in such a victory unless we press now. He held that the conference approach to a solution is now inadequate, that pressure must be exerted. Thus the establishment of the movement. He justified its existence by citing similar methods being practiced by the American Legion, the famous bonus army, the Daughters of the American Revolution, labor organizations and other special groups. He criticised the transfer of the Fair Employment Practice committee to the War Manpower commission.

Mr. Randolph called the federal government itself the "carrier" of the "germ of race discrimination" and pointed to the tendency of American soldiers abroad to transplant their home-grown prejudices to the soil of ordinarily unbiased countries. He complained of the refusal of the President to confer with him on Negro problems although "he always finds time to talk to representatives of AFL and CIO, or other groups seeking a hearing. The trouble, he said, is that "the President has not been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy.' The director here reiterated the intention of his organization to go forward with the march. "We have no intention of this organization to abandoning the march," he stated. "This is our major strategy and the MOWM will lead such a march. Personally I have no doubt that the march will be necessary during this war to let the President and the nation know that the Negroes are not going to take a licking from jim crow lying down.

"If the President wants to stop our agitation then let him stop discrimination. If Negroes are afraid to fight and go to jail for their rights, then they should be made to get off the earth so that men of stout heart can do the job."

Mr. Randolph closed his address with the reading of Claude McKay's poem "If We Must Die," and was greeted with a tumultuous burst of applause.

AFRO-AMERICAN
September 26, 1942

We Shall March, Says Randolph

NEW YORK—(ANP)—A. Philip Randolph, national organizer of the March-on-Washington movement, declared here at the Golden Gate Ballroom Friday night that he has "no doubt that the march will be necessary during this war to let the President and the nation know that colored will not take a licking from jim-crow lying down."

The meeting was sponsored by the local division of the movement for the purpose of permitting Mr. Randolph to make his undelivered speech originally scheduled for the Madison Square Garden demonstration in June. Three thousand persons were present.

Violence Anticipated

While giving clear recognition to the possibility of violence in any projected march upon the capital, Mr. Randolph heavily underscored his determination to stick to the objective, declaring:

"If the President wants to stop our agitation, then let him stop discrimination. If colored are afraid to fight and go to jail for their rights, then they should be made to get off the face of the earth so that men of stout heart can do the job."

U.S. Victory Desired

Mr. Randolph began his speech with expression of a hope and desire for a victory of the United Nations over the Axis, but asserted that he sees "no certainty of a new order" for colored in such a victory unless we press now.

Another special feature of the meeting was the presentation of the Dick Campbell play, "The Watchword Is Forward," which dramatizes problems of discrimination. Dr. Lawrence W. Ervin, chairman of the meeting, introduced Mr. Randolph.

AFRO-AMERICAN
September 26, 1942

Join Detroit March Parley

New York Group to Attend Conference On Future Projects

Dr. Lawrence M. Irvin, President of the New York Division of the March On Washington Movement with Miss Layle Lane, member of the National Executive Committee of the Aldrich Turner, Treasurer together with Hardie John, chairman of the finance committee of the New York Division, left the Grand Central Station aboard the Empire State Limited bound for Detroit on Friday to attend the Conference of the National Officers and Representatives throughout the country in that city.

The Conference was called by he national director, A. Philip Randolph to draft a constitution and by laws to determine the structure of the movement. The delegates will also discuss policies and consider goals. They will discuss the advisability of calling a national conference which will decide the all important question of whether Negroes will March on Washington and, if so, when. The conference will also seriously consider a proposed nation-wide movement on city halls in every large city.

The New York delegation carries with them a proposed constitution and by-laws for the national body and constitutions and by laws for the local divisions. In drawing up these documents they have received invaluable assistance from all officers of the movement and interested members. Dr. Irvin stated that because of the enthusiastic support given he will be able to [illegible]

In Public Relations Post

J. ROBERT SMITH, labor editor of the New York Amsterdam Star-News, who was named this week to the position of assistant to the director of public relations in the newly formed United Seamen's Service, 39 Broadway. Smith served as publicity director for the March-on-Washington Movement's historic Madison Square Garden mass meeting which was attended by 20,000 Negroes last June. (Story on page three)

RANDOLPH RECOGNIZES VIOLENCE IN D.C. MARCH
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1963
The Pittsburgh Courier

CHARGES OF POLICE TERROR IN JAMAICA

JAMAICA, L. I., Sept. 24—Alleged police brutality directed against Negroes of Jamaica and Corona in recent months was due for a probe by authorities of the city's Police Department following the protests registered by a delegation from the Negro Labor Committee of Jamaica. The delegation visited Chief Police Inspector Louis F. Custums last week.

The Department also pledged to investigate the threats made against prominent Negro citizens by an allegedly fascist organization, "The White Knights of America."

The appointment with Custums came on the heels of letters of protest addressed to Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine.

The delegation made special reference to the recent shooting by Jamaica police of a 15-year-old schoolboy, Samuel Porter, Augus 15, who police said they suspecte of having attempted to burglariz a Jamaica shop. They also demanded a probe of a letter recently received by the Jamaica NAACP head, Dr. John A. Singleton, from the "White Knights of America." The letter termed Negroes as "savages" and threatened bodily harm to militant members of the race.

The Porter youth is to appear before Juvenile Court Judge Herbert A. O'Brien Sept. 29, on an "attempted burglary" charge. His defense counsels are Attorneys Irving Schwab and Simon Greenberg.

Schwab, prominent in defense of the Scottsboro boys, is slated to speak for the boy at a mass meeting in his belief to be held tonight (Thursday) at the Brooks' Memorial church, Jamaica.

Mixed Action Groups

"Pressure Must Be Continued" Meeting Is Told

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

NEW YORK, Sept. 24 (ANP)—A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, gave clear recognition to the possibility of violence in any projected march upon the capital when he addressed 3,000 persons at a meeting in the Golden Gate ballroom here Friday, but heavily underscored his determination to stick to the objective. "It is written in the Scripture," he declared ominously, "that there is no remission of sin without the shedding of blood." He said this immediately following a recitation of the sins of government that have been practiced against Negroes.

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SCORES PRESIDENT

Mr. Randolph began with a hope and desire for a victory of the United Nations over the Axis but saw no "certainty" of a "new order" in such a victory unless we press now. He held that the conference approach to a solution is now in-

Negro Problem Is Political Football In Capital Today

By Albert Hamilton

EXCLUSIVE

WHEN the Negro Press some weeks ago brought to light [illegible] proposal being circulated [illegible] circles to create a Bu- [illegible] Affairs, it was thought [illegible] had been politely es- [illegible] front door. It now seems [illegible] is coming to light [illegible] in another form and by way of the back door under the guidance of [illegible] Cramer, secretary of the President's Committee on Fair Employ- [illegible] Practices.

The story actually started back on the coast of Africa in Liberia. The Ameri- [illegible] minister to Liberia is a Negro [illegible] Walton. When the United [illegible] Navy moved into this strategic [illegible] on the African coast, Navy offi- [illegible] protested having to operate under and through a Negro minister. Diplo- matic conventions demanded that they work through the office of the Ameri- can minister. They simply did not like it and got him called home.

Minister Walton, on his arrival in the U. S., became a minister without a coun- try. The first memo on a Bureau of Negro Affairs originated with him. It consisted of a memo to Assistant Sec- retary of State Adolph Berle. (It was a memo copy of this memo that led the Afro-American, leading Negro paper, to blast it.) Walton proposed in this memo that such a bureau be created, to be run by four men—Lester Walton him- self, a man named Hastings from the state department, Lawrence Cramer from F.E.P.C., and Jonathan Daniels of the Office of Civilian Defense.

The original memo would have wiped out all Negro advisory agencies in the government, would have liquidated the Negro Manpower Commission under Robert Weaver, and would have concen- trated in the hands of these four men the various problems of Negro relation- ship to government and civilian life. As Washington insiders know the story, Walton had first gotten an acceptance of the idea from these four men. How- ever, at a conference to which various Negro leaders were invited, the whole scheme was thrown out the winodw upon the unanimous objection of these Negro leaders.

Everyone concerned believed the mat- ter had been dropped, until Lawrence Cramer appeared out of a blue sky be- fore the Budget Bureau demanding a $1,400,000 budget for the F.E.P.C. It was at this point that the Budget Bureau drafted the order for the President put- ting the Federal Fair Employment Prac- tices Committee under the jurisdiction of Paul McNutt. It was knowledge of what had preceded this move that led the Negro press to oppose the transfer of the F.E.P.C.

The most recent developments are that Cramer [illegible] in a hearing with Mc- Nutt, [illegible] hearings for the F.E.P.C.:

1. [illegible] expanded field staff.
2. Regional offices for the committee.
3. Abolition of the Negro Manpower Service under Robert Weaver.

WEAVER'S ACHIEVEMENTS

McNutt gave F.E.P.C. the first two of its demands. The third is still in the balance. Actually, the F.E.P.C. now is coming close to being the baby origi- nally proposed by Walton and rejected. It is known, for instance, that Cramer has conferred with Landis, director of the Office of Civilian Defense, and sug-

Continued on Page Four

Gallery Of Contemporary Patriots

Robert A. Taft

Senator Robert A. Taft (Republican, Ohio), has become sponsor for the United States Chamber of Commerce demand for a 10 per cent sales tax.

At the same time, Taft and other legislative gentlemen are holding out for a reduction in corporation taxes.—LABOR, organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Negro Problem Is Political Football In Capital Today

Continued from Page One

gested that his Negro advisory section be transferred to the F.E.P.C. It is known that Cramer talked to a Democratic National Committeeman named Durham from Virginia, urging him to put pressure on McNutt to liquidate the Negro Manpower Service. The key to center the power involved in such a Bureau of Negro Affairs is Cramer's request that the Negro Manpower Service be abolished.

Of all government agencies which have tackled the problem of integrating Negroes in government and industry, the Negro Manpower Service has done the best job. From the start of the War Manpower Commission, Robert Weaver has insisted that Negroes be placed on all regional committees—not just to deal with Negro problems but as members of the committees dealing with every problem that came up.

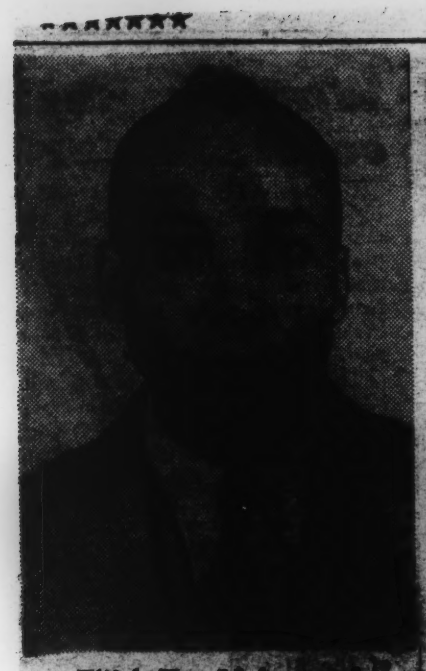
The order provides that "Any worker applying for employment . . . who feels that he is being denied employment for some reason other than his lack of qualification and physical fitness . . . may request a designated representative of the U.S.E.S. to intercede in his behalf." Under the section of the order dealing with grounds for separation of a worker from a current job are found these circumstances: "When the worker is competent to perform higher skilled work than his current employer is able or willing to provide" and "When the worker is employed at wages or under working conditions substantially less favorable than those prevailing in the community for the kind of work on which he is employed."

Though the word Negro appears not once in these sections, they obviously were written so they can be used by Negro workers to protect and advance themselves.

It will be this kind of excellent work which will be wiped out if Cramer is able to persuade McNutt that it is politically wise to abolish the Negro Manpower Service. Whether fairly or not, certain Negroes believe that Cramer's attitude is a reflection of his background as a colonial administrator in the Virgin Islands. One Negro in government service commented to me, "He represents a colonial attitude of mind; the Negro problem has become too important for Negroes to have anything to say about it."

Out of the welter of intrigue now going on, certain things do seem clear. If all agencies now working on the Negro problems are centralized under the F.E.P.C., what will result will be a Bureau of Negro Affairs. If such a bureau comes into existence, it will become one of the most powerful political forces in Washington.

That may be the reason that Paul V. McNutt will give Cramer the go-ahead signal. The Negro problem is an open political football in government at this point.



Elijah Zog Mohammed

Linn Karriem

Seon Jones

David J. Logan

FBI seizes 80 Negroes for pro-Jap activity here

The FBI today cracked down on three Chicago pro-Japanese Negro organizations whose purposes were to convince Chicago Negroes their hopes for advancement lay in a Japanese victory over the United States, and to persuade them to evade the draft law.

Federal agents, in sweeping raids in the South Side last night, arrested a total of 80, ten of them leaders of the organizations, in the largest single move yet made against Japanese propaganda in this country.

Albert H. Johnson, head of the Chicago FBI office, said that while no Japanese agents had been arrested, the organization may have been inspired by Maj. Satakata Takahashi of the Japansee military intelligence, active in Jap fifth column activities throughout the United States for more than 10 years.

GROUPS INVOLVED

Maj. Takahashi, now interned in Detroit, was in Chicago for some time several years ago, Johnson said, carrying out organizational activities.

Leaders of the organizations seized here were charged with sedition and conspiring to sedition. The members were charged with evasion of selective service act requirements.

Groups involved were:

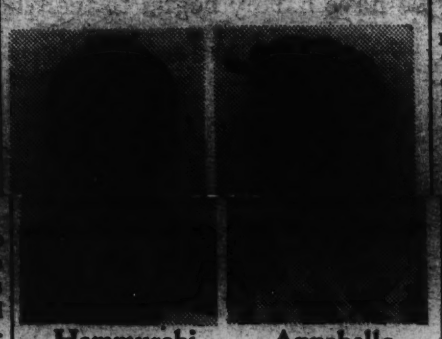
The Peace Movement of Ethiopa, whose members were told they were citizens of Liberia rather than of the United States and consequently owed no allegiance here.

The Brotherhood of Liberty for the Black People of America, whose members were told they were a part of the Japanese race, and that a Japanese victory would aid them because "the Japs are your friends."

The Temple of Islam, whose members were informed that they were Moslems, opposed to military activities, and who were urged to avoid selective service.

William Gordon Stokley Hart

Maud Gordon



Hammurabi Robb Annabelle Moore

TOLD DIFFERENTLY

Although the raids were made locally, all of the organizations are national in scope, and FBI agents estimated their membership totaled 100,000 Negroes dedicated to a program of uniting with the yellow race.

The leaders were arraigned before U. S. Comr. Edwin K. Walker late today on warrants charging them with violations of the selective service act "with intent to interefere with the operation and success of the U. S. armed forces, promote the success of the country's enemies and attempt to cause insubordination and mutiny in the armed forces."

Quotations from speeches they are alleged to have made to their followers, as contained in the formal warrants, were:

"God bless Hitler."

"The American government is headed for a fall."

"My prayers were answered with the bombing of Pearl Harbor."

"Tojo will be the savior of American Negroes."

"America and Britain got up a peace to sell the niggers out."

"On Dec. 7, 1941, one million black people struck for freedom."

"Fight all white people like hell."

"Greater Japanese victories leave less victims for us."

Prior to arraignment of the leaders, several of the Islam temple members, charged with evading selective service, pleaded guilty and were held under $5,000 bond pending trial.

One, who insisted his name was Leonard X, told Comr. Walker that "Allah told me not to register in the draft."

Another, Henry XX, said his last name had been Burnette, but "that was my slave name." Others pleading guilty were James XX, Zuck Hassan Majied, Fletcher Winn Majied, and Reisar Shah.

Bonds of $10,000 were placed on two leaders, "Prophet" Elijah Mohammed of Islam temple and D. C. Karrien, when Asst. U. S. Atty. William J. Connor told Comr. Walker they had "directly advocated alliance with Japan on several occasions."

"The Japs are not our enemies; don't take up arms against them," Mohammed is alleged to have exhorted his followers. Hearing was set for Sept. 30.

Johnson said the group known as the Peace Movement of Ethiopia was headed by "Mme." Mitti Maude Lena Gordon, self-styled "president general," who was arrested at her home at 4451 S. State.

The FBI head quoted her as boasting the membership of her organization totaled 4,000,000 Negroes in 46 states.

Other leaders apprehended in this group included Mrs. Gordon's husband, William; Seon Jones, chairman of the main chapter, 3511 S. Wabash, and David Logan, styled a "personal representative," who lives at 1444 Fillmore.

Johnson said members claimed they are citizens of Liberia, and that several have been convicted in the past of evading the selective service act.

ASSOCIATES NAMED

Stokle Delmar Hart, "founder and president" of the Brotherhood of Liberty for the Black People of America, was arrested at 3801 S. State. Others named as his associates were Charles Newby, alias Father Divine Naassam, 5715 Indiana, organizer and president, Colored American National Organization; Mrs. A. Moore, 5339 Indiana, secretary of the same affiliated group; F. H. Hammurabi Robb, 3358 S. Michigan, director, Wide World Friends of Africa, and James Graves vice-president of the latter group.

Leaders of these groups allegedly made statements that the Negroes "constituted a Japanese army within the U. S. and that the Negroes' hope of advancement was dependent upon a Japanese victory."

Principal meetings of this group were held in Washington park, Chicago police said, at which films showing the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and Hart is alleged to have stated he prayed for victory for Tojo, the Japanese premier.

The TIMES several weeks ago furnished FBI agents information of recent meetings of the brotherhood in Washington park, together with pro-Japanese statements which listeners had credited to Hart.

HIDING UNDER BED

The third group belonged to the Temple of Islam, 104 E. 51st, whose leader was named as Elijah Poole, alias Elijah Muck Muhd" and the "prophet."

The "Prophet," Johnson said, is is now under bond pending a decision on a charge of evading the selective service act.

"The Prophet" was found hiding under his mother's bed at 6025 Vernon, wrapped in a carpet, agents who made the arrest recounted.

Chicago police co-operated in the roundup, Johnson revealed. At the Islam temple, FBI agents were ably aided by a tall Negro policeman, posing as a sect member, who stood at the doorway in a pearl gray hat and cutaway coat.

When sect members gave the password, "Ossa Lahsa Lakam," the Negro policeman waved his arm and bade them, "Step right in, brother." Inside they were nabbed, one by one, by federal agents.

D. C. Lenzie Karrien, a minister of the group, was arrested at 6117 Rhodes as another leader in the Islam temple.

Approximately 70 members of the sect were rounded up and charged with failure to comply with selective service requirements on advice from temple leaders that their Moslem religion did not require them to do so.

Johnson said a truckload of propaganda literature sent out by the three organizations and two rifles and two revolvers were confiscated in connection with the raids.

Hunt woman in murder of chemist here

Shortly after Gustave Redemske, 55, a reputedly wealthy retired chemist, was found stabbed through the heart and strangled in his fashionable Beverly Hills home, Gresham police revealed that they were seeking "a woman in the case."

The police said the woman, whose name they did not know, is believed to have been a friend of Redemske who recently turned against him.

A bachelor, Redemske was found in the home he built for himself and his mother in 1928 at 9733 Prospect. His mother died four years ago and he had lived there alone since then.

He is credited with having helped develop the skinless wiener and participated in other food developments.

Gresham police said a dragnet was drawn around the man's home. They found the body lying on a couch in the living room, a blanket over the head and a coat lying on the floor.

That the murder might have taken place as long ago as last Thursday was indicated by the fact that Redemske failed to report for work Friday.

He was employed by the chemical research laboratory of Armour & Co., of which M. S. Atkeson, 7900 South Shore, is manager. The investigation leading to discovery of the body was begun when Atkeson notified police that Redemske had not reported for work.

The front door of the house was open and a dresser had been ransacked, police said.

Redemske lived alone in his home in the fashionable Beverly Hills section. Of quiet disposition, few knew his habits.

A set of encyclopedias had been removed from a shelf and apparently inspected on a table, leading police to believe the intruder had searched through the books for hidden money.

TIMES uncovers Jap propagandists

Black and yellow races abroad were depicted as holding friendly hands across the sea to their American "brothers" in propaganda issued by pro-Japanese organizations against which the FBI moved today.

The TIMES last month revealed the existence in Chicago of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, a Jap-inspired fifth column movement with an estimated 100,000 members.

Membership cards of the organization depicted Japan, Africa, the Philippines and China holding out hopeful hands across the ocean to America.

ORGANIZED ABOUT 1932

Langdon S. Abington, Negro printer, 638 E. 47th, produced the first of these membership cards several years ago. It is believed that the Japanese intelligence agent who inspired the organization of the pro-Japanese groups existent in the United States.

According to the FBI the "Pacific Movement of the Eastern World started about 1932, under the auspices of the powerful Black Dragon society. Its nation-wide menace was disclosed by the FBI with arrest of another leader, Mimbo de Guzzman, a Filipino dishonorably discharged from the navy and the coast guard in New York.

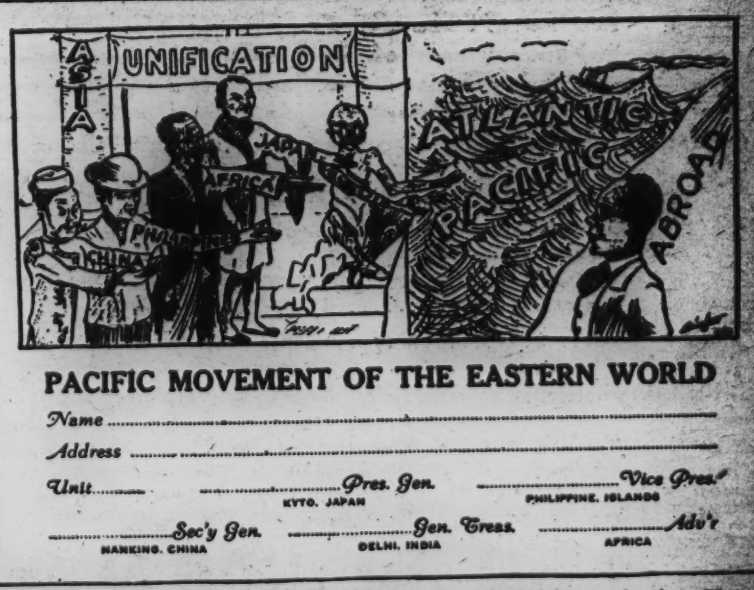
URGED TO ARM

Members of this and affiliated groups were constantly told that the Japanese are your friends and that the Negro can hope for betterment only with a Japanese domination of the white races, according to FBI investigators.

Recruits were told that "the Japs" now will supply you with arms when the time for invasion comes."

They were urged to buy and store all the firearms they could to prepare for "that day."

One of the stated purposes of the Pacific movement, agents revealed, was to assist the Japanese in event of an invasion of the United States.



PACIFIC MOVEMENT OF THE EASTERN WORLD

Name .....

Address .....

Unit..... Pres. Gen. KYTO. JAPAN Vice Pres. PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Sec'y Gen. NANKING. CHINA Gen. Treas. DELHI. INDIA Adv't AFRICA

Membership card of the "Pacific Movement of the Eastern World," a Jap-inspired fifth column, designed in 1932 by Chicago sign painter Langdon S. Abington, 638 E. 47th.

P. M. September 13, 1942

War Seen Improving Negro-White Relations

By PEGGY WRIGHT

Mr. and Mrs. Russell Jelliffe visited New York last week from Cleveland, where for 27 years they have directed a Negro settlement house named Karamu (Swahili for 'Center of the Community'). This article takes you calling on the Jelliffes to hear them talk of their experiences.

NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS are likely to be better after the war, Rowena and Russell Jelliffe believe, partly because of the war itself.

"During the last war people were hardly aware that there was a problem of democracy for Negroes," Jelliffe said. "Now they've been educated by the depression and the philosophy of the New Deal and they're being further educated by the war."

He gave Burma as an example. "The world knows that Britain lost it because the native Burmese had no reason to fight for the British."

Furthermore, he said, the demand for defense workers, and the consequent employment of Negroes, holds tremendous promise of cutting through the barriers between the races. The Jelliffes said the war afforded a contact between white and Negro that was essential to mutual understanding and respect.

I asked the Jelliffes how they thought the Negro-white problem would be solved. They rejected the idea of a separate state for Negroes or a Back-to-Africa movement.

"That's absolutely no solution," Jelliffe said. "The Negroes we have known don't think it is, either. Negroes built this country with us and all their loyalties are here."

The Jelliffes didn't want to talk about intermarriage, they said, because the mention of it made so many people apoplectic. But they remarked that so far as they knew no two races had lived side by side for hundreds of years without intermarrying. "And," they told me, "every year the census loses 2 per cent of the Negroes in the country. As they become lighter, they simply pass over into the white race.

"The Negro doesn't want to become white," Jelliffe said. "But our ungodly premium on whiteness sometimes makes him want to be, more than is normal or right for him—it's the only way he can imagine living a free and good life. The fuller a life he has as a Negro, economically, socially and politically, though, the less he wants to be white."

And the full life for the Negro, is where the solution to the problem lies, the Jelliffes believe.

"On the one hand," Mrs. Jelliffe explained, "we must fight to see that the Negro is given the rights that are his under the Constitution. On the other hand, we must continually be seeking common denominators of interest between Negroes and whites."

I asked them if they thought the Negroes would lose some of their new gains after the war.

"That depends entirely on whether the Negroes are employed in open or closed shops," they said.

I wanted to know what the Jelliffes thought about the increasing number of stories coming out of the South about discrimination against Negro troops, or the formation of a League for White Supremacy.

Mrs. Jelliffe said: "I think that out of any kind of controversy comes a new understanding. A situation like that in the South smokes out the Fascist-minded kind of person. The South, you know, is by no means solidly anti-Negro. We meet more and more young Southerners who are finding they cannot be intellectually honest and at the same time hang on to the southern attitude toward Negroes."

Jelliffe interrupted. "I don't think the South can afford race prejudice much longer. The South is losing too many fine, intelligent people who refuse to live there—under a Talmadge, for instance."

"I think the country divides itself into three groups so far as race prejudice is concerned," Mrs. Jelliffe went on. "There's the small group of liberal people who are trying to abolish race prejudice. There is a large middle group which is indifferent or unaware and it is your hope, I think. Then there's a small group of 'aginners.' They, unfortunately, are the vocal ones. I think the middle group is being educated. The war is doing it."

To the Jelliffes, who have worked with and lived among Negroes since they founded Karamu in 1915, race prejudice is "the weakest link in the democratic chain." They've felt this way since they were undergraduates at Oberlin College. That's why, after they were graduated in 1914, took their masters' degrees at the University of Chicago and got married, they accepted the invitation of a church group to go to Cleveland.

Thousands of Negroes had been brought from the South to work in defense plants and there was no adequate housing. "As a result," the Jelliffes said, "there was an increase in the things that go with bad housing—disease, and juvenile delinquency."

The Jelliffes did what they could, but had a difficult time because "in those days if you tried to get decent housing for people you were called radical." They founded Karamu in a tumbledown shack in the Negro section. After the war Karamu began to devote more time to the development of Negro art, dancing and theater.

"Not that we underestimate the importance of economic and political equality," Jelliffe said. "But prejudice is less of a hurdle in the cultural field. We wanted to use the arts as a doorway through which the Negroes could pass into the main stream of American life."

"We have an enrollment of 2500 (there are approximately 90,000 Negroes and 1,000,000 whites in Cleveland)," Mrs. Jelliffe said. "That doesn't give any real idea of the number of Negroes we touch, directly and indirectly. We had one shack when we began. Now we have four. We're trying to raise funds for a new Karamu."

"What we've done in the arts is on top of a 24-hour-a-day job of placement of Negroes in jobs," Jelliffe said. "We try to talk to employers who are using Negroes for the first time to help prevent the kind of thing that sharpens antagonism between Negro and white workers. For instance, employers or their foremen often don't understand that Negroes consider words like *coon* and *nigger* terms of contempt. We also talk to the Negroes who are going to work in a plant that has never employed Negroes. The unfortunate and terrible thing about a Negro in such a position is that he carries the 14,000,000 Negroes in America on his back; the entire N is judged by how he behaves." 22

PHOTO BY MARY MORRIS

JELLIFFES, Russell and Rowena, with their Irish setter, Copper. "You cannot go on denying normal, al living to a people without having it boomerang on you," say these two founders of Cleveland's , a community house to help Negroes. They have been guiding Karamu's activities more than 25 years.

3 CENTS

DAILY TIMES

CHICAGO'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

Copyright, 1942, by Chicago TIMES, Inc.

Vol. 14. No. 15 DEA. 2323 MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1942 40 Pages

394,443 AND THE LARGEST DAYTIME CIRCULATION IN CHICAGO

FBI SEIZES 80 NEGROES HERE AS PRO-JAPS!

Others Also Acting

In pointing to Randolph and White as the principal Negroes in the leadership of their race who are the equals of the statesmen of the world, I do not mean to imply that they are the only Negroes who have been able to rise above their fellows. Indeed, many of the race have shown a disposition to follow Randolph and White.

If the Negro masses are ready to become fully responsible citizens, not only in the democratic sense but in the unorganized and unconventional, it has not been able to put before the people a united program. It has not been able fully to express its weaknesses. Thus, the people are confused.

Fundamentally, the Negro is [illegible] heartedly behind America in the war against the Axis powers, and what might appear to be otherwise is explained by his resentment against the [illegible] factory conditions he is forced to live under at home.

The Russians and Chinese are fighting to the death because of the inspired leadership of Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek; Churchill, through the sheer force of his personality, rallied the British to do or die after Dunkirk; and President Roosevelt's matchless leadership is being brought into full play to unite the nation and the might of the United States behind the war effort. Conversely, France fell because its leadership failed.

But what is this thing called leadership? Is it conferred, or is it taken? Are leaders born or are they developed? In studying leaders in world history, three principal qualities appear more frequently than any others; in fact they appear so often that it would seem they are the prime qualities of true leadership. They are: "ability to do the job", "honesty of purpose", and "ability to inspire others to follow". Few Negro leaders today possess all of these. Some are unfit to lead by training and experience; others are untrustworthy, and still others are devoid of the personality that attracts the masses.

Must Prove Qualities

By their words and deeds in the present crisis, both Randolph and White will prove whether they have these qualifications. If they come through, they, more than any other persons in the world, can line the Negro up squarely and unconditionally in the fight against Germany, Italy and Japan. But this they can do only if they take an aggressive, constructive, social and political program for the Negro. Yet they cannot expect to get favorable reaction by a series [illegible]

Will Be Held Responsible

But, being Negroes, they [illegible] have a greater task as far as the Negro in America is concerned. White and Randolph, because of their positions today, will be held as much responsible for providing proper leadership for the race as Roosevelt and Churchill or Nehru and Chiang will be responsible for the [illegible] of the United Nations and India respectively. This is true because the Negro is not an integral part of the democratic body politic; he is yet on the fringe and therefore, is not accepted on the same basis as other groups of the nation. Prejudice among the white groups is practiced and with telling effect in some cases, but it is much easier for a large part of any white group to escape prejudice than it is for a Negro who is quickly spotted and identified.

And just as Roosevelt and Churchill have collaborated and mapped their plans, then set about inspiring the people to follow them; as Gandhi and Nehru have charted their course and lined up the Indian population behind them, White and Randolph are in a position to shape the Negro's [illegible]

This they must do or relinquish [illegible] and see it through. [illegible] of leadership is others. They cannot [illegible] they cannot avoid the issues for [illegible]

So far, however, the Negro in America [illegible] the rules of his career. Ran-

N. Y. AMSTERDAM STAR NEWS
September 19, 1942

FEATURE PAGE

Leaders Will Be Held Responsible for Acts

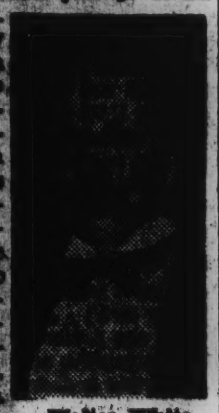
Race Will Not Stand Being "Sold Down River" In War Emergency; Demand Definite Progress In Fight on Jim Crow Restrictions, Inequalities

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AND WALTER WHITE "CARRYING THE BALL"

BY JULIUS J. ADAMS

Too much attention cannot be given the question of Negro leadership! Up to the present, our leaders have not been able to get together on any definite program. Before the war emergency, the plight of the Negro was sad indeed, and the present improvements cannot be credited wholly to his own enterprise, but rather to the exigencies occasioned by the war and the war efforts. Unless substantial footholds are achieved and retained, and the race thereby intrenches itself so thoroughly in new positions that it cannot be easily ousted, the post-war era will find it right back where it was before 1939.

On the question of leadership, a few names stand out. As head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White holds a unique position. Because of that position and the prestige of his organization, Mr. White is generally considered high among if not the leading spokesmen for the Colored people in America. In this role he has a tremendous responsibility, and people have a right to expect him to fulfill that responsibility with intelligence, vigor, vision, wisdom, and courage.



Walter White

Randolph a Leader

Also in the forefront, and a leader to whom the race looks for the development and execution of a sound program is A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Chairman of the March-on-Washington Movement. He occupies a place similar to that of the N. A. A. C. P. executive.

Mr. White's field is civil liberties and in it he has become a good diplomat, a shrewd negotiator, [redacted] Randolph an expert lobbyist, skilled in gaining an advantage in any compromise. Mr. Randolph's field, on the other hand, is economics. He has become a good economist, also a shrewd negotiator, but at times he has been undiplomatic and he seldom compromises—preferring to fight to the bitter end for what he thinks is right, rather than yield to expediency.

Both men have been in the limelight for a long time, but it was not until the war emergency that they were called upon to lead. Randolph was riding the crest of popularity. He was the man of the hour.

Old line conservative Negroes became confused by the sudden turn of events as popular opinion swung overwhelmingly in favor of the veteran labor leader's program. Lest they be left out of the changing picture they rushed to climb aboard the Randolph bandwagon. This fact was in evidence by the representatives of the various shades of opinion on the platform at the Madison Square Garden rally. Meanwhile, the little fellow was hailing Randolph as the modern Moses, and signified his willingness to follow his lead.

While his prestige and popularity have not waned ,and he is still the idol of the people, Randolph, so far, has not been able to follow through on his earlier successes. The peak, undoubtedly, was reached at Madison Square Garden. If Randolph and his associates had been able to provide another punch as vigorous as that meeting they would have been able to galvanize Colored America into action, and the groundwork laid for a mighty push forward. Instead, Randolph went into a virtual tailspin. The magnitude of his success was stunning, and it seems that he was blinded by the glare from the spotlight of laudatory publicity that was showered upon him. Not only that but his press grew somewhat unfavorable, and the public soon began inquiring, "What has happened to Randolph?"

The March-on-Washington Movement will hold a conference in Detroit September 26-27. It is hoped that something definite will be worked out at that meeting, since this time for simple ballyhooing is over. A program designed to put more Negroes in state legislatures and in the National Congress and in other key positions is of utmost importance.

Somewhere between the views and approaches of these two personalities will emerge the principles upon which the Negro's all-out campaign for full recognition as American citizens will be waged. Perhaps Randolph will have to move slightly from left to left-center, and White further over toward the left. Their own intelligence and consciences must direct their action, and their action must be swift, decisive and unselfish. Anything else will be characterized as incompetence or betrayal and neither will be excused.

In a democracy such as ours, leadership of groups is of extreme importance. Here we have the Jewish leaders, the Irish, the Italian, the Polish, and others, each intent upon looking after the interests of members of his own group, seeing to it that they are granted all the rights and privileges guaranteed by the laws of the land.

Randolph Says War Not Helping Negro

A. Philip Randolph, leader of the March on Washington Movement, told 3500 Negroes at a week-end meeting in Golden Gate Casino that the position of the Negro, from the point of view of the spread of race and color discrimination, is worse than it was at the beginning of the war emergency.

Randolph predicted that before the war was over the march of 100,000 Negroes to the Capitol, called off last year when President Roosevelt issued his Executive Order banning discrimination in war industries, would take place.

He pledged the movement to support of the cause of the United Nations, but demanded the end of Fascism at home as well as abroad.

P. M. September 14, 1942

N. Y. STAR AMSTERDAM NEWS
September 19, 1942

Ervin Decries Negro Abuses in Blast at Appeasement Talk

Declaring that he read in the Philadelphia Inquirer recently "that a national leader of one of the oldest and largest Negro organizations had stated that this is not the right time for Negroes to fight for their rights or to change their social conditions," Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, chairman of the New York division of the March-on-Washington movement, lashed out at the unnamed person before an audience of 3,000 persons at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Friday night.

Asked by the Star News reporter the identity of the person he was referring to, Dr. Ervin replied, "We decided not to mention his name."

Close Ranks

Continuing to berate the leader by informing his audience that he was quoted from the newspaper saying that "it is imperative that we should close ranks and to bend our efforts to win the war," the speaker declared:

"Yes, he is apt to shut his eyes against the painful truths and listen to the song of that siren of success that changes his natural figure into that of a creature without a soul. Close ranks, they say, and win the war. Close ranks when a human being is taken and dragged from a hospital cot through the streets of the sovereign State of Missouri, and lynched without a trial—without equality before the law.

"Close ranks, when black boys in the uniform of their country are shot down by civilian police, and revolvers are further emptied into their prostrate bodies! Close ranks, when colored officers with captain's bars and major's leaves are compelled to travel in the filthy and foul jimcrow car for thousands of miles, and must go without food for twenty-four hours, until the most illiterate, and unrefined cracker of the South leaves the dining car before he can taste food alone: "Close ranks, when the highest appointed government officers of a policy-forming committee for the United States is dubbed by the Southern press as inkspot and tar baby!

"Close ranks, when the best blood and character of Negro womanhood of America volunteer to become officers in the Women's Auxiliary Corp. in the Army are insulted with impunity by non-commissioned officers and officers alike and dubbed "Waccoons".

Undisputed Champion

"Close ranks, when our national leader, the undisputed champion of Negro rights, together with Walter White, the head of the oldest Negro organization in America, Bishop Wright, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, the first Negro woman of America, Dr. Channing Tobias, and other equally outstanding Negroes, petioning for a conference with the President to discus acute tension in race relations, are told by the President's secretary that he is too busy to receive them!

"Close ranks, when a poor sharecropper Odell Waller was legally lynched by the sovereign State of Virginia; and Roland Hayes was brutally dragged, beaten and jailed in the sovereign State of Georgia because he dared to remonstrate with a white citizen about the denial of his wife's most [illegible] constitutional rights.

"Close ranks, when an Atlanta University College Professor is assaulted and beaten insensibly by the legal hirelings of the sovereign State of Mississippi because he dared to ask for [illegible] accommodations for Negro women [illegible] a white coach held only three white persons!

"Close ranks, when the Governor of Georgia claims that if Negroes don't keep their place they had better stay out of Georgia, and an Ala-

DR. ERVIN

bama Governor defies a Presidential edict in its entirety, because it may extend equality to Negroes! Close ranks, they say, and fight and do and die for democracy! Hell no!"

Made Undelivered Speech

The meeting was arranged to give A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement, an opportunity to make his undelivered speech which was scheduled for the Madison Square Garden mass meeting, June 16, and was omitted due to lack of time.

Assuring his audience that there is every possibility that Negroes are going to march on Washington before the war is over, Randolph said:

"Personally, I have no doubt that a march on Washington will have to be made during this war to let the President and white America know that the Negro is not going to take a licking from jim-crow lying down.

"But in some quarters the statement is made that Negroes should be all-out for the War to lick Hitler in Europe. Our answer is, we are. We are also all-out for war to lick the hell out of Hitlerism in America. We believe the fight for democratic rights for Negroes now here at home, is a part of the fight for democracy abroad.

"If we don't win democracy abroad, we will not be able to win democracy at home. The fights for democracy on the home and foreign fronts are one and the same fight. One strengthens the other. And the lack of a fight on either weakens the other.

"Negroes made the blunder of closing ranks and forgetting their grievances in the last war. We are resolved that we shall not make that blunder again. Some of our appeasers say that if Negroes persist in fighting for their rights now, they are going to have trouble. Well, Negroes are already having trouble anyway, and a little more trouble won't hurt.

"Moreover, no cause for human rights was ever carried on without trouble. It is written in Holy Writ that there is no remission of sin except through blood. Blood here is needed the symbol of sacrifice, struggle and suffering. It is both figuratively and literally true. Such the March-on-Washington movement is a non-violent movement."

N. Y. STAR AMSTERDAM NEWS
September 19, 1942

6,000 to Join Citizen Rally

Parade Will Feature Brooklyn Program; Dr. Ervin to Speak

By TOMMY [illegible]

Over 6,000 Brooklynites will participate in the third annual [illegible] "Citizenship Day" celebration which will dominate the borough this Saturday afternoon. The gala event is sponsored each year by the Brooklyn Office of The Star News and the Brooklyn Citizens' Committee.

The rally will begin at the Alexander Hamilton High School, Albany Avenue and Bergen Street, at approximately 2:30 p. m. One of the biggest parades ever staged in the entire area will get underway shortly after 1:30 p. m.

Ervin Will Speak

Dr. Lawrence Ervin, chairman [illegible] Chapter [illegible] playing an important part in the current fight to have Negroes admitted to the major leagues, will deliver a talk on the subject. Rev. J. H. Adams and Norman Johnson, [illegible] attorney, will also be prominently featured. Miss Margaret B[illegible] chairman of the Citizens' group.

Tommy [illegible] of The Star News will introduce [illegible] Miller, assistant secretary [illegible] Carlton Y. M. C. A., who will conduct the rally. Numerous other outstanding personalities are scheduled to appear.

The winners of the "Mayor of Brooklyn" contest will be presented and awarded prizes. Paul Stewart, who was victorious in the contest, Larry Foster and Bernard Freeman will receive awards, while the Rev. W. B. M. Scott and Fred H. M. Turner will be presented.

Williams In Charge

A mammoth parade is being arranged by Roland Williams, scoutmaster of Boy Scout Troop 288. The Brooklyn Elks, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Nurses Units and 24 other groups will participate.

The parade will form at Lewis Avenue and Chauncey Street, directly opposite the Brooklyn Star News office. It will proceed to Reid Avenue, right to Fulton Street to Patchen Avenue. Up Patchen Avenue to Hancock Street, right to Stuyvesant Avenue.

It will turn left at Putnam Avenue to Throop Avenue. Left to Fulton Street and to Albany Avenue to Hamilton High School where the rally will be staged.

Numerous local musical groups will take part in the entertainment program, while [illegible] Troop [illegible] Troop [illegible] the festivities.

Randolph Lists Vital Lessons

"The Negro . . . may he ever fight to be free and never accept an inferior post," was the keynote of A. Philip Randolph's "famous unmade Madison Square Garden speech" which was delivered last Friday at the Golden Gate ballroom, 142 st and Lenox ave. Before a large audience, the national director of the March On Washington Movement – sponsor of the meet, spoke on *The Negro's Fight For Democracy Now*, which time would not permit at the monster mass gathering in MSG last June.

Randolph spoke of the lessons of the fite of MOWM in winning the Executive Order for the Negroes. A summary of them were:

- Negroes must fite for what they get,
- that they will get only what they take,
- that they can't take anything without power, economic, political, social, moral and spiritual,
- that power comes from organization – the organization of the masses,
- that the government and the President will respond to pressure and that the organization of the Negro masses can exercise pressure,
- that there are white liberal and labor forces that will support the fite of the Negro masses for freedom, justice and equality, and
- that the Negro masses must depend upon themselves to win their rights.

Another highlight of the mass meet was the presentation of Dick Campbell's dramatic playlet, *The Watchword Is Forward*, written especially for MOWM to depict problems of the Negro in America and the world.

Also appearing on the program were Drs. Channing Tobias and Lawrence M. Ervin, Bernice McMillan, Bertha Fitzhuh Baker, members of the cast and others.

MARCH THREAT BY RANDOLPH

Mass Meeting Told March May Still Have To Be Made Despite War

Declaring that "heads of government respond only to pressure" and that Negroes must fight for what they get, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national director of the March On Washington Movement, was the principal speaker at the Manhattan, 2nd New York mass meeting Friday night.

The Golden Gate Ballroom, Lenox avenue and 142nd street, was crowded when Mr. Randolph ascended the speaker's stand after a program in which he was preceded by Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, Miss Bernice McMillan, and the play "The Watchword Is Forward" written and directed by Dick Campbell. The audience sat tense as Mr. Randolph began his speech which time prevented him from delivering at the Madison Square Garden mass meeting.

In detail, Mr. Randolph traced the history of the March On Washington Movement, its conferences with Mayor LaGuardia and Mrs. Roosevelt which led up to the march being called off after a [illegible] President

(Continued on page five)

New York Age

SEPTEMBER 26, 1942

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY,

Washington March On Threaten

Randolph Says March May Still Have To Be Made Despite War

(Continued from page one)

dent Roosevelt and important members of his Cabinet met with a group of Negro leaders and discussed issues which resulted in the President's Executive Order 8802, and creation of the FEPC.

Attacking the recent transfer of the FEPC to the War Manpower Commission, Mr. Randolph served notice that the March On Washington Movement will "leave no stone unturned to preserve the itegritty and organizational entity of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice."

In winning the Executive Order for Negroes, Randolph declared that the March On Washington Movement has learned that "The Federal Government itself has become the carrier of the germ of race discrimination and segregation" and that "the Government and the President will respond to pressure and that the organization of the Negro masses can exercise pressure."

Threatens March

Denying that the March on Washington is abandoned, Mr. Randolph declared emphatically that "I have no doubt that a march on Washington will have to be made during this war to let the President and white America know that the Negro is not going to take a licking from jimcrow lying down."

Referring to the war effort, Mr. Randolph said that "Negroes made the blunder of closing ranks and forgetting their grievances in the last war. We are resolved that we shall not make that blunder again ....If the President wants us to stop our agitation, then let him stop discrimination. Negroes have been pushed around long enough. We are not going to continue to take it, and we don't give a damn who doesn't like it."

"In some quarters,' he said, "the statement is made that Negroes should be all-out for the war to lick Hitler in Europe. Our answer is, we are [illegible] are also all-out for war to [illegible] the hell out of Hitlerism in America."

Scorning Negroes who are afraid to fight for their right, Mr. Randolph said that "rather would we die upon our feet fighting for our rights, than to exist upon our knees begging for life. For life without rights is an illusion. Nor are Negroes alone [illegible] The white people in the South are

B. V. September 19, 1942

Pilgrimage Reaches DC

WASHINGTON. – Climaxing a 240-mile trek on foot from NY to Washington, 14 members of the Interracial Pilgrimage pledged themselves to the "unfinished task of emancipation" in a service at Lincoln Memorial September 9th, after parading with posters pleading for racial justice thru the streets of the nation's capital.

The service included the singing of *America the Beautiful*, the reading of Scripture by Homer Nichols, a brief statement of the purpose of the pilgrimage and the need of rededication to the "unfinished task" by J. Holmes Smith, brief statements by several pilgrims of their determination to work for racial equality and the singing of *Lift Every Voice and Sing*.

This was followed by a 20-minute interview on interracial problems with Marvin McIntyre, press secretary to President Roosevelt, at the White House, with J. Holmes Smith and Conrad Lynn representing the Pilgrimage.

McIntyre greeted them with the statement that the right of petition to the President is always open to American citizens and that even though the Chief Executive has the heaviest load of any man in the world and must therefore delegate some of his responsibility, the democratic process must be maintained.

Smith replied that while the pilgrims appreciated this interview, they felt that it was their duty to convey to the President the widespread amazement and indignation over the President's refusal to give an appointment to the delegation of prominent Negroes led by A. Philip Randolph. Following his refusal to see them in connection with the Waller cases, this seemed to be a deliberate snub and therefore a most serious matter from the standpoint of national unity, said Smith.

The pilgrimage, consisting of 16 persons, Negro and white, men and women, left from in front of the Harlem YMCA August 26. They walked, on the average, 17 miles a day, being entertained overnight in communities en route.

CHICAGO DEFENDER
September 19, 1942

Petitioners Against Discrimination Walk From New York To Washingt

(From Defender, Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Undaunted by blistered feet, thrown stones and highway signs demanding they be stopped, a mixed delegation of eight white persons and four Negroes, men and women, marched into Washington last week from New York and were granted an interview at the White House with Marvin S. McIntyre, one of the President's secretaries.

They were protesting racial discriminations and the refusal of the President, recently, to grant an audience to A. Philip Randolph and Walter White and a selected committee.

A reception committee of Washington citizens which was to have met and escorted the group around the city, failed to appear or to function. Expected arrangements for staying at Howard university also "fizzled."

In contrast, Baltimore had received the group with open arms the previous Sunday, and a crowd of 400 persons heard them at a mass meeting there sponsored by the Baltimore N.A.A.C.P.

The group walked all the way from New York to Washington carrying signs and placards reading "Take the 'Mock' out of Democracy," "Race Discrimination is a Part of Hitlerism," and "WE are all Brothers; Why not Act Like it."

They walked about 20 miles a day eating and sleeping in churches on the way. The trip required about two weeks. On reaching Washington, the members of the group were hardly able to walk.

Just outside of Laurel, Md., a group of white "hoodlums" stoned the marchers and informed them they were now below the Mason-Dixon line and that they had better realize it.

The calmness and presence of mind of one of the Negroes in the party, who appealed to the "southern gentleman" instinct in the mob leader, averted a more violent demonstration against the marchers until the Maryland state police arrived. No arrests were made.

At one point in Maryland a sign was posted on the highway, according to the group, which warned of "a large group" of men, women and children marching on Washington to protest racial discrimination, and said "They Must Be Stopped." No incident happened at this town, however.

The marchers represented no particular organization. They styled themselves "a group of individuals trying to prove that black and white can live together." They represented an interesting cross-section.

The leader of the group was Rev. J. Holmes Smith (white), a former missionary to India, a close friend of Ghandi and Nehru, and the organizer of the Harlem Christian, an interracial religious cooperative fellowship house.

Others were Conrad Lynn (white), a new York City attorney; Miss Hope Foy, a music student at the Julius Hartt Music Foundation, whose home is in Meriden, Conn.; Lawrence Kierpatrick (white), University of Pennsylvania candidate

of a missionary and born in Rufus Baehr (white), of Newton, Kans., who left Bethlehem college in Missouri to participate the march;

Charles Lawrence of New City, a student at New York college on a Rosenwald fellow and a former Atlanta teacher; Miss Ruth Rey (white), a New York City worker; Miss Jean Wiley, a Dover teacher, now a New City social worker; Warren (white), a student at the Uni of Pennsylvania; Miss Maude ett (white), a New York City worker; and Homer Nichols of York City, who hopes to beco minister.

After their visit to the White House, the group paraded, with police escort, to the Lincoln morial where they held reli services. They returned to York by train and bus.

PITTSBURGH COURIER

SEPTEMBER 12, 1942

March On Washington Movement To Hold Policy Meeting In Detroit To Discuss Organization's Future

At a conference of the national committee of the March On Washington Movement, which was held in the Harlem Branch of the Y. M. C. A. Thursday, a policy conference was agreed upon to be held in Detroit, Mich., on September 26th and 27th.

Members of the national committee in attendance at the meeting in New York, were: Roy Wilkins, representing Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. George E. Haynes, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Miss Layle Lane, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, Hon Frank R. Crosswaith, member of the New York City Housing Authority; B. F. McLaurin, member of the New York Governor's Committee on Discrimination, and international field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the national director, A. Philip Randolph.

The purpose of the policy conference is:

1. To draft a constitution and by-laws to determine the structure and government of the March On Washington Movement.

2. To plan the setting up of a broader March On Washington Movement National Executive Committee.

3. To consider and discuss goals, policies, strategy, methods and tactics of the March On Washington Movement.

4. To work out broad organization plans.

5. To discuss the advisability of calling a large national conference to discuss and adopt constitution and by-laws.

6. To elect national officers.

7. To discuss and decide the question: Whether Negroes shall march on Washington and, if so, when.

8. To consider the strategy of developing a nation-wide movement of marches on the city halls in every large city in the country where we have a Negro population of over five thousand, for the purpose of memorializing the Mayors and councils to memorialize the President and Congress to abolish discrimination, segregation, and jim-crow in the Army, Navy Air Corp, U. S. Marine, Coast Guard, defense industry, and Government.

9. To present the Eight-Point Program to these mayors and city councils for their acceptance and their urging the President and Congress to accept and adopt the Eight-Point Program.

10. To work out a program in detail with respect to various steps which are to be taken to execute the movement of nation-wide marches and the march on Washington, if, as and when it is decided that it is to be carried through.

11. To plan a series of marches on defense plants, and also the picketing of these plants and Government departments that discriminate against Negroes in any way.

12. To plan the delegate composition of the national conference and set its date and place.

13. Plan to finance the March On Washington Movement.

Representation in the policy conference will be based upon membership in the various divisions of the March On Washington Movement. This policy conference of the March On Washington Movement will mark a [illegible] in the March On Washington Movement and the life of the Negro people [illegible]

CONFERENCES WITH PRESIDENT SOUGHT

Randolph Says Systematic Meetings [illegible] Executive Should Be Made Vit[illegible]

NEW YORK, Sept. 10—While William Green of the American Federation of Labor and Phil[illegible] of the Congress of Industrial Organizations confer with President Roosevelt on matters affecting labor, the Government and the war whenever some condition arises which in their judgment requires a conference, upwards of fifteen million Negro Americans who are making the supreme sacrifice in the war for victory of the United Nations cannot get a hearing with the Commander-in-Chief of their country, stated Randolph in the national headquarters of the March On Washington Movement here in New York City.

The question of the right of the Negro to confer with the President on questions involving the interest of the Negro people, the war and the government has become a paramount and central issue, says Randolph. Because the refusal of the President to meet with representatives of the Negro people in conference is tantamount to official recognition of the Negro as a second class citizen, and makes the government a party to a policy long advocated by Southern political demagogues that Negroes have no rights that white people are bound to respect. While a single conference with the President itself is not so important since no miracle can be wrought through such a conference, the right of conference with the President in the interest of the Negro people through representatives of Negroes who are Negroes is fundamental to the recognition of Negroes as full-fledged American citizens, says Randolph.

At the present time when the President wants to discuss matters vital to the status of Negroes in the war effort, he calls upon William Alexander, Chief of Minority Groups Service in the War Manpower Commission or Dr. MacLean and Mr. Lawrence Cramer, Chairman and Executive Secretary of the Fair Employment Practice Committee who are white men. While these men have the highest character and command the widest respect of the Negro people throughout the country for their splendid and constructive work in the interest of the Negro people, nevertheless, not being Negroes, they cannot accurately and properly tell the President of the true state of feeling of the Negroes about this war and the treatment of the Negroes by the Government.

—VV—

Negroes March

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] by the transfer of the F.E.P.C. to the War Manpower Commission. From New York and Chicago to Los Angeles, Negroes are picketing plants holding war contracts. Colored girls trained in war industry classes fail to get work. Over a period of time, colored girls with the proper requirements were refused jobs as packers by a well-known biscuit company filling war contracts. The only jobs Negroes have been able to get in such plants are positions as elevator men and porters.

At the national March on Washington headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, Eardlie John, chairman of its finance committee and an assistant corporation counsel of New York, told me that this year the movement expects to enlist a half million Negroes as compared to last year's 100,000. The Negro is rallying all over the country, he said. The six hundred branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have adopted a resolution approving and urging affiliation with the march.

From 30 to 50 complaints a day are registered with the main March on Washington office. These are investigated and when proved to be correct—and they usually are—picket lines are organized.

"The Negro has become militant," Mr. John said. "He is tired of getting the run-around, of being segregated, of paying more for less (the cost of living in Harlem has risen 15 per cent over any other section in the city), of getting only menial jobs. He doesn't want a special flying squadron or battalion. He wants the right to fight and die next to his white brother."

The Detroit convention will draft a constitution, formulate a program against all forms of discrimination in war industries and the armed forces. They will decide if and when to march. "And this time," predicts Eardlie John, "we will [illegible]ch."

LOS ANGELES
Sun
•A MODEL OF JOURNALISM
Vol. 10 January 4, 1943 5c per copy; phone AD 9190 for subscription rates Los Angeles, California

P. WEBSTER APPOINTED TO ST-WAR PLANNING COMMITTEE

mocracy must ail during war, Randolph

In a New Year's statement, A. Philip ... this week, that "the forces of democracy ... the war" ... there is to be a victory of ... world democracy," ... declared that the "arms ... United Nations must tri... Axis forces," but ... he asserted that ... must be a victory of ... not only for the ... people of the ... but also for the 1,700,000,000 people of color in the world.

"It is quite possible," Randolph went on, "that this war may be won in Burma, Singapore, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and be lost in Washington, D. C., Georgia and Chicago. The greatest assurance people have ... the four freedoms, the

(Continued on Page 12)

Soldier killed in fall, body sent back to home

The body of Private Armond N. Howard, attached to the 75th Chemical Smoke Gen. Co., stationed in Inglewood, was shipped to his home in Bristol, Tennessee this week.

While on duty at the Army post, Private Howard suffered a crushed spine in a fall, the circumstances of which were not available to the public. He was taken to the station hospital where he died Dec. 24.

Twenty-seven years old, Howard was married and had been in California seven and a half months.

True religion shows its influence in every part of our conduct; it is like the sap of a living tree, which penetrates the most distant boughs.
—William Penn.

NEW YORK—Milton P. Webster, first International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member on the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and who also heads the sub-committee for the investigation of racial discriminations on the railroads, was appointed this week by President William Green as a member of the Post-War Planning Committee. This Committee is composed of 9 members and will begin work immediately on the following subjects: (1) A plan for labor representation on the peace conference which will follow victory. (2) Specific proposals which the labor representatives should seek to have incorporated into the peace treaty. (3) A broad program of post-war reconstruction to prevent a disastrous depression (4) Expansion of social, political and economic security for America and the people of all lands.

Other members of the committee are: Matthew Well, who is chairman of the committee and is one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Miss Agnes Nestor, director of Research and Education of the International Glove Workers Union, Dr. John Childs of Columbia University, representing the American Federation of Teachers; Harvey Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists; George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Richard Gray, secretary of the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers; Rubin Soderstrom, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Randolph . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Atlantic Charter and the declarations that this is a century of the common man are meaningful, is for the peoples of color in the United States, the West Indies and India, Africa and China to be accorded freedom, independence and democratic rights now."

Continuing, Randolph declared: "There is nothing in the history of the attitude of the United Nations and the Anglo-American empire toward the darker races to ... the people of India, Africa, the West Indies and the United ... to have any faith in their professions. But it would be a mistake for the darker races to expect the gift of freedom from the United Nations. Freedom is never given, it is won. Justice is never granted, it is exacted. It is written in the stars that the darker races will never be free until they make themselves free. This is their task in the coming year."

CHICAGO, ILL., JANUARY 1943

WAGE FIGHT CONTROV... GOES TO MEDIATION BO...

† † †

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

as he appeared a short time before his death.

Though dead, the grand old man of peanuts and sweet potatoes will live forever in the minds and histories of those who honor truly great people.

† † †

Townsend Labor Fifth Columnist

U.T.S.E.A. attempts to break ranks of Dining Car Workers—attack Milwaukee shop while pay increase negotiations are in progress. U.T.S.E.A. has no representation in national wage meeting and is jeopardizing Milwaukee Dining Car employes by its actions. This disruptional group is attempting to mislead Milwaukee Dining Car workers by mixing lies and fairy tales with a few truths.

This Is No Fight with the C.I.O.

The leadership in the C.I.O. has already learned that the Townsendites are a bunch of rank opportunists and are giving them the cold shoulder. They have the Red Caps in a mess they will probably never get out of, after wasting all the money they could bleed out of them to fatten the pockets of some few hungry lawyers with no results.

The Red Caps have the worst contracts in the railroad industry. If they can't do something for Red Caps, how can they solve the problems of Dining Car Workers?

Don't be misled! Dining Car Workers, stick by the ship, YOUR ship! Make it a better one. It's your job. No one else can do it.

The Strength of 10,000 Organized Dining Car Workers Must Not Be Broken!

Milw. & Erie Dining Car Empl. Get Vacations With Pay

Local 351 and 370 March On

General Chairman Warren Seltzer of Dining Car Employes Union, Local No. 351 has closed an agreement calling for vacations with pay in 1943 for the Milwaukee Dining Car Employes, while General Chairman George E. Brown has concluded a similar agreement for the Erie Railroad Dining Car Employes. The Erie agreement brings the last of the Dining Car Employes east of Chicago under vacation-agreements.

Negotiations for the Milwaukee agreement were conducted under the most difficult conditions created by the activities of Townsend's dummy C.I.O. union. That it succeeded at all is due to the solidarity of the Milwaukee workers.

Driving to Meetings of Unions Permitted

The ban on "pleasure driving," clamped down by the Office of Price Administration in 17 Eastern states, does not prohibit workers from motoring to union meetings, the O.P.A. made clear this week.

In a special interpretation, the O.P.A. declared that union parleys come within the category of meetings "directly related" to the workers' occupations.

"Driving to and from such meetings is permitted as personal necessity driving," the O.P.A. said.

Carriers Say 'No'... Conference; W...

The wage movement of the 15 coop... labor organizations including Dining Ca... ated with the Joint Council and H. ... resenting nearly 900,000 railroad work... mediation.

Mediation was started in Chicago... George A. Cook of the National Mediat... met at the Morrison Hotel with chiefs o... and with carrier representatives. In the ... out a voluntary settlement of the contr...

The unions are seeking a 20 cent an h... 70 cent minimum and the "union shop"... was made in previous direct negotiation... committees on the demands.

THE NEXT STEP

Should the mediation conference fail... step under the Railway Labor Act will... intervention by the National Railway ... was set up as an agency board to ... war.

Dr. William M. Leiserson, chairman ... will be asked to name a board of three or... of nine to hear the dispute and make recom... to President Roosevelt for a settlement.

The question of whether this board ... final say had not yet been decided when ... Car Worker went to press. Carriers have ...

Continued on page 2

ATTENTI...

ALL DINING CAR WOR...

Discrimination Hearing P...

Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the ... Commission, has ordered the hearing on ... tion in the railroad industry that was to ... Washington on January 25 to 27, ... finitely. At this writing McNutt has given ... as to why the hearing was cancelled.

This is a grave setback for the Negro ... America, for the projected hearings have been ... ed as a key test to the F.E.P.C. Probes and ... Council and its affiliated locals have spent ... and money on briefs containing ... crimination by the carriers against ... ployes. Moreover, some Negro Dining ... had suffered demotion instead of promotion ... sult of the great increase in travel. White ... have been replaced with new and inexperienced ... workers who are paid higher ... stewards. Because of ... men by race and ... trained for other jobs, is plain ...

The cancellation of this hearing is just such a ... in the face of the American Negro ... millions of other dark people who are ... the side of the United Nations.

We must act immediately.

All locals, all districts, all ladies auxiliaries ...

Southern RR & Boston & Maine Dining Car Employees

Do you know that you have no representation at the national wage negotiations in Chicago? The U.T.S.E. (your organization) is not represented in these negotiations. The Dining Car Workers of all other railroads are represented and will have a full say in the negotiations. You must act immediately for your own interest.

JOINT LOCAL 370, NEW YORK & BOSTON; LOCAL 495 WASHINGTON, D. C.

Joint Council Dining Car Employes

Beware Mi...

for publication must be in this office
each month.

OUR PLATFORM

...ion of all workers without discrimination ...reed, or color.
...ning of the National Labor Relations ...al Railroad Labor Act, the Wage-Hour ...er progressive legislation.
...t of a Federal Anti-Lynching Act.
...nion wages in private industry; jobs on ...ustion wages for those not employed by ...
...uate National Health Program; community ...lth centers.
...of poll tax and other laws which disfran- ... citizens.
...ederal Housing Projects.
...ment of civil liberties, including the 13th, ... Amendments.

...xt of CIO-AFL ...ity Agreement

...GTON.—Following is the text of the joint ...ed by CIO and AFL unity conferees in ...n Dec. 2:

...L and CIO peace committee, in an effort ...aximum contribution to our country in the ...he furtherance and protection of the con- ... workers, today agreed upon the following:

...convinced that if peace negotiations are ...ful and unity achieved, cooperation among ...e members and organizations must be en- ...d promoted. It is our belief that it would ... difficult to make satisfactory progress ... through these negotiations if in the mean- ...is an absence of practical cooperation be- ...two organizations.

...gree to the establishment of a joint AFL-CIO ...to hear and decide any disputed jurisdictional ...s that may arise between the two above ...ganizations. If the joint committee fails to ...on a complaint lodged with the committee it ...ct a disinterested arbiter to render a decision ...spute in question. The arbiter's decision shall ...and binding on both parties. In the event an ...annot be agreed upon by the committee within ...he President of the United States shall be ...name an arbiter. We recommend that this ...g shall remain in force until labor unity ... This agreement is subject to the approval ...ecutive Councils of the two organizations."

...WAGE FIGHT CONTROVERSY

...Continued from page 1

...e National War Labor Board should "review" the ...ency board's findings, but the unions maintain ...ontroversy should be handled solely within the ... of the Railway Labor Act.

...." BACKS LABOR

...sident Roosevelt at a press conference last week ... of labor's position, and union chiefs feel ... when an executive order on the subject ...ed it will sustain their stand.

...Brown, Bell and Smith have made final check with ...tatisticians for the 15 cooperating groups who are ...aring material to cover the Dining Car Employes ...e in mediation or in hearings before the War Labor ...d. We believe that the argument prepared in be- ... of Dining Car Workers clearly indicates the in- ...qualities accorded our group over the past years and ...hat our request for increase is as just or more just ...than any other craft in the industry.

Sabotage Is Hinted

report issued this week by the Interstate Commerce Commission

& Reviews

By RICHARD W. SMITH
Sec'y-Treas., Joint Council

DISCRIMINATION

The Negro people and their friends are today making a concerted effort to have our nation make full use of the available labor supply of our race on a fair and impartial basis in order that we may soon effect a successful conclusion of the war. To this end, we have made some slight gains as a result of our efforts and because of the urgent manpower situation.

However, the surface has barely been scratched and there is discontent among the great masses of Negro workers because of the old discrimination as usual regardless of the need for unity, regardless of the effect it is having on the ten million people of the dark races that are fighting on the side of the United Nations.

The Negroes of America are shouldering a fair share of the burden of this war. A recent release by the government showed that over ten per cent of the members of the armed forces were Negroes, while Negroes make up less than ten per cent of the total population. **This clearly indicates that the Negro is making an all out effort on the actual fighting front.**

However, he is being denied this right on the production front. The economy and production of our nation is based to a large extent on mass production, which, in turn is based on a system of gigantic industries, which are in turn divided into large concerns hiring many thousands of men. If it shall continue to be the attitude of these large concerns to hire Negroes only as the lackies and menials of the industry, then this blood-letting of American Negroes on the battle fields for democracy will be in vain.

Our position in this war is definite and must not be confused. The American Negro is not fighting that discrimination in all its evil phases may continue to live. We are fighting for full citizenship and the rights inherent thereto. We are fighting because we have confidence in America and the basic principles upon which this nation is founded. We are fighting because we believe the American Negro and other peoples, both black and white, who have been denied democracy, will have a fair measure of the fruits of the world after victory.

The Negro labor movement and its friends shall continue to demand that the charter of the United Nations for which people of all colors are fighting, be applied here and now.

POLL TAX WILL BE REPEALED

Federation News, weekly organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, put labor's position on the poll tax in a nutshell—and, incidentally, pledged labor's backing to new efforts at poll tax repeal. The editorial, which appeared Dec. 5, follows:

The United States Senate ignored the popular demand for poll tax repeal, a demand that was reflected in the decisive 3 to 1 vote of the House of Representatives for poll tax repeal only a few weeks ago.

The Senate capitulated to minority rule. It gave way before the first assault of appeasement. It capitulated not to guns and bombs but to words and threats. It listened for a week to words "of sound and fury signifying nothing." And then it retreated.

But the American people will not retreat. They will not tolerate partisanship or bargaining or collusion with appeasers. They will not tolerate obstruction of our war effort.

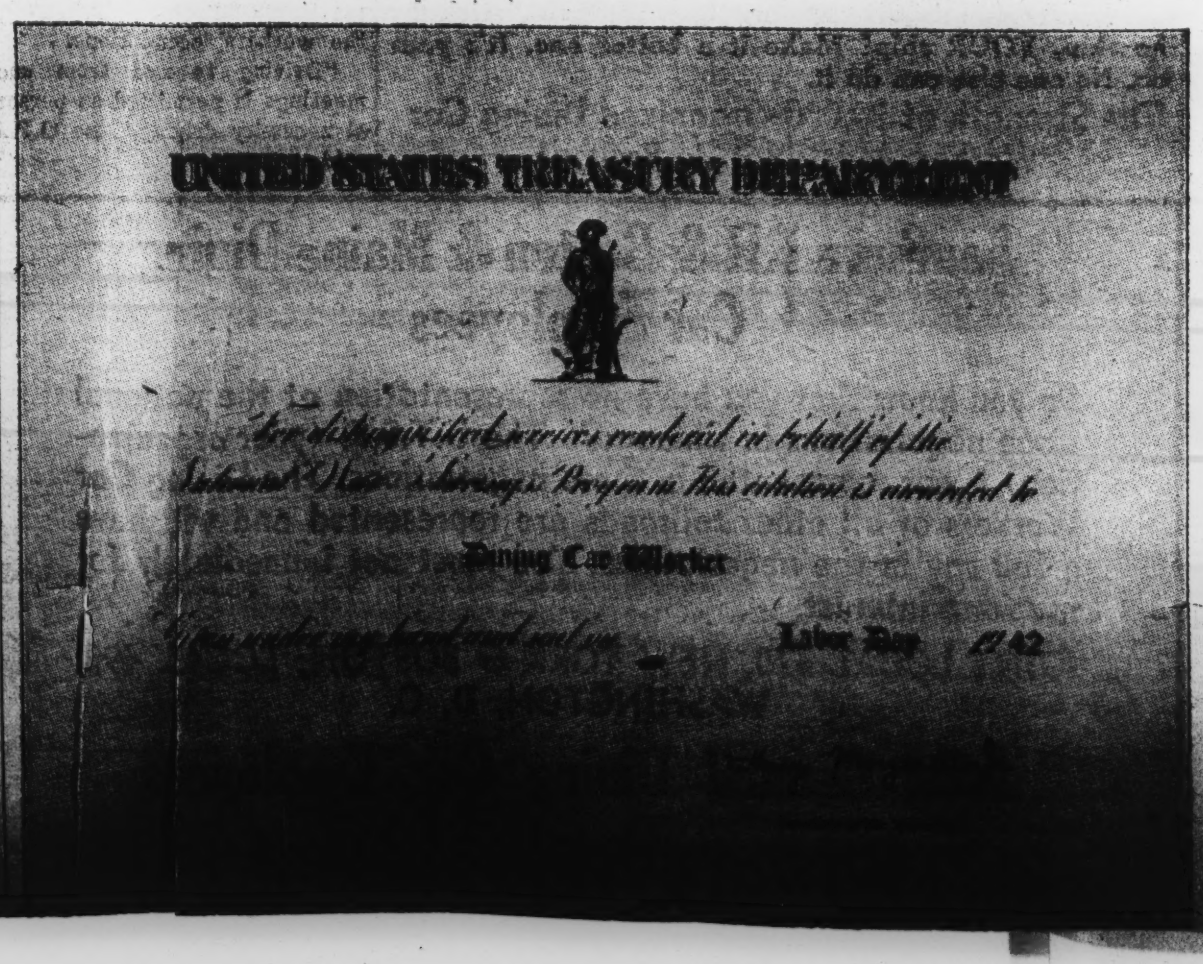
The American people have pledged their all for victory over Nazism and Fascism. They will fight the Axis on the battle-front. They will fight its cohorts in our midst. They will fight division and discrimination. **And they will repeal the poll tax, sooner or later. That is certain.**

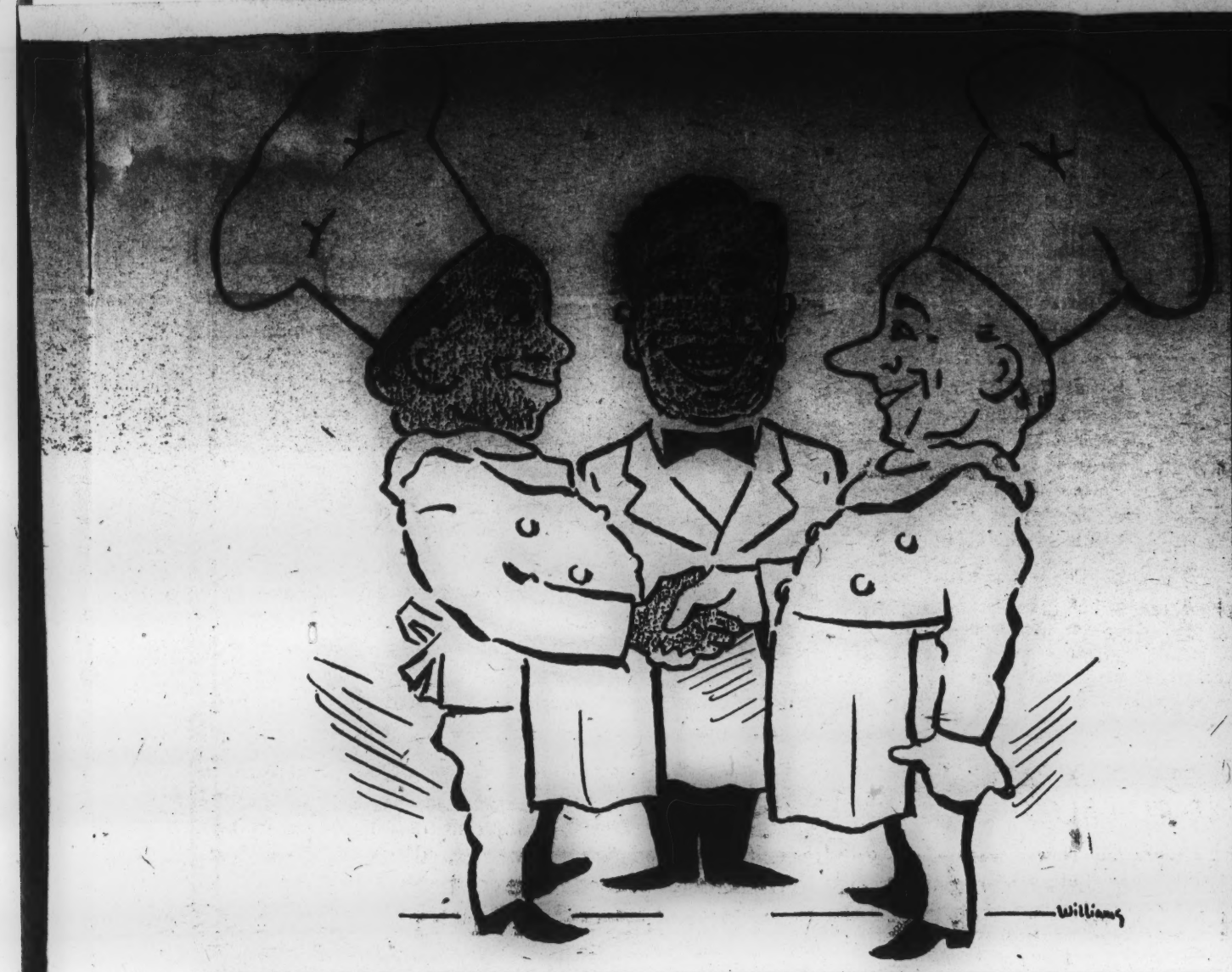
The Railway Labor Act

The National Railroad Adjustment Board in Chicago where all cases involving disputes between the railroads and employees are finally settled, recently turned down a request of the United Transport Service Employees for placing a member of their organization on the Board.

The International Union with whom the Joint Council is affiliated, has a member on the National Railroad Adjustment Board to protect the interests of Dining Car Employees who are members of its affiliated locals.

The Joint Council Dining Car Employees has placed approximately 30 cases before the Railway Adjustment Board in 1941 and has many cases pending at this date.





Railroad Profits Promise to Upset All Past Records

Increase of 57% Over '41 Recorded in First Nine Months

Railroad profits continue to boom and as the end of the year approaches there is every indication that all previous records will be broken.

On that point, the conservative New York "Times" stated on its financial page that new records are due to be established despite reductions of so-called "other income," which is derived from investments and other outside sources. This item, it pointed out, constituted $360,000,000 of the $897,000,000 net for 1929, which was the best previous year. Only about $180,000,000 will come from other sources this year.

Latest figures reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission show that Class I carriers had a combined net income or profit of $571,971,991 for the first nine months, compared with $363,168,275 for the same period of last year, or a gain of about 57 per cent.

For September alone the gain was approximately 80 per cent, the total being $105,190,123, as against $59,766,847 for September last year.

Freight revenue for September was the highest for that month since the records were started by the Commission in 1907, amounting to $546,791,000, an increase of 33 per cent, and passenger revenue of $104,871,000, an increase of 141.2 per cent, was the best for any September since 1923.

Workers Produce More

Significantly shown by the reports is the fact that as the profits soar, due to the ever-increasing efficiency of railroad workers, operating expenses have been decreasing.

The ratio to income was 57.3, the first time it was below 60 for any September since 1907. For the nine months expenses were 63.2 per cent of

Reveals How Railroads Met Travel Needs

Some idea of how the railroads were able to handle record-breaking passenger traffic last year without new cars is given by a report of the Office of Defense Transportation on the conversion of lounge, club, observation, parlor, sleeping and chair cars.

Thirty-five thousand coach seats and scores of berths were added by remodeling more than 700 of these cars. Some were equipped with "park bench" seats and oil lamps. Bunks were installed three deep in old sleepers for use in the movement of troops. Many of the cars were purchased by the carriers from the Pullman company and had not been in service for years.

The Commission estimates that the carriers will have a gross income of $7,400,000,000 for the entire year, which is higher than all previous records.

Preliminary October reports for the individual roads show more spectacular gains. The Baltimore & Ohio net increased 300 per cent over the same month last year. It reported operating revenues $63,000,000 ahead of last year. The Atlantic Coast Line net increased to $1,923,850, or nearly 90 per cent above October, 1941.

President J. L. Beven of the Illinois Central reported freight business on his road 45 per cent ahead of last year and passenger traffic 50 per cent greater.

Labor Biggest Problem

The road's greatest problem is labor, and, to relieve the shortage, employment of women in repair shops and yard offices is contemplated, he said. In that connection, the Long Island railroad now has 28 women employed as engine cleaners.

One of the "freaks" in the realm of railroad finance this week was the sale in Wall Street of 10 common shares of Mahoning Coal Railroad Company for $300 a share. Leased and controlled by the New York Central, which owns more than half the stock, the road has paid dividends of $[illegible] a share

Retain Your Original 'Card'

If a railroad worker accepts employment in an outside industry, must he apply for a Social Security card to replace the card he carried under the Railroad Retirement system? **The answer is, 'No."**

It works the other way around. That is, if someone who has been working in an outside industry is now employed by a railroad, it is not necessary for him to abandon his old Social Security card.

In other words, retain the card you first secured, whether it is from Social Security or Railroad Retirement.

The Social Security Board, through its Baltimore office, has asked LABOR to circulate this information and make it as clear and emphatic as possible.

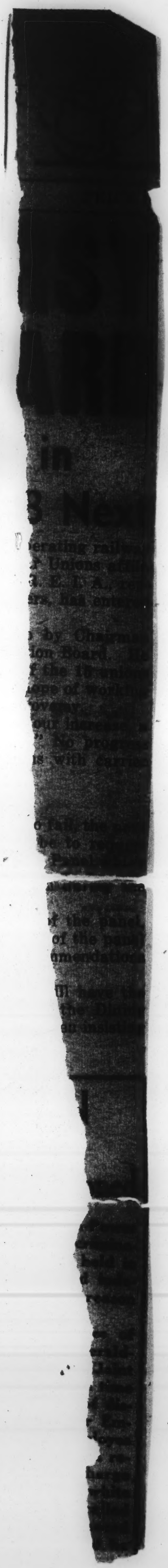
"The account number originally assigned to an individual does not need to be changed and ordinarily should not be changed if the employe changes employment from railroad to non-railroad, or the reverse," says the board, explaining that the necessary arrangements to take care of such cases have been worked out between the two boards.

The Third Division, National Railroad Adjustment Board (Award 1980) between the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pullman Co. ruled out reports of inspectors and "spotters" as evidence. In reversing this time honored custom the Board said:

It is probably necessary for the Pullman Company to employ Traveling Service Inspectors and to use their reports in furtherance of its own business. The Pullman Company knows who these inspectors are, what qualifications they have for obtaining their employment, whether or not they make true reports and whether or not they wish to use those reports in the legitimate prosecution of its business. The employe knows none of these facts and has no way of learning them. Even if a report should be made with the most vicious motives by a person of doubtful veracity and with malicious motives, there would be no way for an employe to attack it, not knowing who made the report, and without the precious right of cross examination. It might be that if he knew who the Inspector was he could prove that he was a personal enemy of the employe, or that he had had some trouble with him, or that he was a man of low character or bad reputation for truth and veracity, or that he was in fact somewhere else than on the train he claimed to be. Some of these reasons were in the minds of our ancestors when they founded this country, and the right to personally confront the witnesses against them was one of the things they fought for. It may be said that this is not a criminal trial, but it certainly partakes of that character and even in civil trials, no deposition can be admitted in any court without the opposing party having been given the right, either in person or by counsel, to confront the witness and cross examine him. Lacking the verification or identification of any known witness these Inspectors' reports are no value at all, they should not have been considered and will be disregarded. This disposes of the contentions as to the two Miami trips and they will be disregarded.

(Note: "Local Union officers will do well to study this far-reaching decision and to make good use of it in future cases.")

THE OFFICERS of Local 370, with General President Flore of [illegible] union, after a recent installation of officers. SITTING: (left to right) Mrs. Mamie; Miguel Guerra; Edward Flore; George E. Brown; [illegible] Hattie H. Flore; [illegible]. STANDING: [illegible]



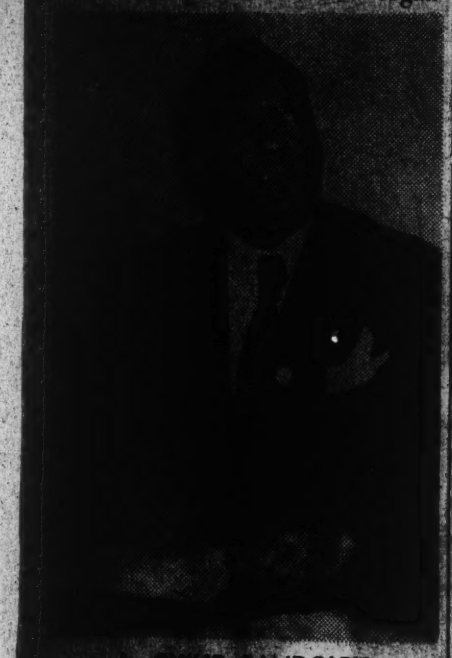
JANUARY 2, 1943

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

Transport Service Employee Union May Clash With Porter Brotherhood

Out of the Chicago headquarters of the United Transport Service Employes of America (UTSEA) CIO there came this week the hint of a movement which may result in a bitter struggle with the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (IBSCP) AFL, and affect thousands of Negroes in the employ of the Pullman Company all over the country. First intimation of the situation came in an announcement from UTSEA that its drive to organize laundry workers of the Pullman Company has been com-

On the heels of this revelation came the report that a new organ-



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
IBSCP Sees No Threat

tion drive among shop workers of the Pullman Company has been launched. A spokesman for UTSEA, announcing the latter announcement, declared that the organization aims to enroll every Pullman shop worker into the CIO."

No AFL Threat

Although UTSEA'S campaigns do not affect directly any of the workers represented by IBSCP, successful organization of all other Pullman employes into the CIO union would automatically create a situation wherein the Pullman Company would be forced to divide negotiations on labor agreements covering its employes between the two unions.

The IBSCP now covers sleeping

WILLARD TOWNSEND
Very Busy Organizing

car, train and chair car porters, attendants and maids and car cleaners. In the absence of President A. Philip Randolph who is out of town, Vice-President Patterson of IBSCP told *PV* Monday that UTSEA'S activities are in no way considered a threat to the AFL group.

Whether or not UTSEA, if successful in organizing all other Pullman employes, will seek to invade IBSCP's domain in an attempt to take over the entire industry cannot be predicted with any certainty. This eventuality however, would doubtless result in a fierce fight.

At any rate, UTSEA is pushing its organization drives, plans to seek labor elections as fast as each campaign is completed in order that it may establish itself as sole collective bargaining agency for each group.

This procedure is already under way in behalf of the Pullman laundry workers. According to UTSEA. claims, over 70 percent of these workers has been signed up in the principal laundries throughout the country in New York, Chicago, Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Kansas City.

ORGANIZATION MEET IN CHI

Opening of the UTSEA organizational drive among the shop workers took place at a mass meeting in Chicago where several hundred Negro, white and Mexican employees of the Calumet repair shop attended. Present at the meeting to give impetus to the drive were CIO Regional Director Fullerton Fulton; President Willard Townsend of UTSEA, Organizational Director Eugene E. Frazier and Herb March, vice-president Chicago Industrial Council.

There are approximately 9,000 shop workers employed by the Pullman Company.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1943

By GEORGE F. McCRAY

Smart Politics By AFL

THE NAMING of Milton P. Webster as a member of the AFL post-war planning committee is more than a gesture undertaken by President William Green to save the face and salve the feelings of pullman porters.

Green was also thinking of the thousands of Negroes who are members of the AFL. The rebuff which A. Philip Randolph received at the Toronto AFL convention was a saddening disappointment to Negro members of the federation.

Many Negroes in the AFL had hoped that the CIO's warm support of Willard S. Townsend would at least soften the attitude of AFL leaders. Failure of these leaders to take action placed Randolph in a most compromising position. Obviously Randolph or Green had to do something. Though Green's appointment of Webster enables everybody to breathe a little easier, the move has far deeper significance.

A World Issue

In the first place the AFL has been taking a terrific beating on the race issue during the past few years. Its whole social and economic program has been cheapened by its indifference to the welfare of minority groups.

Added to this fact is another development in the international labor movement which is most embarrassing to the AFL. The British Trade Union Congress has always recognized the AFL as the only legitimate trade union movement in the United States. Of course the CIO has always protested, but usually got the brushoff.

A few months ago the AFL rejected the proposal of the British Trade Union Congress that the British unions, the AFL and the Soviet unions form an international alliance to support a common program to win the war. The AFL did not want to recognize the Soviet unions and made the counter proposal that the Soviet unions be set off in a sort of Jim Crow international labor auxiliary. Of course the proposal was rejected.

An influential section of the British Trade Union Congress, led by Bryn Roberts, one of the two "envoys" handling negotiations with the AFL, decided to do business with the CIO. Roberts defied precedent, allowed himself to be banqueted by CIO leaders, and what is more, he came to the Boston convention of the CIO and virtually stated that so far as he is concerned, the CIO is the American labor movement.

An All-Out Fight

Current reports have it that other leaders in the British Trade Union Congress, particularly those close to Sir Walter Citrine, opposed the move to recognize CIO. Whereupon, the leaders who were close to Bryn Roberts gathered extensive information on AFL discrimination against Negroes and minority groups in the United States. The contention is that such discrimination makes it unwise to accept the AFL as the sole representative of labor in the United States.

This line of reasoning presumes that the British labor leaders are keenly aware of the need to include minority groups and particularly the millions of workers in the British colonies and dominions in their plans for victory and peace. It would seem this is exactly what is happening in England today, but that is another story.

However, it might be significant that the list of British delegates who are coming to the United States to attend the first meeting of the Anglo-American Labor Committee does not include the name of Bryn Roberts. Sir Walter Citrine heads the British delegation.

Beyond doubt, many influential AFL leaders feel very strongly the pressure exerted by the fight against discrimination here at home and in England. The appointment of Webster undoubtedly reflects this pressure, and we should accept the appointment as an indication of what can be accomplished by an all-out fight against discrimination.

Some of the AFL leaders have proposed that the AFL establish an anti-discrimination committee. It seems that the man who turned thumbs down on the idea was Big Bill Hutcheson, labor advisor to the Republican party, one time enemy, but now a friend of John L. Lewis, and the man who called Randolph an irresponsible agitator. It is in spite of such men as these that the fight against discrimination must be won.

Engineering Courses For Women At Hampton

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, Va. — Hampton Institute announced today the newest development in its wartime program for women, an intensive course in engineering fundamentaly for feminine college graduates.

A total of 20 women college graduates will be admitted to the first engineering class, which will convene on or about February 15.

Sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education, the instruction will be tuition-free, although trainees must pay for their own text books and take care of their travel and living expenses. Interested applicants should write at once to Dr. Turner, stating their qualifications and requesting application blanks.

MONDAY
NEW YORK
BUN

ork Times

TRAIN MURDER LAID TO DINING CAR COOK

Robert Folkes, 20, Is Reported Saying He Killed Mrs. James, Then Retracting Story

HE IS HELD IN LOS ANGELES

First Confessed Using Knife, Then Made Denial, but Said He Knew Who Did

ALBANY, Ore., Jan. 27 (AP)—Robert L. Folkes, 20-year-old Negro, was charged today with the murder of Mrs. Martha Virginia Brinson James, bride of Ensign Richard F. James, in Lower Berth 13 on the Southern Pacific's West Coast Limited in the early-morning darkness last Saturday.

Folkes was the second cook on the Limited. He was arrested in Los Angeles as the train ended its 1,800-mile run through Oregon and California. The filing of a first-degree murder charge was directed by the Linn County (Ore.) District Attorney, Harlow L. Weinrick.

Police Captain Verne Rasmussen said in Los Angeles that Folkes confessed slashing the throat of Mrs. James as she lay in her berth while the train rolled through Linn County. Captain Rasmussen said, however, that Folkes then retracted his admission of killing the 21-year-old daughter of a prominent Norfolk (Va.) family.

District Attorney Weinrick said Folkes would be denied bail.

Slain by a Sharp Knife

Mrs. James, married only four months to Ensign James, also a member of a prominent Virginia family, was slain, officers said, by a sharp knife—possibly a pocket knife—wielded by a right-handed assailant.

"Yes, I did it with the head cook's boning knife," Captain Rasmussen quoted Folkes as saying. "I won't tell you why I did it."

Later, Captain Rasmussen said the Negro denied his story, declared he was innocent. He knew who committed the crime, however, he said, "but I can't tell you who he is because I have to protect him; he has a wife and children."

"We don't have the physical evidence here (in Los Angeles) to check on his stories, which seem to have many discrepancies," the officer explained.

Folkes's overcoat was turned over to the police crime laboratory to ascertain whether it bore blood-stains. The check will take at least two days.

If the weapon has been recovered, police have not disclosed the fact. Nor have they reported discovering any motive for the crime. Mrs. James's purse, containing $112, was found in her berth.

PM, MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1943

'Lower 13' Murder Mystery Deepens

Special Correspondence

KLAMATH FALLS, Ore., Jan. 25.—Police bewilderment at the "Lower 13" slaying of Mrs. Martha Virginia Brinson James in a speeding Pullman car increased today, when it was determined that she had been neither raped nor robbed.

There appeared to be no reason why she should have been stabbed to death in her berth as the train sped southward Saturday night.

Pvt. Harold R. Wilson, who occupied upper 13 and who gave a detailed description of a man he said fled from the victim's berth, was held as a material witness.

Mrs. Martha James

Held also as a witness was John Preston Funchess, 29, dining car waiter, who owns a pin-striped suit such as Wilson said the killer was wearing.

Two passengers sleeping nearby told police they heard a woman cry out, "My, God, he's killing me," just before Mrs. James' body tumbled from her berth.

Police had no theory as to how the slayer escaped from the speeding train.

Wilson said the man he saw was swart and blood-spattered. Blood marked the carpet toward another coach into which he said the man fled.

Mrs. James, wife of a Navy ensign, was traveling alone because of rail congestion. Her husband was on another section of the train.

[redacted]

KLAMATH Falls, Ore., Jan. 24 (AP)—Murder in Lower 13—the knife slaying of Mrs. Martha Virginia Brinson James in a crowded sleeping car of a Southern Pacific train southbound through Oregon—tonight presented investigators with a mystery as baffling as any in the state's criminal history.

Nearly twenty-four hours after the body of the twenty-one-year-old bride of a Navy ensign had been found in the aisle of the sleeper at 4 a. m. yesterday there was nothing to indicate why she had been slain nor much in the way of clews as to the identity of her slayer.

Yet dozens of fellow passengers were present at the moment of death, many of them awakened by a last scream. At least one caught a half glimpse of the slain woman's assailant, a nondescript dark-skinned figure with a full face and pin-striped brown suit. The man vanished down the corridor even as Mrs. James rolled dead from her berth into the aisle.

Crew Member Detained

Mrs. James's death occurred near Tangent, eighty miles south of Portland. At Eugene, 120 miles south, her body was removed. A medical examiner said she had not been raped. Neither had she been robbed.

All through the day the train moved slowly south as relays of state police sought evidence to explain the bizarre crime. Eventually at this city near the California line the train was stopped for four hours, and members of its Negro crew questioned minutely. One was held.

State Police Sergeant E. W. Tichenor identified the man as John Funches, thirty, of Oakland, Calif., and said he was one of several Negro employees who were removed for questioning. The others were released, but Funches was placed in the county jail. Tichenor said there was no charge against Funches, a dining-car employee, who denied knowledge of the slaying.

Heard Woman Cry Out

Sergeant Tichenor said a woman passenger complained that a Negro train employee made an insulting remark to her last night. The man answered Funches's description, Sergeant Tichenor said.

Eugene W. Norton, of Culver City, Calif., and William Van Dyke, a marine, who had occupied berths near No. 13, said they were awakened about 4 a. m. by the voice of a woman saying:

"I can't take this any longer."

Then there was a pause, they said, and the woman screamed: "My God! He's killing me!"

Norton and Van Dyke said they then saw Harold R. Wilson, a marine private, who occupied upper 13, jump from his berth to aid Mrs. James, who had fallen into the aisle.

Marine Held as Witness

Private Wilson said he had heard a scream and had looked out just in time to see a dark, husky man emerge from lower 13 and run down the car aisle. After determining that Mrs. James was dead he sprinted after the man, but did not catch him. Private Wilson was held as a material witness.

Wilson said the man who leaped from lower 13 wore a brown pin-striped suit. Funches had a brown suit, but it was not pin-striped.

On another train miles ahead of the West Coast Limited was Mrs. James's husband, Ensign Richard F. James, member of a Virginia family. He was traveling on a routine transfer from Seattle and because of a passenger jam at Portland became separated from Mrs. James, so they boarded separate trains. He did not learn of the tragedy until his train reached Klamath Falls, ten hours after the murder. He turned back [illegible] to claim the body of [illegible]

Who Said We Are Not Doing Our Part?

...Soldiers and Volunteers Exceed Population Percentage

The Office of War Information reports that "although Negroes constitute 10 per cent of the total population of the last census, Negro soldiers and volunteers constituted 10.8 per cent of all persons inducted into the Army through selective service by Oct. 31, 1942."

"In nine out of 14 southern and border states, the percentage of Negroes inducted in the Army through selective service exceeded the percentage of Negroes registered in those states.

"During the same period, Negroes constituted 10.2 per cent of the total number of volunteers entering the Army through the selective service system."

It was reported by the OWI that Negroes are now serving in the armed forces in Great Britain, Ireland, North and West Africa, Liberia, Australia, New Guinea, Hawaii, Alaska and the West Indies.

Sleeping Car Porters' Executive Named to Labor Committee

Milton P. Webster, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and member of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, was named this week by William L. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, to serve on a committee to investigate and report definite objectives of labor.

In appointing the committee Mr. Green said: "We know our objectives. We want lasting peace. We want equity between nations. We want freedom and opportunity for all nations. We want social and economic security for all peoples."

THE NEGRO LABOR NEWS

HOUSTON, TEXAS, SATURDAY, JAN. 9, 1943

Webster Gets Place on Post-War Committee

NEW YORK CITY—Milton P. Webster, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the FEPC, has received appointment from William Green as a member of the Post-War Planning Committee.

The committee, composed of nine members will begin work immediately on plans for post war problems of labor.

Webster also heads a sub-committee for the investigation of railway discrimination.

Other members of the committee are Matthew Woll, AFL vice president; David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU; Miss Agnes Nestor of the International Glove Workers Union; Dr. John Childs of Columbia University; Harvey Brown Machinist's union head; George M. Harrison, Brotherhood of Railway Clarks; Richard Gray of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers and Rubin Soderstrom, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Randolph Asks End Of Color Ban Or No Closed Shop

A. P[illegible] Randolph, International [illegible]nt of the Brotherhood of [illegible]eping Car Porters, this week stated in connection with the movement by the fourteen non-operating railway unions to secure a closed shop, that unless the railway unions abolish the color bar, a closed shop should be denied them. He stated further that Negro railway workers should be admitted as full-fledged members, with the right to voice and vote and election to offices and as delegates to the international conventions, that formulate and adopt legislation, and also to the agreement and grievance committees to negotiate wage contracts.

Mr. Randolph concluded that the closed shop may be the means of eliminating Negroes from the railway industry as firemen, switchmen, brakemen and shopcraft workers. New Leader Jan 2/43

KAISER UNION BARS NEGROES

Several Shipping Here Hit Snag in Oregon

PORTLAND, Ore.—Henry J. Kaiser's first trainload of newly hired New York workers arrived here Wednesday after an uneventful four-day trip from coast to coast.

Most of the workers seemed prepared to start on their jobs immediately, but it was reported colored tradesmen would be held up pending a ruling from the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America (AFL).

Insists on Color Bar

This union, one of the most powerful on the West Coast, is insisting on barring Kaiser's colored employes from membership. That is why Kaiser's other

(Continued on Page 2)

American Guardian
Oct. 9, 1942

KAISER UNION BARS NEGROES

Continued from Page One

colored workers have been employed only as porters and maintenance men.

Because of the action taken in Washington by New York's director of the War Manpower Commission, Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, union officials agreed to allow colored New Yorkers to make the trip here on an "understanding" that they would be permitted to work for the duration.

It is believed the "understanding" means that colored workers were hired under the AFL's widely criticized "permit system," a method used to protect white workers only and bar other race groups.

The union's constitution contains no direct ban in theory, but in practice colored tradesmen are barred on this clause:

"An applicant for membership must be a freeborn, male citizen of some civilized country, 16 years of age, working in some branch of the trade at the time of making application."

The Star-News was told that union officials interpreted the phrase "some civilized country" as referring to colored workers.

When the question was put to Mrs. Rosenberg, she flatly rejected anything bordering on Jim Crowism. Union officials insisted that they were right, however, and the matter was referred to the WPB in Washington. Authorities there told the union bluntly that colored help would be hired and, if the union interfered, the closed-shop contract would be torn up.

THE NEW LEADER

NOVEMBER 7, 1942

McNutt-Hershey Battle Stalls Manpower Plan

By I. F. Stone

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A knock-down fight between two government agencies over control of American manpower today not only was losing vital production but was alienating further support from the New Deal administration.

War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and General Lewis B. Hershey are today in a literally titanic struggle over the manpower throne. President Roosevelt who could end the dispute in five minutes has said nothing.

McNutt, who despite severe criticism of his former political record, has worked closely with the large union federations, and who is surrounded by some of the most capable men in the government's war services has asked for complete control of manpower—for civilian, military and industrial use. General Hershey, backed by a corps of New Dealers who distrust McNutt and who fear for their political lives if he is elected president in 1944, has been insisting on manpower control through the autonomous draft boards whose work is virtually finished.

The feeling in informed circles here is that McNutt's streamlined agency is capable of handling the problem as long as there is no labor draft. McNutt is willing to go along with this for it saves him the necessity and political irritation of fighting the AFL and CIO. The unions are irrevocably opposed to any compulsion or freezing of jobs.

Though the need for a coordinated manpower policy is vital, it has become one of the really high-bounding footballs in the Capital. Typical is what happened to the Negro Manpower service recently. Under Robert Weaver, the service was rapidly becoming an effective bureau tracking down and eliminating discrimination against Negroes. The service was run by Weaver, a Negro, its staff consisted of competent Negroes and it was successful. Then the President moved the Fair Employment Practices Committee into McNutt's office. Immediately a storm of protest arose, McNutt was set to emasculate the FEPC. Negro pressure groups rallied to it. The FEPC chief, Lawrence Cramer, a white man, disappointed the Negroes. [illegible] effective [illegible] first [illegible] in WPB, [illegible] Negro Manpower [illegible] placed in his charge. He [illegible] sufficient political pressure to win his case. And the Negro Manpower Service was virtually eliminated for political reasons.

Manpower cannot be handled on a political basis. Today it is one of the most confused, and important, pictures in the war effort. Roosevelt could clear the picture immediately. He could ask for the necessary legislation. He could call in the labor people and tell them how important it is for them to go along. He could order General Hershey to stay out of power politics as a military man should. He could clear up the confusion among the Selective Service heads.

These actions should be taken soon. Last Tuesday's elections showed that situations like the manpower muddle are doing the New Deal little good.

[illegible]

Form Free Negro Group; Randolph Hits 'Jim Crow'

Plans to organize a Free Negro movement which, like the other "Free" organizations "will press claims for justice for subjugated and oppressed people" and demand representation at the peace conference, are getting under way under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, well-known Negro spokesman.

Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, who is in Toronto for the AFL convention, also indicated that the Negro delegates would fight for the Brotherhood's resolution calling for the establishment of a Minorities Committee on Discrimination to check prejudices of race, color, religion, or national origin. The report on this resolution is expected to stir up considerable convention controversy.

The Free Negro, Mr. Randolph observed, should seek collaboration with the Free French and other Free people's groups fighting fascism in order to take their proper place in a society of free peoples. His March on Washington movement, he hinted, would call together Negro leaders of the western hemisphere to discuss ways and means for developing the Free Negro movement and map a world program for the Negro peoples.

THE NEW LEADER

NOVEMBER 14, 1942

Sam Staff Scores AFL Shrug At Negro Union Discrimination

From SAM STAFF

To the Editor:

Mr. Daniel Tobin's various replies to A. Philip Randolph on the subject of discrimination towards Negroes in trade unions sound to me far too much like the fox's lecture to the goose on good manners. It would doubtless have been conducive to the comfort of the fox if the goose had been willing to be eaten in peace and quiet. But there is, after all, the point of view of the fellow who is being eaten.

Mr. Randolph brought the plight of his Negro people honestly, publicly, openly, officially to the attention of the convention of the A. F. of L. at Toronto. Hundreds of colored workers are not being hired because certain A. F. of L. unions have rules or practices [illegible] ployers this time who keep [illegible] outside the gate and prevent them from contributing [illegible] American war effort. [illegible] workingmen represented by [illegible] union officials.

And what does Mr. Tobin have to say in reply? At the convention and in a public statement made since the convention [illegible] he says in effect: "We [illegible] don't set up a howl [illegible] and humiliate our great [illegible] before enemies." Nothing [illegible] —about using the influence of the great A. F. of L. Executive Council to [illegible] minor officials and local organizations into line [illegible] a fair and decent trade union policy which will give Negro workers a chance to do their part toward beating the [illegible] Germans. What about this policy and [illegible]

Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY
COPYRIGHT 1942 BY ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY
OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 3435 INDIANA AVE., TELEPHONE CALUMET 5600
CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1943
THIS PAPER CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS — PART

NAME WEBSTER ON AFL PEACE PLANNING BODY

Move By Green Seen As Recognition Of Negro In Labor Movement

In a significant move recognizing the influence of Negroes in the labor movement, AFL President William Green this week appointed Milton P. Webster, international vice president, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a member of nine man post-war planning committee.

Believing that his appointment gives the Negro race an opportunity to have its war objectives in-

MILTON P. WEBSTER

corporated in labor's peace proposals, Webster expressed this opinion in an interview with the Chicago Defender.

"This appointment is a recognition that labor realizes that Negro wishes for the post war world are due some consideration," he declared. "Like every other minority group, we have certain problems which are peculiar to us," he continued, "but fundamentally ke are workers and our economic problems are the same as other workers. Any program that this committee promulgates will of necessity affect our interests."

Webster would not comment at this time on specific proposals he may make to the committee. He pointed out that as yet he has not been officially notified of his appointment and until the body meets can't speculate on the scope of its activities.

His appointment is significant, however, for with Philip A. Randolph he has led the fight against Negro discrimination in certain AFL unions. All of the men named are big figures in labor.

...dolph Flays Negro ... Baiters At Loop Meet

...ressing more than 300 ... ministers attending ... Sunday night's meeting ... Chicago Federation of ...ches at Central Y.M.C.A., ...LaSalle street, A. Philip Ran... president of the Brotherhood ...ping Car Porters and direc... of the March on Washington ...ment discussed with fervor ...rent emphasis "The Negro in ...American Democracy."

...sociologist winner of the ...rn medal was introduced to ...rgymen present by the Rev. ... Roberts, pastor of Coppin ... A.M.E. church who told of ...ph's efforts in securing for ... the rights and privileges ...ured them under the United ... Constitution.

...ning his discourse to the re... central theme of the meet... Randolph drew an analogy be... the treatment of the Negro ... Bourbon South and that ac... him by certain segments of ... clergy. He said:

"... is apparent that the ... has practically conquered the ... of America and compelled it ... its ideology of racism. This ...nifest in the position of the church itself. The white church of America subscribes to this doctrine in maintaining a religious ceremonial dualism for white and black Christians. As a champion of the principles of Jesus Christ, it has failed and failed miserably.

"When the test of Christian brotherhood came upon the most humble and the weakest followers of Christ—the Negro people—a corrosive and deadening spirit of complacency seized the entire life of religious America. Refuge and solace are taken in sonorous and eloquent sermons about the brotherhood of man that in reality are pure hypocrisy, for the doors of salvation of the white church are shut in the face of black Christian worshippers."

Mincing no words and hewing close to the line, Randolph's opening statement attracted the clergymen's immediate attention, as he declared: "The problem of the Negro is a problem of discrimination, segregation and jim-crow in the economic, political and social life of America. It has its roots in a world movement, namely, the slave trade of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the exploitation of slave labor in the production of sugar, rice, tobacco and cotton in the New World."

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 9, 1943

Rail Job Color Ban Must End—McNutt

NEW YORK — Discrimination against colored workers in the railroad industry must stop, Chairman Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Commission told the railroad division of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers during its recent meeting here.

"Prejudice and discrimination which limit the use of colored Americans must go down. By direct negotiation with employers and unions we have greatly reduced discrimination against colored and other minority groups," he declared.

"And here again," he continued, "railroad management and railroad labor must join in analyzing the hiring practices and the employment traditions of their industry.

FEPC Hearings Jan. 25-27

"Were the employment practices of many railroads to be applied to American industry as a whole, millions of colored Americans, instead of turning out the ships, shells, planes and guns America needs for victory, would be immobilized for the duration of the war."

The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee will hold hearings in Washington, January 25, 26 and 27 on discrimination against colored workers by the railroads and rail unions, following investigations into employment practices of Southern roads over the past two months.

Affidavits assembled by its investigators charge that while many railroad unions bar colored workers from membership, they ostensibly represent them as their certified bargaining agents under the Railway Labor Act, it is reported.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 16, 1943

Among Railroad and Pullman Workers

By JAMES H. HOGANS

NEW YORK

MAKE 'EM PAY

Wallace Henderson, Hartford, Conn., red cap, has set a precedent for railroad employees to follow in cases of assault and battery by passengers.

The red cap was recently awarded $650 by the Common Pleas Court of that city against a passenger who assaulted him last summer.

A case somewhat similar occurred in the New York Pennsylvania Station last month, when a passenger assaulted a red cap whom he accused of causing him to miss his train.

There is nothing unusual, however, for some passenger to resort to physical abuse when provoked by an employee in a servile capacity. Seldom is this done to other than red caps, porters, waiters and others of that class, no matter how great the provocation.

Seemingly, these railroad employees are looked upon as fair targets for ruffled tempers. It is about time that something is done to disabuse the traveling public's mind of that impression.

You cannot, of course, devise any method that will prevent one from becoming angry at some act of discourtesy or omission on the part of an employee, but that doesn't give one the right to expend one's provocation in a physical manner.

The significance of the Hartford case, a very vicious one, was that there was no reasonable excuse for the assault, in the first place.

In the next place, it was committed by a man who, by all the tenets of his business connections, should have used more restraint, no matter how great the provocation may have appeared to him.

Travelers like that should be made to pay, as in this incident, when they lose their temper to that extent. This will serve to discourage the practice.

RAIL HEARING KILLED

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE JANUARY 9, 1943

Charge Railroads Aid Negro Worker Jimcro

CHICAGO—(FP)—America's railroad industry is guilty of wholesale discrimination against the Negro worker, the Chicago Committee on Railroad Employment charges in a brief filed with the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Accusing the railroads of violating Pres. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 banning discriminatory practices, the committee pointed out that the companies were creating their own manpower shortage problem by deliberately withholding jobs from Negroes and limiting them to low-paid unskilled work.

The brief was submitted in preparation for the FEPC hearings on railroad discrimination to be held in Washington Jan. 25-27. The following methods of discrimination aimed at Negro workers were cited:

- Denying employment to Negro workers in many classes of work, particularly skilled trades;
- denying advancement to Negro workers despite their skills and years of service;
- excluding Negroes completely from such skilled jobs as machinists, locomotive engineers, conductors, firemen, carmen, telegraphers, carpenters and executive positions;
- barring Negro girls and boys from employment as apprentices, and
- attempting to deprive Negro workers now employed in skilled categories on southern railroads of these jobs.

The companies singled out in the committee's report include: New York Central, Pennsylvania, Chicago Milwaukee St. Paul & Pacific, Chicago & Northwestern, Baltimore & Ohio, Rock Island and Illinois Central.

The committee also scored failure of the FEPC to enforce the President's order against job discrimination and urged that hearings dealing with all phases of Negro discrimination be held.

Officers Avoid Lynching

CORINTH, Miss.—Only quick action on the part of local officers prevented Oscar Herman from being lynched here last week. As soon as word was received that a mob was forming and planned to take the prisoner from the Alcorn County jail, Herman was slipped away to an undisclosed spot.

He was arrested for the alleged rape of an unnamed white woman.

McNUTT ADMITS HE CALLED OFF PROBE; NO RESIGNATIONS

BULLETIN! WASHINGTON, D.C. [illegible] conference Monday afternoon, Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, said [illegible] full responsibility for the postponement of the [illegible] scheduled this month by the Fair Employment Practices Committee. He said the postponement was decided upon to [illegible] differences with Southern railroads. Mr. McNutt also denied that any of the colored members of FEPC had [illegible]

By ROGER DIDIER
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14—Ordered [illegible] to call off its scheduled hearings into employment discrimination on United States railroads, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices now has an opportunity to [illegible] whether it can [illegible] discrimination [illegible] it finds it or [illegible] of higher-ups [illegible] and when it can.

The railroad hearings originally scheduled for [illegible] have been postponed until [illegible]

McNUTT DENIED ORDERED FEPC

The action of the Committee to hold the hearings for common carriers was disclosed by Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

McNutt is said to have ordered FEPC to call off the hearing by the White House.

His action spells [illegible] to one question, [illegible] tee independent and [illegible] accord with its own [illegible] and decisions? It is not.

Elaborate preparations for the hearing had been made by Committee Henry Epstein, former solicitor general for the State of New York, had been hired as special counsel to "ready" the case against common carriers, and Charles H. Ho[illegible] former NAACP

(Continued on Page 5, Col. [illegible])

. . Things Seen, Heard and Done . .
AMONG PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

Local 109 of the Cincinnati district, is maintaining its loyalty to The Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association. During the Christmas holidays they attended in a group, a party sponsored by the Ladies Auxiliary, and according to all reports, it was the feature attraction during the holidays.

The party was held at the palatial home of Mrs. Nathaniel Greer, 3240 Rammelsberg street, Cincinnati, Ohio, and everything from soup to nuts were served. Bingo and bridge held the spotlight. Valuable prizes were awarded to the winners. We congratulate both Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Greer for the success which they are making in holding the Cincinnati Local members together, especially during these times when so many others are running around in circles trying to decide just what they should do. Mrs. Greer has done a wonderful job; she has worked hard and has successfully convinced the ladies whose husbands are pullman porters that their best interests lay in the future success of The Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association.

We are happy to report that Ben Metcalf of the Chicago Western District is coming along fine after having the end of his little finger on the right hand severed last week while putting away berths en route from Pittsburgh to Chicago. When your columnist visited Porter Metcalf, he found him very cheerful. He said the only thing that he regretted was: Now his identity could be easily established.

Speaking of the Chicago Western District: According to a report from J. R. Reese, the Hines Hospital in Chicago is just about filled up with Chicago west porters. Of course, many of these men are war veterans, some dating back to the Spanish American war in 1898, and some from World War I.

Anyway, here are a few that are now confined to this Government Hospital: J. B. Cambell, suffering from a slight stroke; L. W. Johnson, suffering with some kind of a gland trouble; and A. C. Williams, suffering with cataracts on his eyes. Williams, by the way, was just released from this hospital some time back, and now he must return for another operation. We can only hope for all these men a speedy recovery.

Porters also of the Chicago west are very jubilant over the appointment of Mrs. Hannah White 6018 St. Lawrence avenue, as a recruiting agent for the WAAC in Chicago. She will be stationed at Walgreens Drug Store, 47th and South Park.

T. F. Strange has put Pennsylvania Terminal District on top. He has just placed his subscription for a ($40.00) forty dollars per month deduction through the pay roll system for defense bonds. If this war last long enough he says: I will be eating when some of these birds who now are telling me that I am crazy, wiill be starving. He also says: You know I have only thirteen years to go before I will be pensioned.

Well, I am wondering if my good friend Strange thinks that this war is going to last thirteen years. And if it does, where will he be? It would seem to me that there are just two things that men have not yet learned, to adjust their thinking to—the two simple and fundamental laws of life—the certainty of death and the eternalness of change.

NEW YORK AGE

Saturday, January 16, 1943

JOURNAL AND GUIDE

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1943

Porters Hurt In Train Wreck

More Than 30 Injured In A Rail Crash

DIXON, Ill. — William Reeves and James Williams, both of Chicago, Pullman porters on the Chicago Northwestern Railway, suffered injuries along with thirty other passengers and members of the two train crews, when one of the route's mail trains ploughed into the rear of the line's transcontinental passenger train, at the Dixon station shortly before midnight Saturday night.

Many of the Challenger's passengers were soldiers and sailors returning to their stations after Christmas furloughs. Both trains were westbound from Chicago.

The dead were Chris Larson, of Chicago, engineer of the mail train, and Charles Flotz, Chicago, flagman of the Challenger's rear Pullman. Rescuers cut both workers from the wreckage with acetylene torches.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

Saturday, January 23, 1943

Around and Beyond

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

THE CAUSE of American democracy and justice received another slap in the face on Monday, Jan. 11, when Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt arbitrarily suspended the scheduled hearings of Negro railroad workers before the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The Commissioner's action was taken without the knowledge or consent of the members of the committee. The hearings were to have been held on Jan. 25 and 27 in Washington and were intended to expose some of the discriminatory tactics practiced against Southern Negro locomotive firemen by both the union and the railroad management. It is estimated that over 2,000 Negro firemen will be catapulted from their jobs by July 1, 1943, unless the Government steps in to prevent it.

Frank R. Crosswaith

Remembers McNutt

Readers of this column will remember Commissioner McNutt as the gentleman who recently appeared in the following two interesting roles:

Early in last December the Commissioner addressed a group of railroad executives gathered in a conference and told them in substance that if the employment practices of certain railroad management were continued "millions of American Negroes, instead of turning out the ships, shells, planes and guns America and her allies need for victory over Nazism and its allies, they would be immobilized during the war instead."

Earlier in 1942 Commissioner McNutt was the featured speaker and endorser of a mass meeting in Harlem, at which time the so-called Negro Labor Victory Committee was baptized. Oh! how true is the old adage: "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts." We wish every reader of this column would study the meaning of that adage and thus be more careful in choosing our friends and in supporting causes.

Earn Small Pay

The Negro locomotive firemen in the South have had a most interesting career. When the southern "choo-choo" trains burnt soft coal the grimy Negro fireman was a familiar figure in the railroad systems of the South. His daily wage was about $60 or less a month. During a single run the fireman used to shovel more than 20 tons of coal. In those days the "superior" (?) white railroad workers of the South scorned those jobs and confined themselves largely to the more skilled jobs of engineers, etc. These superior (?) people, with the approval of the railroad management, advanced and promoted the false Nazi theory that a Negro could never be an engineer. The engineers, like other white railroad workers, were organized. Because of the prejudiced attitude of these white railroad workers, the Negro firemen and switchmen were consti-

tionally barred from membership in the railroad unions.

In passing it might be of interest to recall that when this writer, together with A. Philip Randolph, Ashley L. Totten, Wm. Des Verney and others, succeeded in organising the Pullman porters, one of the most difficult hills we had to climb, in addition to the natural opposition of the Pullman Company, at that time headed by the son of Abraham Lincoln, was the persistent and brazen efforts of one of the white railroad unions to claim jurisdiction over the Pullman porters. That union did nothing to organize those Negroes — it had in its constitution a clause barring Negroes, yet after the Negro had succeeded for the first time in American industrial history in lifting himself organizationally by his own bootstrap, that same union stepped in to claim jurisdiction. Of course, their efforts were not opposed by the Pullman Company nor by many of the leaders of labor. There were some progressive units of labor and liberals, however, who recognized the justice of our position and gave us their wholehearted support. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were among the most outstanding in this respect.

Efforts Are Opposed

With Negro workers steadily gaining access to many industries, and readily accepting the sound principles of trade unionism, an effort is being made, under the leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to organize these Negro railroad workers. Naturally, this effort is being opposed by certain railroad unions and management.

It is the general belief among liberals and progressive labor leaders that McNutt's action is simply another indication of the determined intention of the enemies of American democracy to sabotage and eventually destroy the FEPC. They have had several successes in their campaigns thus far, among them being:

1. Their opposition to a certain Negro being on the committee.
2. The utterly inadequate financial support allotted to the committee.
3. Mr. McNutt's action.

Once more the Negro has to make a decision. Must we, in cooperation with the enlightened and progressive sections of organized labor, take our fate in our own hands? Or shall we continue blindly to place our future in the uncertain lap of time and everchanging circumstances? We are turning a corner in our struggle for justice. Let us turn with our heads up and in the spirit of Patrick Henry together declare: "Give us liberty or give us death!"

SICKNESS IS THE BANE of efficiency. Stay well by practicing right habits, eating pure food, and getting plenty of refreshing sleep. The habitually sick man is a liability, not only to himself and his family, but also to his neighbors.

SYMPATHY HAS a thousand charms to show That slaves, however contented, can never know.

SATURDAY, JANURY 23, 1943

. . Things Seen, Heard And Done . .

AMONG PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

On page three, column three in The New York Age of December 12. 1942, there appeared an article entitled "Porters Charge Bias In Brief to F. E. P. C."

In that article the writer attempts to point out discriminatory hiring policies and existing practices of segregation by the Pullman management. Your columnist's attention was called to the article and asked for comments. I did not feel that I could give a fair answer at the time so advised those seking my reaction to the article that I would have something to say on this article later on.

Now that I have had time to study the accusation made by the writer of that article I am herewith expresing my opinion as to what I think of that article. First: I would say that the writer of that article is not very well acquainted with the long established customs of the Pullman Company. Second: I am unable to see in his article anything that would persist in certain old attitudes, in certain old nations and valuations that have hitherto governed a great sector of human relations. Third: If the writer was attempting to stir up something that would bring about peace between the porters and the Pullman management I think he was off in his calculative mind.

If you want an abiding peace you must be ready to curb revenge and hate. If you want an abiding peace, you must not set up conditions that the vanquished parties will bitterly resent for generations to come. If you want an abiding peace you must not put the welfare of the whole above the immediate advantage of the part.

These conditions are surely obvious to anyone who reflects on the subject mentioned in that article, unfortunately it is a subject on which the traveling public has not been taught to reflect. What stands in the way of reflection is the simple character of national sentiment. Men are suffering with the sense of the superiority and prestige of their own nation which would be all very well were it not that it betrays them into foolish notions about other nations. We display too often the attitude of the small boy who believes that nobody else's father is so strong and brave as his.

If the Negro is able to continue to work for the Pullman Company, it will be because they are finer people; if they lose out it will be because of the treachery of the enemy or because of his overpowering numbers or because our own leaders have betrayed us.

Capital Transit Company Notifies FEPC It Will Abide By Order Banning Employment Jim Crow

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was officially notified Wednesday that the Capital Transit Company, which has been declared a war industry, will abide by the directions issued to it to bring the employment policy of the bus and trolley system into line with Executive Order 8802. This order forbids discrimination against war workers because of their race, creed, color and national origin.

At the same time, the committee's attention was called to the position of the international union of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, on the issue of employing Negroes as platform operators on street cars and buses. Division 689, A. A. S. E. R. M. C. E. A., has a contract with the Capital Transit Company.

International President Writes

W. D. Mahon, international president of the union, an A.F. of L. Affiliate, in a letter to J. G. Bigelow, president of 689, urged him to "take into consideration the fact that we are now engaged in a war in which the colored man is called upon to do the same line of duty that the white man is called upon to do."

Mr. Mahon declared that there are colored men who have held membership for years in the union, and stated that "there is no difference so far as I can find out" in the accident record of white and colored operations.

Mr. Mahon's letter, written in

(Continued on page three)

—30—

Capital Transit Co. Notifies FEPC It Will Abide By Order

(Continued From Page One)

response to one from Mr. Bigelow, president of the local union, as given out by the committee reads:

"Your communication of August 4 received, informing me that you were confronted w ith the race problem in your Division and requesting that I give you information regarding the colored men in other Divisions of our Association.

"In reply I would inform you, first, that our organization is a part of the American Federation of Labor, whose policy is not to discriminate against a fellow worker on account of creed, color or nationality—that's the policy of this organization that you must always keep in mind when dealing with this matter.

"I know of no complaints in our organization anywhere over this maatter. There was some little complaint in San Francisco some time ago, but that has disappeared and there is nothing of it at the present time. In many places, colored men are employed in this line of transportation and in many of our organizations there have been colored men for years holding membershiup.

"You ask regarding the records concerning accidents and so on. There is no record by any company that I know of, kept concerning the difference of accidents between colored and white and there is no difference so far as I can find out in that line ofwork. Their rocrds show the same as anyone's so far as their work is concerned.

"I again would call your attention to the fact that it is a serious matter. I realize how some of your membership, being Southerners, feel on this matter, but you must take into consideration the fact that we are now engaged in a war in which the colored man is called upon to do the same line of duty that the white man is called upon to do, and any discrimination that would attract public attention, at this time, would be very detrimenal and especially coming out of Washington. So I would suggest that your members realize the situation and try to meet it in line with the policy of the organization."

To Post-War Body

WASHINGTON—The first definite step looking towards the representation of orangized labor at the post-war peace table, was taken here Saturday, when William Green, president of the AFL, announced the formation of a post-war planning committee.

This committee of nine members, created by Green on authority of the recent AFL convention at Toronto, with Matthew Woll designated as chairman, was directed to work on a four-point program. In addition to seeking a place for labor at the peace table, the program would include a post-war reconstruction to prevent a disastrous depression, expansion of social, economic and political security for this country and the "peoples of the world, and the restoration of labor unions in axis lands."

Union representatives appointed to the committee include David Dubinsky, president of the ILGUW; Agnes Nestor, director of research for the International Glove Workers' Union; Dr. John Childs, representing the American Federation of Teachers; Harvey Brown, president of the International Brotherhood of Machinist; George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Mail Clerks; Richard Gray, secretary of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Union; Rubin Soderstrom, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Milton P. Webster, vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Webster is the lone Negro representative chosen on the committee.

Towards an awakening and enlightened Black Worker

Method: Education Agitation Organization

The Black Worker

Official Organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

"Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free"

Vol II. No. 7. NEW YORK, N. Y. APRIL 1, 1930. PRICE 5 CENTS

SALVATION FROM WITHIN

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The general impression which has gone abroad in the land about the Negro is that he is a child of charity. The white world believes that he must be held up by a prop, that he cannot stand alone, that he has not yet become of age.

The Pullman Company has developed the notion among Pullman porters that it presents a big family and that porters are the children of same. It is expected that the porters will grin and hang on to the apron strings of "Mother Pullman" and toddle along, sucking their fingers, while the other children, who have the sense to cry out and kick, are getting the milk of good wages and better working condiions.

This attitude of the Pullman Company to consider porters as helpless babes, willing to accept a crumb of bread instead of the consideration which is due a man is the handiwork of the Pullman porter himself. The Pullman porter alone is responsible for the treatment accorded by Pullman. The porter is entitled to receive just and fair wages, but he will only receive what he has the spirit and intelligence to demand and exact. He has demanded nothing, and he has received practically nothing. Whatever he has received has come from some form of pressure either in the form of petitions or attempts at organization. The Company long since recognized that the Pullman porter, if organized, had the power to secure favorable concessions in wages, hours of work and working conditions and hence the company has religiously fought every attempt of the porters to organize. It has fought the porters organization, not because they are Negroes, but because it realizes that organization will enable the porters to exact higher wages, and also prevent the Company from firing a porter at will, such as is now done under the employee "misrepresentation" plan.

One has only to study the struggle of the Pullman conductors to organize their union to see that the Company will fight any attempt on the part of its employees at organization regardless of race or color. Its a matter of common knowledge that Pullman tried to prevent the conductors from organizing, and threatened from time to time to make Pullman porters conductors. Some of the conductors believed this and the fear of losing their jobs held them out of the union. But the large majority of conductors had the good sense and sound judgment to ignore this threat of Pullman and organize and fight for their rights. The conductors knew that their salvation had to come from within, that they had to fight and struggle and sacrifice and suffer themselves in order to win, that nobody else would do this for them because nobody else would directly benefit from their struggle but themselves.

This is the lesson that the porters must learn. All the world may be on the side of the porters fight and desire victory for them, but unless the porters are with themselves, unless the porters have the courage and guts to fight for themselvets, unless they stand up and are willing to sacrifice, to secure their rights as other railroad employees, they will not get them. A teacher cannot learn the alphabet for the student, the student must learn it himself. The mother cannot walk for the child, the child must struggle and crawl and stand up and fall and be bruised and hurt until it learns to walk for itself. The white workers, though favorable to the porters' fight, cannot win the fight for the porters, the porters must win it themselves. The mental, physical, moral and spiritual development of an individual, a race, a nation or a group of workers is the job of that individual race nation or group of workers themselves. In other words, the one lesson the Pullman porters in particular and Negroes in general must learn is that **Salvation must and can only come from within.**

A Dispensation has been declared in a drive to enlist every porter in the Pullman service as a member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This Drive is backed by President Wm. Green of the American Federation of Labor, who is working on a program for the settlement of the dispute of the Pullman porters with the Management of the Pullman Company. The success of this effort of his will depend entirely upon the strength of the Brotherhood in terms of dues paying members. This is the job of the porters. Nothing Mr. Green can do can secure triumph for the porters unless the porters themselves have the common sense to join the Brotherhood and the courage and will to fight on regardless of cost, hardships or sacrifice.

Brotherhood Member Lynched in Georgia

According to the press of April 6th, J. H. Wilkins, a Pullman porter of the Southern Railway's Kansas City Special was found tied by his neck with his white coat to a small tree in Locust Grove, Georgia, April 5th. His skull was fractured in two places and a wound was found under his arm that was first said by officers to have been deep enough to cause death. In his pocket was found $58.60.

Wilkins was alive when the Kansas City Special, of which his car was a part, left Macon, Georgia at 3 o'clock in the morning. One report said he was not missed until just before the train reached Atlanta at 5:25 A. M. Another report said Wilkins had talked with the baggage master of the train when the Kansas City Special left Sandy, Ga., 17 miles South of Locust Grove. Officials of the Pullman Company in Atlanta said that passengers on the train whom they interviewed knew nothing about the circumstances.

Ordinarily, the Kansas City Special is a non-stop train between Macon and Atlanta. Railroad officials said that the train this morning was forced by freight trains to stop at Juliett and then again at Sandy, 17 miles South of Locust Grove. They said the train went through Locust Grove at a good rate of speed and did not stop until it reached Atlanta.

Editors Note:

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will place its entire resources behind this case and see to it that a thorough investigation is made to bring the guilty to justice and prevent a repetition of such dastardly deeds that are so brutal as to shock the sensibilities of all civilized people.

Attend! Attend! Attend!

BIG PROTEST MASS MEETING

Against the Lynching of

PULLMAN PORTER J. H. WILKINS

Friday Evening, April 11 at 8 o'clock

at the St. Luke's Hall

Speakers: Walter White, Alexander Marxs, Rev. William Lloyd Imes, John Clifford Hawkins, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Lancaster, A. L. Totten, S. E. Grain

PORTERS HOLD UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

NEW YORK—An Unemployment Conference for the purpose of focusing attention upon the problem of unemployment as it effects Negroes was staged March 30th and 31st under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. A united front among Negroe organizations, institutions and various sections of opinion was developed .Walter White of the NAACP, J. H. Hubert of the New York Urban League, Ira D. Reid of the National Urban League, Harry W. Laidlier of the League for Industrial Democracy, Rev. John W. Robinson of St. Marks Church and Fritz Kaufman, Chief of the Employment Bureau of the state of New York's Dejartment of Labor, and others, addressed the conference. Vice President A. L. Totten served as Director of the conference.

P. R. R. CAR CLEANERS ORGANIZE NEW UNION

Large Class of Members Enrolled and Officers Elected In New York Lodge

NEW YORK, March 3.—Colored car cleaners employed at the Sunnyside yards and the Pennsylvania station in this city have been organized into Manhattan Lodge No. 351, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.

At a meeting held on February 21, when a large class of new members were admitted, officers were elected and installed by General Vice President John V. Rattigan, as follows:

President, Charles du Henri Foxx; vice president, Samuel W. Jennings; recording secretary, R. E. Bellinger; financial secretary, Robert Stewart; treasurer, Walter A. McPherson; trustees, S. A. Dantzler, Claude Cain, William T. Daniel; guide, Francis Quinones; warden, Gordon Goddard; sentinel, James Bascomb, Jr.; Chaplain, John Robertson.

After the installation cermonies the entertainment committee, of which Ernest Carter was chairman, provided refreshments and a program of festivities. Delegations were present from various Carmen's lovals in the New York district.

Regular meetings of the new lodge will be held on the first and third Fridays in Fraternal hall, 146 West 136th street, New York City.

DISPENSATION DRIVE TO ENLIST MEMBERS ON

CHICAGO—A nationwide Drive is on to enlist every porter in the Pullman service as a member of the Brotherhood. An opportunity to join under the Dispensation for $3.50 is now given every porter.

NEW SIGNS OF UNREST AMONG PORTERS AGAINST PLAN

NEW YORK—The Employee Representation Plan contains the seeds of its own destruction was an observation made by a porter who is now an official of the Plan. Said he, despite anything the Pullman Company might do, the operation of the Plan itself will successfully convince every porter that the Plan is a sham, a fraud, a nuisance, an impossibility, that it cannot work in the interest of the porters any more than a sewing machine can be made to grind corn. The Plan was made to fool, and not to serve the porters. It never will serve the porters even if Jesus Christ operated it because it is controlled and owned by the Company.

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President and General Organizer
239 W. 136th St., New York, N. Y.

ROY LANCASTER
General Secretary-Treasurer
239 W. 136th St., New York, N. Y.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

M. P. WEBSTER
1st Vice-Pres. and Chairman
4231 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

A. L. TOTTEN
2nd Vice- President
239 W. 136th St., New York, N. Y.

BENNIE SMITH
3rd Vice-President
2630 Baker St., Detroit, Mich.

S. E. GRAIN
4th Vice-President
239 W. 136th St., New York, N. Y.

E. J. BRADLEY
5th Vice-President
People's Finance Building
11 N. Jefferson St., St. Louis, Mo.

PAUL. L. CALDWELL
6th Vice-President
659 St. Anthony Ave. St. Paul, Minn.

C. L. DELLUMS
7th Vice-President
517 Wood St., Oakland, Cal.

BROTHERHOOD : : NOTES : :

NEW YORK

The Ladies Auxiliary gave a beautiful and successful Spring dance in the Renaissance Casino April 4th. The hall was packed, the music was fine and beguiling and everybody had a big, big time. The anxiliary is to be congratulated upon its notable and brilliant success.

* * *

President and General Oroganizer A. Philip Randolph will address the Fact Finding Conference at Durham, N. C. April 17th. He is acting chairman of the Labor Committee.

* * *

President Randolph visited the Boston Local April 2nd and held an enthusiastic meeting with the members. Organizer Silas M. Taylor is doing an effective job there, and a new spirit to put the Brotherhood over the top has developed among the Boston men.

CHICAGO

Reis—Pullman Yard Foreman—Chicago West

Foreman Reiss—Czar of Pullman yard in Chicago, West, is alleged to have sent home several faithful women workers because they were unable to get to work on the most severe day of the storm. One was lame and had to walk home through the storm on the evening before. It is causing quite a lot of unfavorable comment.

* * *

Despite the great storm in Chicago, the Brotherhood program of enlisting new members and putting over the organization drive under the dispensation is moving steadily forward, according to Vice President M. P. Webster. Many activities are now planned for the Spring work.

* * *

The Colored Womens Economic Council of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters of the Chicago Division, took part in the Community night services of the Metropolitan Community Church, on Sunday March 16, The Council was represented by the President Mrs. Jessie L. Bond. The subject of her Paper being The "Ratio of the Colored Womens Economic to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. "It was enpoyed by all and put the Council before the Public. On March 17, we gave a Prize Whist which was largely attended and was a Grand success. Our Campaign for Membership is still on, we are trying to reach the goal for 1930.

Mabel Isom, Reporter

SAINT PAUL

Vice President Caldwell reports a steady growth in interest on the part of the porters and the public in the Brotherhood. He is expected to make an organization trip South in the not distant future.

LOS ANGLES DIVISION

The Colored Women's Economic Council and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters held a joint meeting, Thursday evening, March 13, at the Dining Car Cooks and Waiters Home. The purpose of the meeting was to give Mr. C. L. Dellums, Vice Presdent of the Brotherhood an outline of the Council's work. Brother Dellums was highly elated over the women's work and the support they are giving the movement He gave a splendid discourse on the Problems of Labor, Manhood and Loyalty. His talk created more inspiration among the men and women. Refreshments were served by the Council members and all departed declaring an evening well spent.

* * *

Mrs. A. C. Harris Bilbreu one of our most talented and highly esteemed Artist's is giving a Sacred Concert, Sunday evening, March 30, at the C. M. E. Church, 42nd and Wadsworth for the benefit of the Los Angles Brotherhood and Council. Mr. Frank A. Savington, Secretary-Treasurer of the L. A. Division and Mrs. Mattie M. Stafford, President of the Council are working overtime to put this program over.

PACIFIC COAST NOTES

Vice-President C. L. Dellums spent nearly two weeks in Los Angeles inaugurating the Spring Drive. He met with great success and the boys are coming in daily.

His meeting with the Ladies Auxiliary was wonderful. The house was crowded and the Brotherhood spirit was greatly in evidence. The ladies call him the second Randolph.

On Vice-President Dellums' return to Oakland he was greeted with a monstrous special meeting. The drive was opened and the old Oakland Spirit was flaming. The men promise to have the strongest percentage in the Brotherhood when the drive is over. All other Divisions take notice.

The Ladies Auxiliary of Los Angles has also gone out to double their membership.

The Divisions at Portland and Seattle are gaining ground fast and promise to have Charters soon.

Dellums and his tin lizzie, the "Bug" was all over Los Angeles like a map finding porters and maids. When he returns he promises to find all that was missed this time.

The Auxiliary in Oakland is showing new life and promises to soon be on the map.

You Will Join the Brotherhood Eventually—Why Not Now

KANSAS CITY

A. L. White,
903 Walker,
Kansas City, Kans.
Sir:—

Confirming telephone conversation with you today regarding your petition for reinstatement which you appealed to the St. Louis Zone General "C" Committee:—

Will advise that this was taken up with the meeting of that committee on December 2, 1929 and resulted in a recommendation by a unanimous vote of the Zone General Committee that your petition for reinstatement be denied.

This will dispose of the matter pretaining to your petition unless you desire to appeal it to the Bureau of Industrial Relations.

Yours truly,
L. V. Wike
Secretary

THE PULLMAN COMPANY
Bureau of Industrial Relations
F. L. Simmons, Supervisor Of Industrial Relations

Chicago, March 12, 1930

Mr. A. L. White,
903 Walker Avenue,
Kansas City, Kansas.
Dear Sir:

Your petition for reinstatement as a porter in the Kansas City District was taken up for consideration at a meeting of the Bureau of Industrial Relations on the 11th instant, and after careful consideration of all the facts in connection with the case as set forth in the evidence, the Bureau has rendered decision denying your petition for reinstatement.

Yours truly
F. L. Simmons

— IN MEMORIAM —

WHEREAS Brother
HENRY OUTLAW
one of our stalwart and faithful brothers, has passed on; and

WHEREAS, he diligently and industriously worked and strove to help his fellowman with a glorious self sacrificing spirit; and

WHEREAS, he was representative of that type of manhood, courage, devotion and loyalty to a principle and a cause which the Negro race today needs in order to advance steadily and take its rightful place in the sun of progress, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the officials and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters herewith express to the wife and relatives of the deceased our sincere and deep regret and sympathy in this their hour of bereavement, with a hope that they may bear up under their great burden of grief and take consolation in the fact, as the poet says:

You have fought your fight, a long good night
Is all that we can say.
Sleep on, sleep on, your work is done,
Brave fighter for a day.
Kind Mother Earth who gave you birth,
Receives you to her breast.
For us the fight, for you the night,
The night of well earned rest.
No more you'll feel the cling of steel
You have burst the prison bars;
You gave your life in this our strife,
Brave Conqueror of stars.
Sleep on, sleep on, your work is done,
Sleep on, sleep on, sleep on.

Do Your Bit- Organize

By A. SAGGITARIUS

No doubt one of the most important events of the New Year, was the Negro Labor Conference held in Chicago, between January 26th and 31st under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Here, representatives of various groups of Negro activities and attainments met on a common platform and after an interchange of lessons culled from their varied experiences, endeavoured to work out a programme, that would greatly assist and enhance the economic welfare of a race greatly in need of such a programme.

Much credit is due to the splendid work done by Vice-President M. P. Webster of the Chicago Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Cars Porters who was in charge of the programme. He not only proved himself a capable and energetic manager, but the arrangement of the programme did great credit to his deep and clear thoughts on the various questions deliberated on, their relations to each other and to the entire problem.

No ripple of disharmony marred the entire course of the proceedings and the many valuable resolutions worked out and adopted drew attention to a new day for team work among Negroes, not unmixed with helpful collaboration from their white friends and well-wishers.

To those who have given the problem any thought, it becomes more apparent daily, that the economic life of Negroes has not received the same careful thought for its proper development as other branches upon which a well rounded progress depends. Thus, while quite some appreciable contributions have been made in this field, by individuals, the general background of the economic life of the masses is in a chaotic condition. There is little unity of action, thus the energy, spread over wide areas, brings small returns and less safegaurd for those returns.

Organizations act as foci for conserving and safeguarding the energies of workers converting them into the wherewithal to maintain and develop life. Before labor organizations may become accomplished facts for Negroes, they must first realize or be made to realize, through education that as workers, their best interest, in fact their salvation lies with the labor movement. To "straddle the fence" now is a mistake. It is therefore quite obvious that the organizer or leader who wishes to develop the spirit of Trade Unionism among Negroes has to educate them first into right thinking. That means, in a vast number of cases, that the entire trend of their thoughts must be diverted in a new channel.

The problem is not an easy one and the leader must be well equipped with facts to break up crystallization of thoughts which have nearly reached a fossilized condition. It is easy to travel in a rut; but breaking a new trail presents new problems and new problems are often disconcerting.

In the past, the white labor unions did not view Negro members or Negroes in general with a spirit of friendliness. This fact made them easy converts to the idea that their best interests were served by joining with the employers on all controversial questions with labor. In fact there was nothing else for them to do. This position may only be regarded as a temporary phase of the labor problem. It is not only a weak

(*Continued on page* 3, *col.* 1)

DO YOUR BIT—ORGANIZE

(*Continued from page 2, col. 4*)

one but a false one, something like the jackdaw wearing the feathers of the peacock.

As white labor developed rapidly under proper organizations, they have been forced to realize that a selfish policy—exclusion of Negroes—was a weak policy and they have now dropped the bars and invited them to join forces. The invitation should be accepted. It is a waste of energy to harp on the past, except where an experience serves a good purpose.

White churches sometimes bar Negroes from attendance, but that does not stop the latter developing their spiritual powers. Negroes have suffered discriminations in politics, but they continue to use ballots whenever and wherever possible. Real progress may only be made through the slow progress of evolution. This however may be accelerated by taking advantage of every opportunity that presents itself, instead of drifting unconsciously with the tide or harping on past discriminations.

Capitalists are reluctantly recognizing and will be compelled to recognize the just demands of organized workers. These workers possess focussed strength which may not be disdainfully ignored by their employers. If Negroes do not organize, their opportunities for work will become scarcer as time goes on because organized labor will bar them from union shops since they contribute nothing towards the development of the movement.

Capitalists recognize organized labor as a force that is daily getting stronger and must be dealt with, if they are to keep the wheels of industries running smoothly. On the other hand unorganized labor receives scant attention from them. They do not represent concentrated power and may be ignored, because they do not possess the weapon of collective bargaining to aid in the adjustment or controversial questions.

Progressive employers, as well as progressive labor leaders are in accord in their endeavor to promote the best interest of all through the maintenance of harmonious relations. This stage may only be arrived at with conclusion that each group has rights that must be respected by the other. The energy wasted in bickerings that are easily avoided by honesty of thought, followed by square dealings may then be spent in greater output and higher grades of product.

The point to be noted then is that there is no necessity for a disagreement between capital and labor if one is mindful to respect the rights of the other.

Since we know that is not the case, then, as capital merges to promote greater possibilities on their part, labor should do no less in their own interest This should not be done to fight capital, but to cooperate with them in rendering service.

The power, thus gained, should never be deflected from its legitimate purpose except as a protection for their rights. Organization, then is the key-word for the preservation of Negroes who are mostly workers and the activities sponsored by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are making that union a pioneer in fashioning the future economic welfare of Negroes.

Negroes must organize into Trade Unions and become conscious factors in the Labor movement.

1930—Our Victory Year

THE PORTER GROWLS

What about the empty cars which the Pullman Company sends out with porters on them, with not the slightest opportunity of the porters' making a nickel in tips although their wages will just barely pay rent?

Porters frequently come into the office complaining about going out on trips and returning home in debt.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has offered a program for the consolidation of common carriers into a few great systems. Donald R. Richberg, attorney for the standard railroad unions, says that it will cause more than 150,000 transportation workers to lose their jobs. The only way to meet this condition is through labor organization. The porters will be affected by this consolidation, and still there are those who are willing to let well enough alone and allow somebody else build and pay the price for a union to benefit them.

BOSTON PORTERS COMPARE SUPERINTENDENT SEARING UNFAVORABLLY WITH BALDWIN

BOSTON—According to reports from porters in Boston, both union and non-union men, the present superintendent, Searing, is viewed generally with disfavor because of his disposition to drive the men as though they were slaves. Everywhere it can be heard that he is nothing like former superintendent Baldwin who held sway in Boston for many years, but died recently. Even the union men say that Baldwin, though he could not favor the union because of his control by the higher Pullman officials, was a Gentleman. They dont say as much for their present superintendent.

LABOR AND THE NAACP FIGHT CONFIRMATION OF JOHN P. PARKER FOR SUPREME COURT

WASHINGTON—As a result of the red jacket coke decision of Judge Parker of North Carolina in which he upheld the Yellow Dog Contract and the Company Union, President Green of the Federation of Labor has issued a call to arms to fight his confirmation for associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Secretary Walter White of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People has issued a challenge to the confirmation of Judge Parker on the grounds of a statement the Judge is alleged to have made claiming that Negroes are not ready to enter politics.

WHAT WE NEED

A little more kindness and alittle less creed
A little more giving and a little less greed
A little more smile and a little less frown
A little less kicking a man when he is down
A little more "we" and a little less "I"
A little more laugh and a little less cry
A little more flowers on the pathway of life
A fewer on graves at the end of the strife.

Scientific Service and Safety Efficiency Bureau

Safety involves life and limb. Without it, no public utility could exist a day. The goal of all concerns that deal with human beings is to attain a maximum of efficiency in securing safety. Unless people have some reasonable assurance of the protection of their life and limb, they will not risk travel on or contract with a given business. Therefore, it is the duty of each person who is a part of a public utility to do his utmost to increase the safety efficiency of the Utility not only in the interest of the public, but himself.

In order to achieve safety, the employees of the Pullman Company should attend safety meetings in order to become acquainted with the methods and principles of developing safety. Safety meetings mean nothing unless the porters execute the principles of safety and they cannot execute them unless they know them.

The Brotherhood conducts safety and service meetings in which the experience is utilized in the development of new service and safety technique.

A Brotherhood porter is an apostle of scientific service and safety efficiency. In a scientific age, work must be performed according to scientific methods. This requires knowledge and system. Porters in order to render scientific, correct and precise service, must know service. In order to know it, they must study it.

Service is the controlling spirit of the age. No one who is unwilling to give service can enlist the cooperation of enlightened society. Therefore, the porters who take great pride in rendering the highest quality of service are profitable agents not only to Pullman, but of the great cause of human progress.

The Brotherhood would have every porter not only observe the rules of discipline for the development of a high standard of service efficiency, but to create and initiate new ideas for the development of higher forms of service and safety efficiency.

Cooperation with the railroad employees is one great essential in the maintenance of high service and safety efficiency. Porters should never fail to not only do what is required of them for the train and Pullman conductors and other transportation employees, but to do same with a cordial and willing spirit and they will receive a response which will not only be helpful to themselves individually but to the Brotherhood as a whole.

WHERE PORTERS SHOULD EAT IN DETROIT

Sadie B. Young
"Babe Young"
2332 - 18th Street

Helen Ray
2301 - 18th Street

Elaine G. Beveal
25 Rosie Street

Membership Meeting every Friday Night in New York.

WHY THE PLAN IS A FRAUD

By A. L. TOTTEN

It was past midnight when the entertainment given for a 240 hour work month or less in regular assignment tried for two hours to get all porter delegates together for a caucus meeting.

About 2:30 a. h. we finally rounded them up. Our next task was to get them to vote for the 240 hours work month. We begged and beseeched them to no avail. We told them everything we could think of but they were obdurate. Some one had a bottle of Gordon gin which was passed around. Jim Sexton of New Orleans likes gin—evidently two good hookers made him quite merry and his mind seemed to be in a receptive mood. He promised not to oppose it and to vote with the majority. Others began to make similar promises but Fisher brought his fist down on the table with the statement—"By God, said he, if I am the only one I am going to vote with the management. I'll never vote for it I'll never vote for it and I will not listen to no further arguments, I will not vote for it and that settles it. Old man Bannister took the same position. It was then that M. C. Oglesby of Boston, that "grand old man" who deserves the lasting respect of every Pullman Porter, burst into tears, dropped on his knees and with hands outstretched as though in appeal to Heaven, prayed and plead with the delegates but to no avail.

The writer remarked that after all these super-religious gentlemen who go into the conference every day with prayer have more fear for the Pullman Company than respect for God. Fisher remarked that if Christ himself appeared in the room as an advocate of the 240 hour work month it would not change his position.

It requires 20 votes to effect a tie. This would at least prove to the management that the porters were opposed to 11,000 miles of railroad as a basis for a month's pay. We thought about Perry Parker. Would he help us? We asked the management to make him a member of the conference and they agreed to do so. This gave the management five representatives each with four votes. Would Perry Paker vote on the side of the porters and maids?

The conference opened that morning with all porter delegates on time. When the management representatives entered the room with Perry Parker we gave a wild cheer. F. L. Simmons announced that Perry Parker had something to say after assuring us that there is no man in whom the management had any higher regard than its national welfare worker.

Perry thanked us for the applause and request that he sit with the management but reminded us that he would have to also protect the side his bread and butter came from and left the room.

The conference put on the appearance of an armed camp. The six delegates determined to fight to the bitter end for the 240 hour work month. We held the floor all morning in an effort to keep our weak kneed opponets quiet and to keep the management from calling for a vote any too soon.

The late Supt. Leach announced that there was a delegation of porters outside with a protest against the 240 hour work month. They were seeking admission he said. That statement made us fighting mad. We would not yield. What happened after that?

Read the next issue of the Black Worker without fail.

THE COLORED FIREMEN'S CASE

WHEN a peaceful minority, engaged in a legitimate and useful occupation, have no established means for expressing their grievances, the entire nation is affected. When steps are taken to destroy even a provisional means for such a minority to bring facts of unjust discrimination, in orderly fashion, before the proper authorities, a universal disorder is created.

Skilled Negro workmen, from all appearances, are being systematically excluded from railway employment. The first victims of this exclusion are the 2,400 Negro firemen employed on American railroads: the highest paid Negro workers in the United States.

Very simple means provide for this exclusion. The Interstate Commerce Commission has decreed that steam engines must be replaced by Diesel or by stoker-fed engines by July 1, 1943. On February 28, 1941, however, an agreement was signed by the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, making it impossible for a Negro fireman working on a steam or stokerized engine to be switched to a Diesel engine.

Negro railway employes have been completely deprived of any effective means to object to such an agreement. By the Railway Labor Act, as amended in 1934 and 1936, the Railway Brotherhoods assume the right to act as sole bargaining agent for Negro employes. But the same employes are excluded from membership in the "bargaining agent," which enjoys a closed-shop contract.

Sole resort left to the Negroes is the Fair Employment Practice Committee, established as a result of the President's Executive Order 8802, in order "to take appropriate steps to redress grievances" in the field of discrimination. The colored firemen's case, thoroughly prepared for the past several months, was scheduled to be heard at a meeting in Washington of this Committee on January 25-27. On January 11, Paul V. McNutt, Manpower Commissioner, announced that the hearing had been indefinitely postponed. From this and other indications, it appears that the committee's days may be practically ended.

As chairman of the Manpower Commission, Mr. McNutt possesses, we assume, an undisclosed plan for remedying these injustices and thereby implementing the democratic professions he has made. Nevertheless, a pattern of steadily increasing job-exclusion appears to be maturing which bluntly declares to the Negro that the nation does not want the skill of his hands, no matter how ably and responsibly he uses them. This pattern was conceived during the first World War and is destined to spread, for the Negro, far beyond the limits merely of the railroads, if allowed to take its course, as a post-war reaction against increased industrial opportunities Negroes are now enjoying. The Manpower Commission has a responsibility to the nation to see that such a sinister precedent is not allowed to gain further ground.

Webster to Help AFL Lay Post-War Plans

WASHINGTON

Milton P. Webster, vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was one of nine men named on the A. F. of L.'s post-war planning committee by President William Green on Saturday.

The selection of Webster, who with A. Philip Randolph, president of the porters' union, has led the fight against racial discrimination by certain AFL unions, provides assurance that the problems of minorities will be considered in the committee's discussions.

Aim Is "Security for All"

The AFL chief pointed out that "freedom and opportunity for all nations" and "social and economic security for all peoples" were the keystone of labor's war aims.

In his instructions to the committee, Green urged formulation of a "plan for labor representation in the peace conferences which will follow victory."

He also asked the group to recommend specific guarantees which labor will seek to have incorporated in the peace treaty, plans for economic reconstruction "to prevent a disastrous depression," and measures to expand "social, economic and political security for the peoples of all lands."

Committee Members

Other members of the committee are:

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; George Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Dr. John Childs of Columbia University, representing the Teachers' Union;

Harvey Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists; Rubin Soderstrom, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; Agnes Nestor of the International Glove Workers' Union; and Richard Gray, secretary of the Bricklayers', Masons', and Plasterers' Union.

Among Railroad and Pullman Workers

NEW YORK.

A review of the scoreboard of the porters', redcaps' and dining car unions for 1942 will show that some of the unions have averaged a higher batting rate than others in organizational achievements during the year.

All, however, have done remarkably well in this respect. It is merely a case of degree, some having made more spectacular hits in that period.

According to baseball chronology and statistics, the year's scoreboard would read something like this: two hits, two runs, no errors.

Red Caps Lead

In considering hits and runs, the red caps' union undoubtedly stands at the head of the league. From a bush league team, so to speak, it forced its way during the year to first place in batting averages.

Literally speaking, the union rose from a nondescript position in the labor movement to one of significant influence and voice in the councils of one of America's most powerful labor bodies.

That achievement alone entitled it to first place. Another hit it made was in organizing Pullman laundry workers, a group that other organizations had apparently found difficult to organize.

While not quite so spectacular in its achievements, the work of

ample of this was the recent action of the Pennsylvania Railroad in appointing colored men to supervisory positions in the dining car department for the first time in its history.

Brotherhood's Record Good

Under the leadership of the veteran labor leader, A. Philip Randolph, the record for strength, conservatism and general satisfaction of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been notably maintained during the year.

In that connection, the veteran leader retains his position as the outstanding colored railroad labor leader. Challenging him almost daily for that status, however, is Willard S. Townsend, leader of the red caps' organization.

Taking last year's record as an index, Mr. Townsend looms today as the most probable successor to Mr. Randolph, now in sight, anyway.

Other railroad labor leaders who did yeoman work for their union constituents during the year were: George Brown, Claude Mann and Theodore Jackson of Dining Car Local 370.

It was the last-named leader who practically forced the Pennsylvania Railroad to reverse its policy of not placing any colored man in a representative position in the dining car service.

Taken in its entirety, 1942's [illegible] in the railroad and [illegible] colored labor [illegible]

NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN

NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERI

Beheading Boast Related in Trial

The headsman's axe, favored by the Gestapo for executions within Germany, is alleged to have figured also in the ambitious dreams of Leonard Jordan, West Indies Negro, whose sedition trial as a Harlem Nazi continues today in Federal Court.

These are some of the prominent Negroes scheduled for "elimination" by Jordan, president of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement, according to testimony by Herbert A. Poulin, Negro agent of the F. B. I.:

Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People;

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, [illegible] City Councilman;

[illegible]

RAIL UNIONS CLASH OVER JURISDICTION

Conductors, in Suit, Charge 'Deal' Against Them by Trainmen and the Pennsylvania

PARALLEL TO KAISER CASE

Each Action Invokes Federal Laws to Enforce Rights of Collective Bargaining

By LOUIS STARK
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6—A "Kaiser case" which has just been disclosed in the railroad industry may cause as great a repercussion among rival railway brotherhoods as its counterpart is causing to affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations over certain legal rights in three West Coast shipyards.

Resembling the preliminary complaint issued by the National Labor Relations Board against Henry J. Kaiser alleging discriminatory practices, a suit brought in the Federal Court of the District of Columbia by the Order of Railway Conductors against the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen charges a "deal" depriving the conductors' union of bargaining rights.

According to Harry W. Frazer, president of the conductors' union, a "secret" arrangement was made by the Pennsylvania Railroad through its subsidiary, the Baltimore & Eastern, and the trainmen's union while the conductors' union was negotiating with the carrier on rule changes under a long-standing agreement.

Similarity of Procedures

As in the Kaiser shipyards case, where the management is accused of violating the National Labor Relations Act, the railway carrier is charged with undermining the Railway Labor Act. Both laws guarantee collective bargaining rights, but in the railway case the aggrieved union is resorting to the Federal court whose relationship to enforcement of the Railway Labor Act is similar to that of the NLRB under the Wagner Act.

A marked difference between the two cases is that while the A. F. of L., alleged recipient of a favorable "deal" by the Kaiser company, is protesting against the Labor Board's accepting the C.I.O. complaint, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is entering no demurrer to the legal right of the conductors to make a similar complaint in the Federal court.

Pending a hearing before an NLRB trial examiner on Dec. 14, the Kaiser case is in the hands of James F. Byrnes, Director of Economic Stabilization, who is seeking to mediate the dispute within the provisions of the Wagner act.

Both cases arise from the vast increase in industry because of the war. In the Kaiser yards, according to the complaint, the management made closed-shop contracts with the A. F. L., which now cover possibly 30,000 men, but before the yards had hired more than a limited number of employes. The Wagner Act bans a closed-shop contract unless made as the result of election by a majority of employes within an appropriate unit.

Pay for Extra Conductors

The railway controversy had its origin in the great increase of passenger traffic brought about by the war. A single conductor can no longer handle the crowded trains and extra passenger conductors have been added.

"On other roads such additional conductors are paid the regular conductors' rate," Mr. Frazer said. "Naturally, we insisted that the same practice prevail on the Pennsylvania and we refused to accept any lower scale.

"Whereupon the management made a secret agreement with the trainmen under which a new class of employes known as 'assistant conductors' was created, to be drawn from the trainmen's organization and to be paid $1.29 a day less than our established rate for conductors.

"This is not only a flagrant case of wage cutting, but an outright invasion of our jurisdiction. As part of the conspiracy the management secured a commitment from the trainmen to adjust claims of road brakemen, pending before the National Railroad Adjustment Board, at greatly reduced amounts.

"Furthermore, we charge in our complaint that the carrier is deliberately delaying negotiations with the Order of Railway Conductors so as to give the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen time to conduct a propaganda campaign against us and bring about an election among conductors on the property.

"We charge, too, that the B. R. T. has caused the circulation of statements that the management will not conclude an agreement with our organization."

The O. R. C. has asked for a declaratory judgment, alleging that the agreement between the road and the B. R. T. is invalid and in violation of the Railway Labor Act. The court is also asked to hold that the O. R. C. is the sole and exclusive representative of the road's conductors.

Negro Art—1851 to the Present

Frances T. Mosley

...too in Art," must ...with as a component ... general development ...preciation of art in ...ent years. Where- ... art was available to ...ed few, the working ...economic level has been ...ing and with it has come ...sure freeing him for ...search for the more ... life.

...further inevitable that ... as an integral part of ...anging social-economic ...should seek an introduction ... cultural outlets and gain- ... make the most of the op- ...ity.

...ntial in this growth has ... assistance the Harmon ...ation which has sought ... its program of William ...mon Awards for outstand- ...achievements among Negroes ...quaint and interest the pub- ...erally in the creative ac- ...ishments in fine arts by Ne- ...thereby, assisting this group ...more sound and satisfactory, ...mic position.

...ring primarily to encourage ...egro endowed with high cre- ...ability to give a wider ex- ...ion to his genius, and real- ...that if a real stimulating ...vital contribution is to be ... to art development in A- ..., the Negro must be able ... his work before an appre- ...ve and compelling public, ...foundation inaugurated in ... a series of annual exhibi- ... of American Negro artists. ...hile these exhibitions are ... in New York, they represent ... submitted from all parts ... country, including some ...artists studying abroad. Ex- ... travelling exhibitions have ...them available to other cit- ... showings.

... evident from the number ...ures purchased, press com- ... and spontaneous expres- ... of interest and from the in- ... number of productions by ...es shown in general art ex- ..., that a remarkable ad- ... is taking place in the field ... art.

...numerous centers throughout ... states splendid work is being ... by Race artists, including ... University, Howard Uni- ..., San Diego, California ..., Boston, New York, St. ..., Indianapolis and other cit- ... stimulated by civic organiza- ... such as the YMCA, YWCA ..., League, Interracial Com- ..., City Clubs, churches. ... public libraries have lent ... facilities for those art pro- ...

...y patrons have aided ... by providing monetary ..., including the late Otto ..., Arthur B. Spingarn, ... A. Schomberg and Mr. ... Cohen and Mrs. John ..., Jr.

... group comprising Dr. ... of Atlanta University, ... Bennet of the National ... of Art and Industry, ... George E. Haynes of the Com- ... on Race Relations, the ... Delilah L. Beasley, col- ... and Dr. Alain Locke have ... stimulating counsel be- ... known as friends of Art.

...Not to be overlooked is the ...nition by outstanding Art ...eries and museums of the ...try in purchasing numerous ...ples of Negro art for their ...tions.

...attention focused thus ...gious masters of Rome, but on his way he stayed in Paris and decided to study there. His masterpiece "The Resurrection of Lazarus" brought his acclaim in 1897 from renowned fellow artists and won from the French Government the gold medal and a place in the Luxemburg Museum.

Edwin A. Harleston of Charleston, South Carolina, is known for his talent in portraiture. Among his best works is the canvas, "Bible Student", exhibited in 1927 at the Chicago Art Institute. Formerly purchased by Jesse Binga, it is now owned by William P. Harrison of Chicago.

Historically important is the contribution of John Patterson Rollins, born in Lynchburg, Virginia, whose interest was in seascapes. Studying in Italy, his favorite subjects were Venetian scenes. Some of his works are in possession of his niece, Mrs. Lillian Summers of Chicago.

Rendering distinctive service to the Race came two notable women sculptors, Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller and May Howard Jackson. Mrs. Fuller, a native of Philadelphia, studied in Paris and was fortunate in enlisting the interest and approval of Auguste Rodin, then the greatest figure of the French art world. She turned her attention to Negro types when in 1907 she was commissioned to do a series commemorating the history of the Negro for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition.

May Howard Jackson, also of Philadelphia, preferred to develop Negro subject matter, daringly venturing to express in her work something of the social situation, for example her "Mulatto Mother and Her Child" obviously touching upon the problem of the half-castes.

Dominating the Chicago scene, William Edoward Scott having studied under Tanner in Paris and the Chicago Art Institute, was recipient of the Harrison Gold Medal award in 1927. Mr. Scott has executed numerous murals on commission, and has recently completed a new series in historic incidents in the development of Negro life since slavery.

Of the contemporary groups probably the best known are the sculptors, Richmond Barthe and Augusta Savage, both of New York and in the artist group, Aaron Douglas, Hale A. Woodruff, Palmer Hayden, Sargent Johnson, James Lesesne Wells, James H. Porter, William H. Johnson, and Lois Jones.

A Cuban, Teodora Ramos Blanco is commanding attention as a newcomer in the sculpture groups.

Chicagoans have long been working toward art development led by Charles C. Dawson, William McKnight Jarrow and Archibald Motley, Jr. Today there are large numbers of younger artists seeking expression. among them, Charles White, a painter of bold murals, Willian Carter, Eildzier Carter, Margaret Taylor Goss, Charles Seabree and Joseph Kersey, the latter a sculptor. Bernard Goss is one of a number moved to expressing protest themes.

Reflecting on the development of Race artists in recent years, the outstanding factor seems to be the turn toward the Negro theme as a vital phase of the artistic expression of American life. Other observations are that the number of ar...ts has greatly in-

Indicative of this fact is the current movement to establish a community Art Center, opening still wider avenues to art expressions for greater numbers sponsored by the Federal Art Project.

These developments are encouraging but in the words of Doctor Alaine Locke, noted Negro writer and philosopher, in his book "Negro Art Past and Present," I quote:

"But however rightly and fully he may share in a program of public art support, temporary or permanent, a needed and logical step in the support of the Negro artist and the development of Negro art must come from an awakened interest of the Negro public in this matter. Negro churches, schools, organizations of all types should make Negro art vital and intimately effective in our group life by studying it, circulating it and commissioning it Only under such circumstances will it become truly representative. Only under such conditions can it work as the cultural leaver to support a general reawakening of the dormant art instincts which we may suppose still reside in the folk at large. Slight but encouraging beginnings have been made in this direction by schools such as Atlanta and Howard Universities and Hampton Institute by a few Negro churches and YMCA's and business concerns even a few groups of private individuals organized for the express purpose of the promotion of Negro art. It is likely that the singular demonstration of the Federal Art Project will stimulate greatly this effort of private groups and private individuals to the eventual adequate support and encouragement of the younger Negro artists."

Randolph in appeal to FDR

WASHINGTON—Latest developments in the [illegible] close-down last week of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, were a protest meeting scheduled for today, (Sunday) and an appeal to President Roosevelt by the NAACP.

The protest meeting, called by A. Philip Randolph, chairman for the Vermont Avenue Baptist church, was expected to be attended by more than 5000 persons and might result in a decision to make the long-threatened March on Washington, it was reported. The march would protest the action of War Manpower commission chief Paul V. McNutt in ordering the FEPC to cancel hearings, supposed to have been held today and tomorrow, into discriminatory practices in employment by the railroad industry. Special attention of the FEPC was to have been given to Negro railroad firemen who face loss of their jobs.

President Roosevelt, accused last week by Randolph of giving McNutt the order to scuttle hearings of the FEPC relating to [illegible] industry, was asked by the NAACP this week to reverse the hearings and to restore the independent status of the FEPC. [illegible] recently bracketed [illegible] War Manpower Commission.

Over the signature of Walter White, the NAACP wrote the Chief Executive:

"We want you to know that we understand and are deeply sympathetic with you personally because of the difficulties which the making of such a decision will entail. We know the terrible dilemma you face in the 78th Congress because of the coalition [illegible] leading you and against all your legislation by members of the Congress of your own party from the South, and of certain members of the Republican party. We have been informed of the lobbying being done among these [illegible] Congress by representatives of the railway brotherhoods, some of the representatives of the railroads who bitterly oppose any action which would attempt to correct the vicious discrimination against Negroes on certain of the public carriers of the United Sates. But we respectfully submit that any surrender to such forces, or any manifestation of weakness in the face of the barrage from them will be disastrous not only for the Negro but for the [illegible] itself. [illegible] courage [illegible] actions.

The Afro-American, February 27, 1943

Among Railroad and Pullman Workers

By JAMES H. HOGANS

C. C. WEBB RETIRES

NEW YORK

Word has just reached this column of the voluntary retirement of Investigator Cornelius C. Webb of the Pullman Company's industrial relations department.

This is another instance of the gradual passing out of that type of colored employee who has helped to make Pullman the great service institution it is. Unfortunately for Pullman, this type of employee is definitely not replaceable in certain qualities, anyway.

Mr. Webb, who retired on February 1, after eighteen years in the industrial relations department, was the only colored employee in that department.

He entered the Pullman service as a porter in the Philadelphia District in 1914, transferring a year later to the Washington District, his home territory.

In 1925, he was brought into the company's industrial relations office at Chicago as an investigator, shortly after it was established.

In praising his record, H. R. Lary, supervisor of the office, said:

"He has been employed directly under my supervision since entering the industrial relations department, and I am pleased to report that he has proved himself to be a man of excellent habits and character, and thoroughly loyal, dependable and industrious. It is with keen regret that we see him leave."

The general esteem in which Mr. Webb was held by the entire force of the department was expressed in a farewell party given in his honor on the eve of his retirement, and in the gift of a gold pen and pencil set.

Explaining his personal reactions, Mr. Webb said it was not an easy matter to break away from the friends and work with which he had been so pleasantly associated, but felt he needed a rest and change.

RR WORKER GETS PIN FOR 50 YEARS' SERVICE

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (ANP) — Charles Gaines, an employee of the L and N railroad of 50 years, received a diamond pin recently in commemoration of his long and continuous service.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 19[illegible]

FRIENDS BACK DEFENSE OF ACCUSED COOK

NAACP And Dining Car Workers To Aid In Big Legal Battle

LOS ANGELES.—Interest in the case of Robert Fowlks, 20-year-old dining car cook now on trial in Eugene, Ore., for the murder of Mrs. Martha James, on a Southern Pacific train, Jan. 23, centered this week in efforts being made here in Los Angeles to get competent legal counsel for Fowlks in the battle for his life.

The Los Angeles Local of the Dining Car Employes Union of which Fowlks is a member, expressed doubt of the man's guilt, despite his confession. According to William Pollard of the local, Fowlks' case will be considered by the membership, with the expectation that action will be taken to provide him with additional counsel. It is rumored in the Angel City that Atty. Walter L. Gordon will be selected by the local to represent their interest in the case.

Indignation has also been expressed by Los Angeles citizens because Atty. Gleason waived extradition for Fowlks, thus permitting Oregon authorities to take a citizen of California beyond state boundaries for trial, when no evidence of his guilt had been presented to a California court.

At the preliminary hearing in Eugene last week Fowlks was without counsel. He explained to the court that his family had retained Atty. Maurice Gleason (white) of Los Angeles, to represent him. He told the magistrate that, pending the arrival of his attorney, he had nothing further to say.

Atty. Thomas L. Griffith, president of the Los Angeles Branch N.A.A.C.P. who was present in court as an observer, was not allowed to speak for Fowlks because of Atty. Gleason's connection with the case.

Fowlks, who was a cook on the dining car of the train, at first confessed, then denied the knife-slaying of the woman, who was the wife of a U. S. Naval ensign. During the Los Angeles investigation into the case, detectives also doubted Fowlks' confession because of his many conflicting tales.

The Afro-American, February 13, 1943

For Railroad Workers

By JAMES HOGANS

THE PACIFIC COAST CASE

NEW YORK

While complete facts surrounding the case have yet to be disclosed, the general reaction of colored railroad employees to the Pacific Coast train murder is one of profound sorrow, mixed with a certain degree of resentment—sorrow for the characters in it, resentment against the service blot it made.

The fact is appreciated, of course, that the ghastly tragedy is an isolated case, with perhaps many elements of "Native Son," but the feeling generally is that the crime has tended to besmirch railroad men's traditional record of protecting passengers at any cost.

This feeling is quite pronounced with Pullman porters, for one of the porter's common every-day duties is to guard the safety of his patrons.

This feature of service is so traditional with him that there have been innumerable cases in which he has fought and died to do that.

A Pullman car bears the name meadows of New Jersey some today of a porter, Oscar Daniels, who was scalded to death in the years ago while protecting his passengers in a train wreck.

In the New England hurricane several years ago, a New Haven waiter went to his death while trying to assist a woman passenger to safety.

Railroad [illegible]

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1943

Railroad Aids Plan For Birmingham Hospital

BIRMINGHAM. — The Louisville and Nashville Railroad company has endorsed a plan to establish a Negro hospital here, company officials having agreed to payroll deductions against the colored employes of the Birmingham division, who sign up as life members of the hospital association.

Plans call for construction of a 100-bed hospital and nurses home. The project is being sponsored by the Birmingham and Jefferson County Negro Hospital Association, Inc., of which Bishop B. G. Shaw is the president and the Rev. Amos H. Carnegie, executive secretary.

The planned unit will cost $300,000 to build and equip, and will aid in providing adequate hospitalization for Negro patients and facilities for the training of Negro physicians, internes, nurses and members of allied professions, according to Rev. Carnegie.

Of the company's 700 employes, 370 have joined the association and authorized the company to deduct $10 from their pay, at the rate of $1 every two weeks for ten pay periods. G. C. Wendling, division superintendent of the L. and N. cooperated with association officials in aiding the fund drive.

Last Monday four L. and N. officials participated with Rev. Carnegie in a round table discussion [illegible] the movement over station WBRC. One of the speakers, E. C. Haynie, assistant division engineer, declared:

"Rev. Carnegie, the thing that has arrested my attention and has won me to your cause is the spirit of self-help which your organization is trying to instill in the Negro people of our city and county. You are not asking the white people to put up the money to build a hospital to meet the needs of the Negro people of our district.

"You are appealing to the race pride and racial self-interest of your own people; you are inspiring them to believe that they can do something to provide their hospital facilities and open the doors for the training and practice to their own doctors and nurses. This is an excellent idea and you deserve the backing of every member of your race and I believe that you will get a very large backing from the men of your race who are employed with the L. and N. Railroad company."

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1943

THE HORIZON

BY P. L. PRATTIS

EVERY NEGRO HAS CARRIED A SENSE OF PAIN IN HIS HEART FOR THREE WEEKS

FOR nearly three weeks now, every Negro in the United States old enough to read the newspapers and to think has been in a state of despair. Every black man and woman has suffered from keen mental anguish. Every black man and woman has been struck a blow. All are hurt. They have been struck a blow that they had no way of guarding against. They have been robbed of something they had no way of protecting. Innocent though they may be, they have been convicted. They know that the shame of 100 million people are pointed at them and that most of that 100 million people are saying, "See, that is true like you—you belong to a race like that; that is the kind of thing your race does." There is no way black men and women can escape the blanket indictment, because they are the victims of a way of looking at things which is peculiar to the prejudice which exists in America.

Mr. Prattis

FIND THE NEGRO

I DON'T know that Robert Folkes, the dining car cook, is guilty of the murder of the wife of the white naval ensign in Lower Berth 13. All I know is what I've read in the papers. Since the case first broke, the papers had the authorities on the trail of a Negro—first one, then another. Although to most Negroes it seems fantastic that a Negro dining car employe could be guilty of such a crime, the finger, from the first, pointed at a Negro—and all Negroes. It seems so strange to most Negroes that it should never have pointed at anybody else. How could a Negro cook have even known this woman was on the train? How could he have known the number of her berth? How could he have entered her coach without being apprehended by the Pullman porter? There were many, many reasons why a Negro could not have committed the crime. There are many, many other reasons why someone else could have, more naturally and more easily. What strange contradictions there are in Folkes' confessions! I do not know whether he committed the crime or not. I do not exonerate him. If he is guilty, he has injured me and every other Negro. I hope the guilty person is found and, to ease my own pain, I hope Folkes is not the man.

GIVES SOUTH ARGUMENT

I SENSE the reaction of most white people. I know how John Rankin, the congressman from Mississippi, feels. He is not surprised that Folkes was seized and he is convinced that he is guilty and that I and you and you and you are all just like Folkes. The girl was from Norfolk, Va. That makes her a Southern girl. Folkes' act—or the act he is credited with—gives these Southerners an argument against all of Folkes' people. Don't think that Rankin and Talmadge and Dixon and others will not make the most of it.

How hurt other dining car employees and Pullman employees must be, the lot of them fine, respectable gentlemen on the whole, a substantial group of family men, ocuupying positions of trust which they have discharged with credit all through the years. What is that they see in the eyes of the passengers who are their charges these days?

How many white men and women, even out of the South, are able to see Folkes' act—if it were his—as the act of an individual, not a race? You who work in their homes, have you noticed anything? You who work in the mills and factories, have you noticed the attitude of your white fellow worker?

THE OBVERSE SIDE

I HAVE before me a newspaper clipping about another crime. It is about the Rev. Walter Kilpatrick, 29-year-old white president of Cedarville (Ohio) college. Rev. Kilpatrick has just been convicted of felonious assault on a seven-year-old white girl in a Toledo hotel and given an indeterminate sentence. The original charge against Rev. Kilpatrick was much more serious. As a minister and educator, Rev. Kilpatrick was a genius. He served some of the largest Presbyterian churches in Pittsburgh prior to becoming the youngest college president in the country at Cedarville.

I do not convict all white people of this crime. I do not think that it is representative of the white race. I do not think that whites are rapists by nature, despite the glaring testimony I see when I look into the faces of millions of members of my own race in the United States, particularly from the State of Congressman John Rankin. Neither do white people think less of their race because of Kilpatrick's crime nor that he is representative of them. They know that in addition to Kilpatrick they have all the saints—all the saints save one. Their leaders make the front pages of their newspapers. Only Negro criminals, or suspected criminals, make those front pages.

RANKIN'S SLANT

HOW easy it is for whites to forget that they are the same as, not different from, all human beings is disclosed in one of Rankin's recent speeches, in which he denounced the plan of the War Department to create a separate battalion of Japanese soldiers who are American citizens. Among other things, Rankin ranted:

"While our boys are being butchered by these brutal apes in the Pacific, and while these savages are now on our soil in the Aleutian islands, I submit it is no time to continue the maudlin policy toward them that resulted in, if it did not invite, the Pearl Harbor disaster."

There is a familiar ring to what Rankin shouted. His type of whites have called us "apes" and "savages." This kind of name-calling is a favorite device of the white supremacists. The Japanese are not apes and th[redacted]vages. They have a [redacted]lture and civilization [redacted] own, older than tha[redacted] and Germany. They[redacted]pped and Negroes [redacted] join their fellow Am[redacted]ping to whip them, b[redacted], not names and bla[redacted]ents. The same Ran[redacted] not want American [redacted] soldiers is also o[redacted]groes as fighting men[redacted]spite the eixstence of[redacted]lpatrick, all whites [redacted] and clean and all N[redacted]e of the suspected [redacted] like Folkes, are mur[redacted]ists.

The Chicago Defender

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1943

CIO Pullman Conference In Chicago

Meeting in Chicago to draw up provisions for the first national wage and working agreement covering Pullman laundry workers, local union representatives from the principal Pullman laundries throughout the country, this week completed bargaining and negotiation plans at the offices of the CIO United Transport Service Employes of America.

More than 70 per cent of the nation's Pullman laundry workers have selected the UTSEA-CIO as their collective bargaining agency, union officials stated. Pullman laundries are located at Chicago, New York, Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City, Buffalo, Oakland, Calif., Miami and [redacted]. A National Mediation Board election will be conducted among the employes to determine the sole collective bargaining agency.

The conference of Pullman laundry union representatives studied proposals regarding rates of pay, hours of service, overtime, equalization of work, seniority, promotions, leaves of absence, discharge and grievances, vacations with pay, sick leaves, separation pay and safety and health standards.

Among the representatives who participated in the conference were Mrs. Josephine Brown, Washington; Mrs. Pearl Jackson, Mrs. Rosa Scott and Mrs. Julia Young, St. Louis; Mrs. Ethel McCoo and Mrs. Ethel Spencer, Chicago; Richard Scobie and J. C. Reid, New York; Oliver Twitty, Cincinnati and W. Winchester, Chicago. John L. Yancey, UTSEA-CIO international secretary-treasurer, presided at the conference.

The Afro-American, February 20, 1943

Replace Men in Dining Cars

THE BLACK DISPATCH

FEBRUARY 20, 1943

Pullman Employes Return $110,000 In Lost Cash and Jewelry In 1942

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Pullman porters and car service employes had their long-time reputation for honesty boosted again last week with the announcement that during 1942 more than $30,000 in cash and $30,000 in jewelry, mislaid and forgotten in Pullmans by soldiers and civilians, was restored to owners by the company.

Total value of the 100,000 items of personal property, exclusive of cash and jewelry, that was restored in 1942 to customers through the lost-and-found department of the Pullman company amounted to "several hundred thousand dollars", it was estimated. A careful record is kept of property lost and turned in, and in each case a notation is made on the individual employe's service record.

Randolph Here Sunday

Randolph To Speak At Paseo Baptist

Will Appear at Annual Urban League Meeting

The Kansas City Urban League will hold its annual meeting Sunday afternoon, [illegible] at the Paseo Baptist church, with A. Philip Randolph as the principal speaker.

Mr. Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and leader of the March-on-Washington movement and revered by many persons as the Negro of the day.

The meeting will begin at 3 p. m. George M. Husser, president of the Urban League and president of the Better Business Bureau, presiding.

TO HONOR RANDOLPH

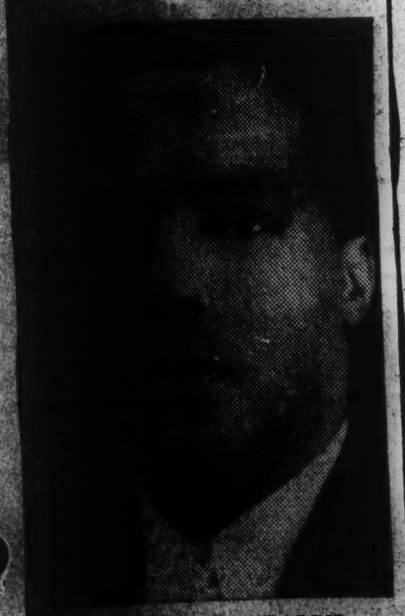
A special feature of the meeting will be the presentation of a plaque or scroll to Randolph on behalf of the people of Kansas City in appreciation for his leadership of the Negro in labor and race relations.

Kansas City has been associated with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters ever since its organization. This was one of the unions which gave Randolph his start back in the days when he was a labor leader, now welcomed at the White House and in government circles, was considered a "radical."

Randolph often says that the late Dr. A. Holmes was the only person in this section who would permit him to speak from his pulpit and that the Kansas City Call was the only newspaper of any size which supported the Brotherhood.

TRIBUTES FROM 3

Because of their early associations with Randolph, three men have been asked by the Urban League to make three-minute speeches telling what Randolph has meant to the Negro race and to the Negro worker in particular.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The three men who will pay tribute to Randolph are C. A. Franklin, editor of The Call; the late Dr. A. Holmes, pastor of the Paseo Baptist church and Rufus Clay, president of the Greater Kansas City division of the Progressive Civic League. Clay will also [illegible] emergency panel from [illegible]

Randolph Speaks -

lost their jobs in the fight to organize the Brotherhood.

Mr. Randolph will be introduced by Perrin D. McElroy, secretary-business manager of the Building Trades Council of the A. F. of L. of which federation the Pullman porter organization is a member.

TRIBUTE TO DIBBLE

A brief business meeting will be held with Dr. Luke E. Williams making the report of the nominating committee of the Urban League; James A. Jeffress, paying a tribute on behalf of the Urban League board of directors to Dr. J. E. Dibble, founder and former president of the Urban League, and Mrs. Tom S. James paying a tribute on behalf of the board to board members in military service and retiring members.

Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary, will make his annual report. Music will be provided by the Paseo Baptist church choir, Mrs Alpha Holmes, directing.

The invocation will be given by Dr. King Beach, pastor of the Trinity Methodist church and the benediction by the Rev. Carl F. Flipper, pastor of the Ebenezer A. M. E church.

8,000 IN UNION

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is the only all-Negro international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. Now consisting of 8,000 members, it was organized in the summer of 1925 in New York under the leadership of Mr. Randolph, who still heads the union.

The first meeting of the Brotherhood in Kansas City was in the fall of 1925 when six men met to disuss the possibilities of the formation of a local of the Brotherhood here. In 1929 the union was given a charter by the A. F. of L.

In 1936, the union won its first substantial victory when it signed a wage agreement with the Pullman company, increasing total was to $2,000,000 a year.

Randolph was primarily a labor leader until the Brotherhood victory was won in 1936. After that gigantic task was done, he had time to broaden his interests and began to fight for the rights of his people along every line.

INSPIRES ORDER 8802

In June, 1941, in protest against the discrimination practiced against Negroes in defense industry and in the armed forces and in government agencies, Randolph organized the "March-on-Washington" movement. Its purpose was and is to bring pressure to bear upon the government to open up equal opportunities for Negroes in the armed forces and in the war industry.

The March-on-Washington movement resulted two years ago in the issuance by President Roosevelt of his now famous Executive Order No. 8802 which calls for full participation in the war program by all persons regardless of race, creed, color, sex or national origin. The establishment of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice followed.

NATIVE OF FLORIDA

Randolph is a native of Florida, born in Crescent City in 1889. He completed high school at Cookman institute in Jacksonville, Fla., and attended the College of the City of New York.

Randolph has had many honors bestowed upon him, one of them being the presentation of the Spingarn medal at the N.A.A.C.P. convention in Los Angeles in 1942. He, at one time, was an instructor in the Rand School of Social Science in New York. He was editor and publisher of "The Messenger", magazine, for a number of years.

PM, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1943

Over Rail Pay Issue

Special Correspondence

CHICAGO, Feb. 18.—The National Railway Mediation Board (NRMB) has been asked to intervene in the dispute between the major railroads and the "Big Five" railroad brotherhoods, arising from the brotherhoods' demands for substantial wage boosts for about 350,000 workers.

Representatives of the lines and of the unions were unable to agree on wage issues, and jointly asked NRMB action. The brotherhoods are asking a 30 per cent increase with a minimum of $3 more daily.

If mediation fails, as is expected, negotiators will ask for appointment of an emergency panel from the National Railway Labor panel to study the problem.

N.D. Thomas Head of Urban League

CALL 2/26/43

Earl D. Thomas, principal of the R. T. Coles Vocational and Junior high school, has been elected president of the board of directors of the Kansas City Urban League.

He succeeds George M. Husser, director of the Better Business Bureau, who has served for 2 years.

Other officers elected to serve for the current year are: Perrin D. McEroy, first vice president; Dr. L. E. Williams, second vice-president; James A. Jeffress, secretary, and Dr. Hayes A. Richardson, treasurer.

9 New Members

New members elected are Hans Lamm of the Jewish Community Center; Dr. J. Houston Lewis, dentist; John L. Howell, principal of the Booker T. Washington school; Powell Bastine, business agent for the Mason and Plaster Tenders union; the Rev. R. J. Jordan, pastor of the St. Stephen's Baptist church; Miss Margaret Williams, manager of the Peoples Finance corporation; W. H. Marcum of the Traders Gate City National bank; Webster Townley of the Townley Hardware company and the Rev. James W. Teener of Park college, and Dr. Cloyd V. Gustafson of the National Training school.

Board members reelected are Mrs. Tom S. James, Dr. Luke E. Williams and Miss Nellie Ray.

James H. Herbert and the Rev. Carl F. Flipper were reelected to the executive committee.

3 in Service

Urban League board members in military service include Frank L. Prins Jr., with the Army Air Corps at Lawrence, Kas.; Capt. William M. Kirby, personnel headquarters, Camp Crowder, Mo., and Joseph L. Judson, cadet in Officers' Candidate school, Camp Barkley, Texas.

Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary of the League, this week cited the following as among the major accomplishments of the League during the year 1942:

Negro workmen placed on defense housing construction projects, Fairfax district, Kansas City, Kas.

Welders, auto-mechanics, plasterers, lathers, cement finishers and other skilled craftsmen called together and groomed for job opportunities.

Negro representatives added to Civilian Defense Committees and Health Council of Social Agencies upon League's request.

League works for admission of Negro cement finishers and plasterers into union membership.

Delegates from five states attend the Mid-West Regional Conference of the Urban League devoted to "Negro Employment in the War and Victory programs".

City-wide committee plans Tenth Vocational Opportunity campaign.

Industrial secretary works with FEPC in needle industries and garment workers unions for Negro employment and union status.

League arranges conference of Negro representatives and Regional Labor Supply Committee for increased participation of Negroes in the war effort.

Mayor Gage opens League Match-campaign and 12,000 match packets sold and distributed in Kansas City.

Negro blind program conducted by League housed in a club-room to be financed by the Kansas City Blind association after demonstration of need for such a program by the League for more than ten years.

and tenant occupancy in defense housing projects.

League cooperates with large munition plant on problems of Negro workers involving sanitation, garnishments, morale, war savings, absenteeism.

League works for constitutional convention amendment to revise antiquated Missouri constitution.

Through cooperative efforts of League and War Manpower Commission, 56 Negro oil refinery workers were admitted to CIO union membership.

League offices used to interview Negro applicants for supervisory and technical jobs to be available in aluminum, engine building, and aircraft.

League urges municipal government to open jobs as policemen, firemen, guards and clerical workers; also urges appointment of Negro worker to personnel board which appoints, promotes, and certifies municipal workers.

1,559 Negro men and women placed in private industry and war jobs by League; jobs ranging from common labor to highly skilled and technical work.

Industrial and executive secretaries spend three days in Atchison, Kas., to work with the International Moulders union on problems affecting 200 Negro workers in the Gray Iron industry.

League facilities used for recruitment of WAACs, war employment placement, Civilian Defense organization work, labor union conferences, war information service, and community social problems of health, housing, recreation, etc.

Negro workers placed in munitions, aircraft, building construction and varied war industries.

League seeks jobs for white collar Negro workers with Farm Credit Administration and Office of Price Administration.

Twenty-four Negro directory distributors employed for first time in history of the Southwestern Bell Telephone company.

Hundreds of Negro construction workers referred by League to munitions, aviation base, aircraft engine construction projects.

Annual Tea and Open House of Negro blind attract 675 patrons.

League recruits Negro men and women for scores of war industries; 85 garment operators used for the first time in commercial garment production. Negro painters, carpenters, cement finishers and laborers increased on building construction work through effort of the League.

A special 40-page memorandum, setting forth 15 specific complaints of discrimination in government and war industries submitted to FEPC by local League.

League Executive and Advisory Board member, two Negro guests at Remington Arms company Army-Navy "E" recognition service.

St. Louis and Kansas City League submit anti-Negro resolution to State CIO convention.

State CIO organization adopts resolution submitted by Missouri Urban Leagues to handle complaints arising out of racial situation within the CIO organization.

League arranges second conference of Negro representatives of Greater Kansas City and War Manpower Commission to plan fuller participation of Negroes in the war program.

League assists Negro tenants ousted by landlord when Rent Control program freezes rental prices.

Conferences held with Federal Public Housing Authority and National Housing Authority for Negro participation on construction

The Afro-American, March 13, 1943

Norfolk R.R. Fireman Asks Equal Rights

NOR[illegible]—The complaint [illegible]tall, Berkley locomoti[illegible] seeking to establish [illegible]rity rights for colore[illegible] the employ of the No[illegible]n Railroad was argue[illegible]ge Luther B. Way in [illegible]rict Court on Thursda[illegible]

Tunstall i[illegible]00 damages for a[illegible]mination in that he w[illegible]n what is termed a [illegible]n" by a junior whit[illegible]ho allegedly "gained [illegible]which rightfully belon[illegible]intiff (Tunstall)."

Brotherhoo[illegible]

In addition, Tu[illegible]king a declaratory ju[illegible]ing the rights of the [illegible]ar-tise; a declaratory [illegible]at the Brotherhood [illegible]e Firemen and Engi[illegible]r obligation to [illegible] firemen fairly, [illegible] restraining e[illegible] agreement be[illegible] hood and th[illegible] colored firem[illegible] "non-promotable."

Named as defendants in the suit are the Norfolk and Portsmouth lodges of the brotherhood, the Norfolk Southern Railroad and W. M. Mundan, the white fireman.

Dismissal Held Up

Attorneys for the defendants asked that the complaint be dismissed on the [illegible]d that the Federal Court do[illegible] have jurisdiction in the [illegible]udge Way heard lengthy [illegible]ments on the motion, then sta[illegible] that he would take the motion u[illegible] advisement, asking that briefs be submitted.

Tunstall is [illegible] represented by Charles H. Houston and Joseph C. Waddy, attorneys of Washington, and Oliver Hill, attorney of Richmond.

PORTERS TO DECIDE REPRESENTATION

C.P.R. Sleeping Car Employees to Use Unique Method of Voting

A unique method of continuous voting over a period of 20 days will decide for the sleeping car porters of the C.P.R. whether they want to be represented by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Employees or through a committee of employees as formerly.

Representatives of all parties were present at a meeting in the office of Commissioner Bernard Rose when it was decided that voting by the employees would start on October 5 and continue until October 25. The reason for this unusual arrangement is that sleeping car employees are so frequently away on long trips that no central point for balloting nor the assigning of one day for the purpose would be practicable.

Employees will cast their ballots in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver, with provisions having been made that those who report to Moose Jaw and therefore cannot vote at a division point may send their ballots by mail. As each day's ballots are cast they will be filed in a steel envelope and forwarded from the division points to the Commission in Montreal, to be decided upon, after which they will be opened and counted and the result announced.

The conference held in the commission offices was attended by A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood; Benny Smith, 2nd vice-president; Victor Coward, secretary treasurer of the Montreal division; Arthur E. Blanchette, secretary treasurer of the Winnipeg division, and S. E. Lewis, Montreal division. The company was represented by H. D. Braden-Jack and T. M. MacEwen.

Saturday, March 6, 1943

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS

Randolph Urges Political [illegible]

Nonpartisan Program Offered Teachers

Before the Oklahoma [illegible] Association's convention [illegible] homa City, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement and international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed that the Negro people develop a powerful nonpartisan political force, embracing Negroes of all political faiths, embracing the major national Negro organizations, state, local, trade union, business, professional, fraternal, women's and youth groups in the country which can lift labor to the Negro elements in the Congress.

Such a political weapon is indispensable to safeguard and advance the interests of the Negro people in America, he said. This Non-Partisan Political Bloc should not commit itself to any political party for support apart from any political party, but depend entirely upon the funds received from Negro organizations and individuals.

Upwards of 10,000,000 adult Negroes in America should have a war chest to build a powerful Non-Partisan Political Bloc composed of non-partisan political blocs [illegible] Negro [illegible] Negroes, headed by the [illegible] C.I.O., the [illegible] the Farmers' Union, and the Southern bloc, the Farmers' [illegible] and the bloc of the National Manufacturers' Association, if Randolph says.

...s Negro To Post War Planning Body

...herhood Of Sleeping Car Porters

Move Evidence Of Growing Influence Of Negro In Labor Circle

In a significant move recognizing the influence of Negro in the labor movement, AFL President William Green ... appointed Milton P. Webster, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as a member of a nine man post-war planning committee.

Believing that his appointment ... the Negro race an opportunity to have its war objectives ... in labor's peace ... Webster expressed ... to the Negro Press ...

"This appointment is a recognition that labor realizes that ... for the post war ... done some considerable," he declared. "Like every other minority group, we have ... problems which are peculiar to us," he continued, "but ... we are workers ... economic problems are ... as other workers. Any ... this committee ... will of necessity affect our interests."

... would not comment ... on specific proposals ... may make to the committee. ... out that as yet he has ... officially notified of his ... ent and until the body ... can't speculate on the ... of its activities.

... appointment is significant, however, for with Philip A. Randolph he has led the fight against Negro discrimination in certain AFL unions. All of the men named are big figures in labor.

THE CHICAGO SUN,

See Amazing Revolution in U.S. Life as War's Discoveries Are Turned to Peace

When the last shot of this war is fired, the economic and social changes put into motion by the conflict not only will be intensified, but there will be an even vaster revolution—a technological development designed to shape a better world.

So say the engineers, and research men, the experts now engaged in highly technical and secret work in vast plants and laboratories all over the country. After the war, declare these men, the technique of production, and the huge amount of knowledge acquired in making the materials of warfare will be turned to peacetime pursuits so amazing and unbelievable that the results will seem like something out of a futuristic drama.

Humanity May Benefit.

"This war," says Dr. Gustav Egloff, director of research for the Universal Oil Products Co., and president of the American Institute of Chemists, "will not be a total loss for humanity. New materials now in war production will have great peacetime values."

As a result, says Dr. Egloff, man's life will be prolonged, his health, mentality and productivity is bound to be increased, and the pains and irritations of life will be reduced substantially.

Here are some highlights of tomorrow's scientific development:

Plastics: One of the greatest advances will be in the plastics industry, in which, according to Dr. Egloff and other scientists, this country undoubtedly will be the leader. Aside from such commonplaces of the future as plastic houses, hundreds of household goods, shoes and clothing will be made of this chemical product. Every day, in hundreds of plants, plastics are being used for war needs—for aircraft, life rafts, high speed boats, gas mask lenses, airplane cockpit enclosures.

New Uses Discovered.

Every day the men engaged in this work are learning new uses for this wonder material. In the postwar world, they will put this knowledge to greater use for man's benefit.

Nylon: Right now, in such plants as those of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., this vital material is being used for making parachutes.

But in the days after the war, engineers promise, it will be used for window screens that won't rust or corrode or need painting, curtains that can be laundered without stretcher frames, upholstery which combines the appearance of rich tapestries with the durability of canvas, crush-resisting plush, velvet and other pile fabrics.

Electrical and electronic devices: One which will remove all the dirt from the air in a room, so that curtains can hang for months without becoming soiled. A certain electronic invention, now used for war purposes, will some day be able to turn on electric lights in homes and other buildings the moment they are needed, open doors, start the furnace, keep out intruders. A similar device will be adapted to keeping trains from bumping into each other, steering ships around hidden obstacles such as icebergs and tracing lost planes in storms and fogs. This latter device is now in use in warplane detectors.

Sees Family Planes.

Aviation: "Great strides will be taken here after the war," declares Dr. Egloff. "I envision ... planes for families and ... on the ... All the ... improvements in use in fighting planes will be converted to peacetime uses, he asserts, and the entire trend of travel is bound to be changed from the ground to the air.

Health engineering: The intense research in the field of pharmaceutics has brought gratifying results. Synthetic chemicals, such as the sulfa drugs, synthetic quinine and synthetic vitamins, are finding amazing uses on the fighting fronts and will continue to find them in peacetime. Such names as sulfathiazole, sulfapyridine, sulfaguanidine and succinyl sulfathiazole may be jawbreakers, but they will be vital for curing various diseases when put into wider use after the war. Then there are such newly developed anaesthetics as pentathol, which, injected intravenously, is adjudged superior to ether and the hydrocarbon gases.

Chemicals and Food.

Best evidence of the availability of the products of medical research is in the vitamin field. In 1933 the cost of vitamin C was $213 an ounce; last June at was $1.65 an ounce. In 1935 the important vitamin B1 was sold for $8,000 an ounce and is now on the market at about $5 an ounce.

Foods: Research has made and ical discoveries to stimulate growth will continue to make new chem- of various food products.

Petroleum, for example, gives off various gas by-products which hasten fruit ripening and growth. Ethylene stimulates potato growth. Butylene has a stimulating effect on the rate of growth of trees. Acetylene, also vital in the production of synthetic rubber, is at present used in Australia increase growth of pineapple.

Because of a lack of transportation, a number of processes have been developed to dehydrate foods. "Quick freezing" of fruits, vegetables and meats has not only added materially to food supply, especially in decentralized communities, but also conserves steel and tin in the form of cans. This, says Dr. Egloff, will have great economic value in peacetime.

Break for Common Man.

Synthetic products: Synthetic rubber heads the list. It's obvious to everyone who drives a car how valuable synthetic rubber would be if plants had been put into operation years ago. By the time the war is over, such plants will be in full operation. The common man will get a break in being able to purchase cheaper tires, just as durable as the nonsynthetic kind.

The major industrial and scientific gains for man are augmented by hundreds of minor ones which will bear out Dr. Egloff's prediction that this will be a better world in which to live. Here are some of the new products developed for wartime use at the Du Pont plant which will be converted to peace use after the war:

Rayon tow, an untwisted rope of thousands of continuous filaments of viscose rayon which will replace flax as the mechanical packaging essential to hydraulic shears, presses and punches.

Raincoats of Fabrics.

Special paints now used for concealment purposes on Army trucks, tanks and planes.

Fabrics coated with a vinyl plastic lighter than rubber but with equal durability for raincoats, life jackets, food bags and hospital sheeting.

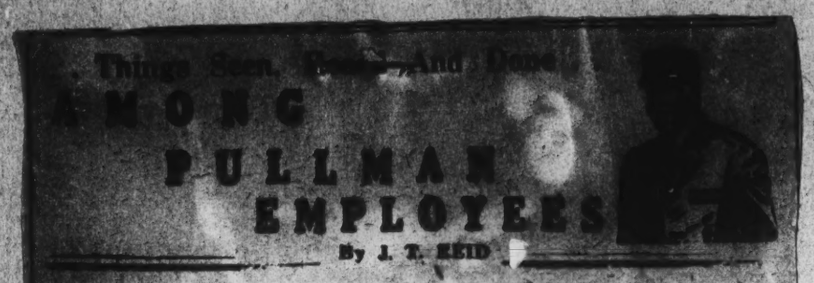
"Acoustic fences"—which have ... robot devices which transmit ... the ... of a ... or ... of ... a shovel or even whispers to a central control room.

To make full use of the heightened industrial development, warn the scientists, a broader knowledge of human relations will be demanded of the leaders of industry. If the common man, by virtue of these new devices and inventions, is to be pulled up by his bootstraps to higher state, the administrative engineers and the industrialists will need a more than passing acquaintance with world economic patterns and various social philosophies if they are to help plan that better world.

Cites Vitality of Industry.

In a recent speech, Dr. Charles M. A. Stine, vice-president of the Du Pont Co., noted this, declaring, "The chemical industry in this country had been characterized by extraordinary vitality. It has grown and expanded in unprecedented fashion. New materials of construction have become available and revolutionary changes are occurring or are in prospect."

Therefore, he asserts, the industrialist and the engineer must gain benefits from their contact with their workmen, must read thought-provoking literature, must be awake to changing social and economic ideas.



AMONG PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

All members of Pennsylvania Terminal Local No. 4 of the Pullman Porters Benefit Association of America are requested to attend a special meeting which will be held in the porter's waiting room at Bensonville Yards, February 25, at 7:30 p.m. The trophy won by Local No. 4 for having sent in the largest number of new members for the year 1942 will be presented by Grand Chairman E. M. Graham.

* * *

When I say Frank Miller lives again, there will be many who will ask who Frank Miller is. If you never heard of him nor saw much of him, it was because he was one of the old timers and only the old timers will remember him. He and Arthur Williams were inseparable when they operated on the Broadway Limited between New York and Chicago. You never saw one without the other. Strange as it may seem, Arthur still remembers the many pleasant hours that he spent with his friend, Frank Miller.

I was talking with Arthur the other day and our conversation hadn't gone very far before he called my attention to some of the witty acts of his friend, Frank Miller, who has been dead for some time. You know I think it is great when we have lived a life among our friends, that when we leave this world our friends behind remember us. It is no doubt loyalty and our ability to understand that bring about such conditions even after we are gone.

I say thisbecause here is a porter who many have said is selfish simply because they have not been able to understand him. They see him checking in and checking out. But you never see him standing around gossiping about his co-workers In my opinion his mind is always taken up or occupied with the things that concern his own affairs. Long live Arthur Williams.

Speaking about attending to your own affairs reminds me of that popularity contest which is still being voted on out in the Chicago West Yards among the cleaners. You know some time ago we told you that the contestants were all very popular. Now we have just been advised that Susie May, one of the outstanding contestants, is now confined o her bed on account of the mental strain of the campaign. The one thing that is most attractive to the bystander is the active part taken by many of the porters operating in and out of these yards. At the time we go to press it is still anybody's guess as to who will win. For first honors there's a 3 way tie; running second is that loving Irene; then comes Rebecca and she is closely followed by the ruler of the house, Martha, and by the way, Martha seems to have something that the others don't have. Her publicity committee led by L. W. Hogan, is really doing things. J. Shed, G. Hawthorne, M. Rosemond, are still willing to lay two to three that Susie May will come out on top. Well, all I can say is may the best girl win and if that wish comes true I know that either Irene or Mrs. Moore will be up there among the leaders. Watch this column for th final results which will appear on or before April 15th

—o—

Let Your Skills Be Known

Call 2/26/43

Many Workers Have Not Revealed Their Full Qualifications

Increased shortage skilled workers in the face of mounting demands, makes it necessary that Negro workers with skills essential to war industries make known these facts to the sources seeking skilled workers, Thomas A. Webster, Urban League executive warned this week.

"The League realizes that there are hundreds of Negro workers employed as laborers in essential war industries," Webster said, "and many hundreds of others in menial jobs and in domestic and personal serivce.

"Some of these individuals have taken training for war jobs and as yet have not found employment for the training they have acquired. Still others have not made known to the United States Employment Service and other sources their previous work experience and training.

"Many workers during the depression because skilled jobs for Negroes were few, did not reveal their true qualifications, because it was easier to get a labor job which they could hold longer than one at a higher skill.

"In order to move from one war job to another now it is necessary for workers to secure a release from their present employer. If Negro workers doing labor jobs or non-esential jobs have difficulty securing release from their present employer, the League suggests that such persons contact Mr. Gerald Cohen, of the United States Employment Service, 1312 Grand Ave., for assistance in securing a certificate of separation from a non-essential industry to make it possible for them to be employed in an essential war industry."

3/1/43

...r race prejudices so that the Negro can become a "first-class citizen" is the aim to which all his people must work, A. Philip Randolph said at the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Urban League of Kansas City yesterday.

Randolph, who is president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was familiar to many of his audience at the Paseo Baptist church, 2501 the Paseo. He was one of six men who met here in 1925 to plan the formation of a Kansas City local of the sleeping car porters union.

The speaker told his audience of plans for a conference to be held in Chicago in May at which time future policies for gaining recognition for the Negro will be made. A plaque was presented to Randolph by Dr. Hayes A. Richardson, city director of public welfare, in behalf of the city. The speaker was introduced by Perrin D. McElroy, secretary-business manager of the building and construction trades council of the A. F. of L.

Officers elected include Earl D. Thomas, president; Mr. McElroy, first vice-president; Dr. Luke E. Williams, second vice-president; Dr. Richardson, treasurer, and James A. Jeffress, secretary.

Approximately 1,500 persons attended.

SEEK END OF PREJUDICES.

Urban League Hears Plea for the Negro Race.

3/1/43

An end to "Jim Crowism" and other racial prejudices so that the Negro can become a "first-class citizen" is the aim to which all his people must work, A. Phillip Randolph said at the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Urban League of Kansas City yesterday.

Randolph is president of International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

A plaque was presented to Randolph by Dr. Hayes A. Richardson, city director of public welfare, in behalf of the city. The speaker was introduced by Perrin D. McElroy, secretary-business manager of the building and construction trades council of the A. F. of L.

Webster Addresses Y. W. Business Girls

CALL 2/26/43

Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary of the Urban League, addressing an interracial meeting of Y. W. C. A. Business and Professional Women's clubs, said that "the time is fast coming when the drainage of manpower will require Negro womanpower as well as white womanpower to replace men who will be taken into the armed forces."

The joint meeting of clubs of the Paseo branch and the Central branch was held at the Paseo building Tuesday evening, Feb. 23.

Webster suggested that white business and professional girls, because of their participation in a Christian organization like the Y. W. C. A., should find it easier to accept their fellow Negro workers who have had little or no contact with Negro persons.

"The common sense thing," he said, "is to forget about petty things such as color, creed or other restrictions and help to do the job that will win the war."

Webster will speak Friday, March 5, at the chapel services of the National Training School, 15th and Denver. His subject will be "Negroes and the Winning of the War".

Urban League Shows Movies in Schools

CALL 2/26/43

Two films prepared and edited by the Pittsburgh Urban League are being shown this week at the public schools in Greater Kansas City through the Urban League of Kansas City.

One film is a 16mm. technicalcolor production of the National Urban League conference held in Pittsburgh, Pa., on Labor Day. This film gives a vivid 15-minute "report" on the League conference and shows the two hundred delegates and visitors as they arrived at Camp James Weldon Johnson, in sessions, and in many individual close-ups. The film has been shown in St. Louis, Richmond, Baltimore, Chicago, Springfield, Ill., and St. Paul.

The other film, "YOUR FUTURE" (on vocational opportunity) runs forty minutes and shows young Negro workers in over 30 occupations in the Pittsburgh area. These films have been shown at the R. T. Coles Vocational school, Lincoln high school and Sumner high school, Kansas City, Kas.

BUSINESS and PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB

CALL 2/26/43

Thomas Webster, executive secretary of the Kansas City Urban League, was guest speaker at the joint supper meeting of Business and Professional Women's clubs of Central and Paseo Branches, held Tuesday evening, Feb. 23, at Paseo. Mr. Webster presented an interesting and informative picture of the Negroes participation in the total war program.

Miss Pauline Redd led an impressive worship service based on the Lord's Prayer, following group singing by Mrs. Essie Rodgers. During the current events period, Mrs. Anna Bryant distributed copies of the club news paper, the "B and P Newsgest," of which she is editor.

The club voted to send a delegate to the four-day Leadership Workshop, sponsored by the National Y. W. C. A. Department of study, to be held at Unity Farm, March 10, 11, and 12th.

On the evening of March 9, in place of the regular club meeting, all club members will attend the B. and P. Nationwide Observance banquet at Central Y.W.C.A., at 6 p.m. This affair is being sponsored by and for all B. and P. clubs of Greater Kansas City. A panel on which Mrs. Frances Hayden and Miss Agnes Kessler, national Business and Professional secretary, New York, will talk, is an important part of the evening.

On Saturday night, February 27, 9 to 12 o'clock, the club will honor at a party Miss Dorothy Cox, and the former Miss Marilyn Moore, club members who will be leaving the city on March 1. Miss Cox has joined the WAAC and will go to Fort Des Moines. Miss Moore is [illegible] Edward Law, Jr., and will make her home in Seattle, Wash.

Soldiers of the Radio training [illegible] be guests at the [illegible]

COAL IS FEARED UNLESS WASHINGTON ACTS

With Lewis Set on March 14 for Negotiations, Administration Gets Problem

15% FORMULA IN PICTURE

But 'Little Steel' Practice Is Hurdle, as C. I. O. Chief Is Against It for Miners

By LOUIS STARK
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7—Will the Administration assume responsibility in time to avert a strike of 450,000 bituminous miners on April 1?

The current two-year contract between the United Mine Workers and the soft-coal operators expires at the end of March. Negotiations for renewal of the agreement are scheduled to begin March 14.

Administration officials are aware that the negotiation period is too brief to permit consummation of a new contract. Since John L. Lewis has always said that his miners never work in the absence of a contract it may be assumed that this will be his position on April 1, war or no war.

Retroactive Rise a Factor

Mr. Lewis may be expected to continue operations for a stated period after April 1 if the mine operators will assure him that any pay increase will be retroactive to that date. However, they may be expected to give the same answer to this proposal as two years ago. Since they do not know what their costs will be for coal sold after April 1 they will be unable to comply with the retroactive arrangement. Last time the deadlock lasted five weeks, during which no coal was taken from the pits, and ended with wage increases of $1 a day and more.

Mr. Lewis is determined to break the 15 per cent formula written by the War Labor Board in the "Little Steel" case last July. This provides a wage increase of 15 per cent for those who failed to receive that much in the January, 1941-May, 1942, period when living costs rose an estimated 15 per cent.

Possible Course by Lewis

If a strike takes place on April 1 Mr. Lewis will maintain that he did not break labor's no-strike pledge which he was instrumental in writing after Pearl Harbor. He will charge the government with breaking this pledge. His view is that the government agreed in return for the no-strike pledge to set up a board to clarify labor disputes on a judicial basis. This the War Labor Board has not done, according to Mr. Lewis. It is a point of view with which the rest of labor is in disagreement. Although the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations feel that the "Little Steel" formula has not worked out perfectly, they want, however, to retain the WLB as the nation's wage arbiter.

Unpopular as the WLB is in some industrial circles, there is no general demand by industry that it be scrapped. Far from agreeing with Mr. Lewis that the WLB has erred in judicial determinations against [illegible] industry feels that the WLB [illegible] involve

COAL MINE STRIKE FEARED BY APRIL 1

Continued From Page One

has been generous—more generous than necessary—to labor on all points, such as wages, maintenance of membership, check off and back pay.

By moving for wage increase of $2 a day, Mr. Lewis has challenged the Federal Government's anti-inflation policy. The next moves are up to the President, James F. Byrnes, Economic Stabilization Director; Secretary Ickes, and the WLB.

Last Friday Mr. Roosevelt professed to know nothing about the coal situation and thanked a reporter for calling it to his attention. Furthermore, the reporter made no headway in his effort to elicit a statement from the President on the peril to the nation that lay in the exceedingly short period between the renewal of wage scale negotiations on March 14 and the April 1 deadline.

It is presumed that if Mr. Roosevelt has not already done so he will talk the coal crisis over with Mr. Byrnes, his agent to control inflation, and who is reported to be worried. One rumor, at present, has it that he will stand pat on the 15 per cent "Little Steel" formula.

Position of Both Sides

But standing pat will not dig coal after April 1 if the miners follow their usual practice. The operators will not move unless ordered to by the government. They will pay any wage increase deemed necessary provided coal prices are raised. Determination of a possible price rise is in the hands of Mr. Byrnes. If he permits coal prices to rise to make a wage increase possible, the farm bloc will insist on parity prices being revised upward. All unions will then also have a better argument for boosting wages.

Prices will go up in the train of increased wages. And this is what worries Mr. Byrnes, for he fears a spiral of runaway inflation.

Secretary Ickes, as the Federal Coordinator of Solid Fuels, is vested with the responsibility of seeing that the nation gets all the coal it needs, but he has little authority. He has already "hollered" that the wage negotiations be pushed forward, but to no avail. Last week he suggested to the Office of Price Administration that a price adjustment be made for those operators who made an agreement for work on a six-day-a week schedule, and this was done.

WLB Move Is Conditional

The War Labor Board has no authority to intervene in the situation until the dispute is certified to it by the Conciliation Division of the Department of Labor. WLB action cannot come much before the April 1 deadline; that is, unless the wage negotiations are stepped up.

Thus the first step in the entire procedure of dealing with the coming coal crisis would appear to be in President Roosevelt's hands, according to all Federal observers. These assume that if Mr. Roosevelt requests operators and miners to advance their negotiation date to March 1 they will do so.

Then if the April 1 crisis is imminent the government may be expected to request continuance of conferences without a stoppage. But Mr. Lewis is a stubborn man; and if his past policy is any criterion, he will refuse to work without a contract.

Thus the picture of the coal crisis is as clear today as it will be on April 1 to those in the Administration who will be called upon to deal with it. The problem before them is to take steps now to avoid the apparently inevitable situation of April 1.

New Nickel-less Nickel To Contain Manganese

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7—The new nickel-less nickel will contain manganese obtained through a government-developed process, the Bureau of Mines reported today.

Several shipments of 99.9 per cent pure manganese have been sent from Boulder City, Nev., to the Philadelphia and San Francisco Mints. The new 5-cent piece will contain nine parts manganese, thirty-five silver and fifty-six copper. The coin now in use is 75 per cent copper and 25 per cent nickel.

The new coin will be about as durable as the old and will work in coin-operated machines, the bureau said.

Manganese also is a vital constituent of steel. Before Pearl Harbor 90 per cent of United States requirements came from abroad. The bureau declares, however, that this country can become self-sufficient as a result of explorations in thirteen States.

Comment

CP's Opportunist Policy on Negroes

By JONATHAN STOUT

...NGTON, D. C.—The real nature of ... insincerity with respect to the ...blem is revealed here this week by ... and fawning efforts of the Stalinists ...ate themselves with the Navy and ... Corps.

... two organizations have been trying to ... their bad record of public relations ... of Jim Crow practices. And the Com... are trying to convince the Navy and ... that the C.P. is the one that can do ... for them. The price of the service ren... that the Communists get into and in... themselves in the two services. And to ...ate C.P. usefulness in this stool-...apacity, the Communists are tying ...ple and compliant party-line into ...ots.

... couple of weeks ago the pro-Stalinist *...Voice* in Harlem ran page one head... the "Navy takes down bars to Negro ...ning the WAVES."

...eckup here shows that to date the Navy ... got a Negro ripple, much less a ... Not only is there not a single Negro ... the WAVES, but there is no indication ... Navy of any intention of accept...

...ndreds of Negro girls who have tried ... join the WAVES are not being fooled ... party-line on Negroes, of course, ... two Commissars who appear to have ... over the sheet, the two Negro decoy-... Max Yergan of the C.P.-front National ...Congress and Ferdinand Smith, Stalinist ...er of the National Maritime Union—... figure that Assistant Navy Secre... Bard only knows what he reads in ...

* * *

... last Sunday, the *People's Voice* went ... job of selling the C.P. to the Red ... The Harlem sheet printed an interview ... Patricia Williams, of the Stalinist ... Council of Negro Youth, denying ... Red Cross segregates Negro and white ... blood banks. They don't have time to ... was the bright explanation.

... *People's Voice* reports that the Council's ... was not over the Jim Crow of Negro ... since there is no such thing at present— ... over the fact that the Red Cross does not ... such facts public."

... the same day and simultaneously, the Negro Pittsburgh *Courier* followed a similar ... on the Red Cross.

... may be significant that John P. Davis ... the new Washington representative of the ... Davis recently resigned as executive ...tary of the National Negro Congress to ... secretary to Rep. Vito Marcantonio, the ... Congressman who talks Russian with a ...llonist accent.)

... Pittsburgh *Courier* in the past has been ... independent and outspoken on Negro dis... than most Negro papers. Com...ng on the action, it said: "The Red Cross ... need 'democraticizing,' but the fight will ... that much more effective if we become ... of the organization . . . and fight from ...side . . . rather than from without."

* * *

Says Only PM Isn't 'Freezing Out' Hearings On Discrimination

By Gordon H. Cole
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17.—A conspiracy of silence threatened today to defeat the effort of the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee) to call public attention to racial discrimination practiced by the railroads and the extent to which it is impairing the war effort.

Bartley C. Crum, chief counsel for the FEPC, linked the Nation's three press associations and the 22 railroad corporations in a charge that "attempts are being made to soft pedal these hearings."

PM Praised

"Except for PM," Crum said, "we are getting a nice case of freeze-out in the press."

The press tables bore testimony to the charge. Besides reporters for the Negro press, the New York *Times*, PM, the *Reader's Digest* and *Newsweek* were represented. The Associated Press and the United Press sent reporters for a brief look-see and a briefer story. International News Service passed up the hearings as not newsworthy.

On the first day of the hearings, only one of the four Washington papers, the *Evening Star*, mentioned the hearing. The New York *Times* carried nothing on the hearing in its Washington edition, and less than a column in its late city edition.

Ads Proposed

The Committee itself met last night to consider ways and means of breaking through the unofficial boycott of these hearings at which the case against the railroads is being built up by witness after witness.

One Committee member, Samuel Zemurray, president of the United Fruit Co., proposed that the FEPC take full-page advertisements to tell the story.

The FEPC counsel, a San Francisco lawyer, called to Washington to handle this case, asserted that the railroad hearings are "undoubtedly the most important ever held so far as minority groups are concerned either in this country or abroad."

"This," he declared, "is a test of whether we in the U. S. A. mean what we say by the Atlantic Charter and the other fine, high sounding words of President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie and other national leaders."

Strategem Fails

The lawyers representing the railroads, who spend part of the hearings [illegible] the data with the proposal that [illegible] long as the roads were not denying discrimination that the witnesses [illegible] disposed with.

This "soft pedaling" tactic failed. Crum announced that the prosecution would present its case.

The witnesses whom the [illegible] were unable to head off [illegible] two Mexican boys from Cheyenne, Wyo., Jesse J. Gonzales and Philip N. Mercado, both laborers working for the Union Pacific.

Denied Job

Mercado, a graduate of a Lincoln, Neb., high school, explained how he had tried to get a job as machinists' helper—the first step toward a skilled job—and was turned down.

"I wanted to get a helper's job. First I heard they weren't hiring any Mexican boys. But I went around to the committeeman for the machinists.

"He says he couldn't hire me. I asked him why. He says:

"'I can't put you on because you're a Mexican.'

"But, I says, I am an American. I was born here. How can you prove I'm not an American?

"He says, 'Well, your folks were Mexicans.'"

Mercado said most of the men who started out as laborers with him have been promoted to skilled jobs. Many were his classmates in high school; none had Mexican parents.

Negro witnesses told an even tougher story of being displaced by white men without regard to seniority rights.

Clyde R. Miller, founder of the now defunct Institute for Propaganda Analysis, was called to the stand to explain what ammunition such discrimination was furnishing Axis propagandists. Miller testified that:

"One of the strongest weapons in the hands of Hitler is exploitation of what anthropologists call the myth of racial superiority."

Jap Weapon

"Certainly in the Far East the Japanese unremittingly direct attention to hundreds of millions of colored Asiatics to the fact that the American Government's statements—the statements of our President that this is a war for human freedom—are statements proven false by the acts of white Americans who discriminate against colored people, not necessarily Negroes, but Indians, Chinese, Japanese, peoples with colored skins.

"They say in effect that our promises to the people of the world are built on hypocrisy, that certainly the people of the Far East can have no faith in the promises of white Americans when they deny equal rights to their fellow citizens."

[illegible] Communist infiltration into the Red Cross, The New Leader is able to report, is not wishful thinking — it's already accomplished fact.

It was revealed here this week that one of the personnel officials who selects Red Cross personnel for overseas duty is William Hinckley.

Hinckley was a member of the Young Communist League, on the sworn testimony of Kenneth Goff, former member of the Y.C.L. National Committee.

The record of Hinckley's Stalinist activities is as long as a baboon's arm. He has faithfully followed every twist and turning of the party line since 1934.

Hinckley was chairman of the C.P.-controlled American Youth Congress. He was a member of the national committee of the C.P.-front League for Peace and Democracy, and he was for collective security when that was the party line before the Communazi Pact of August, 1939.

After the Hitler-Stalin Pact ended "collective security," Hinckley switched with the party line, and in 1940 publicly supported the platform of the American Youth Congress, then anti-war. He was a signer of a *New Masses* letter to the President in April, 1940, in defense of the isolationist activities of the C.P. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Union was attacked, Hinckley again switched with the party line and joined [illegible] was demanded [illegible] the Soviet Union. Hinckley is a

Washington Background

Negro Rail Labor Row Worries Washington

1941 Employment Agreement Denounced as Discriminatory

By Inquirer Washington Bureau Staff

OFFICIAL Washington is extremely worried over the explosive potentialities of the controversy between the so-called "Provisional Committee," representing some 1200 Negro railroad firemen, and the railroads and the railroad brotherhoods over discrimination against employment of Negroes in the railroad industry.

The complaint of the Provisional Committee, which speaks for about one-half of the 2400 Negro railroad firemen, is directed specifically against an agreement signed in 1941 by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Southern Carriers Conference Committee.

The Negroes say this agreement is designed to force them out of railroading, which is one of the highest paid jobs open to Negroes. The agreement, according to the Provisional Committee, makes it impossible for a Negro to operate Diesel-driven locomotives.

* * * *

But the dispute goes deeper than that. The real aim of the Negroes is to open up railroads jobs now closed to them. The operational jobs are controlled by contracts between the railroads and the so-called Big Four—Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Order of Railroad Conductors of America, and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Negroes also are barred from other jobs, notably those of railway clerks. The railway clerks form one of the biggest and most powerful of all the railway unions.

* * *

Most of the Negroes employed in railroad operational jobs are firemen. Although they are not permitted to join the Firemen's brotherhood, the brotherhood's contract with the railroads permits employment of a limited number of Negroes on condition that they may not be promoted to locomotive engineer.

Since virtually all locomotive engineers have to serve an apprenticeship as firemen, the brotherhood insists upon holding down the number of Negro firemen so that there will be enough firing jobs as firemen to keep the ranks of the engineers filled.

* * *

The Provisional Committee sought a hearing before the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, but after a date had been set, Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, cancelled the hearing.

Many Negro groups, headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are threatening a mass march on Washington, and other Negro groups are talking about "a passive resistance" movement not unlike that of the followers of Gandhi.

McNutt's office says he is trying to work out the problem by conciliation with the unions and the railroads. But railroad circles are skeptical that this approach will work.

The brotherhoods, according to these sources, insist that their contracts with the railroads cannot be abrogated.

The railroads have taken a sideline position, but many experienced railroad executives doubt that on the southern lines, at least, the public would stand for the employment of Negroes as engineers or conductors.

Randolph Urges Political Bloc

Nonpartisan Program Offered Teachers' Meet

Before the Oklahoma Teachers Association's convention in Oklahoma City, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington Movement and international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed that the Negro people develop a powerful nonpartisan political bloc, representing Negroes of all political faiths, embracing the major national Negro organizations, civic, religious, trade union, business, educational, fraternal, women's and youth groups in the country, which can talk turkey to the anti-Negro elements in the Congress.

Such a political weapon is indispensable to advance and defend the interests of the Negro in America, he said. This Non-Partisan Political Bloc should not commit itself to any political party nor accept money from any political party, but depend entirely upon the funds received from Negro organizations and individuals.

Upwards of 20,000,000 of Negroes in America should have and can build a powerful Non-Partisan Political Bloc comparable to the non-partisan political bloc of labor, recently formed by the A. F. of L., C.I.O., the Big Four and the Farmers' Union, and the Southern bloc, the Farmers' bloc and the bloc of the National Manufacturers' Association, Mr. Randolph said.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NEWS Saturday, March 27, 1943

Ask Roosevelt To Probe R.R.

Civil Liberties Union Says Our Resumption Would Restore Faith

An appeal to President Roosevelt, Chairman Paul McNutt of the War Manpower Commission, and Attorney General Francis Biddle urging immediate resumption of the unfinished hearings on race discrimination in the railroad industry, was sent by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Union said that "nothing would restore confidence in the good faith of the administration in dealing with race discrimination as much as prompt resumption of these hearings by the Fair Employment Practice Committee."

The hearings were suspended in January by Commissioner McNutt on instructions from the White House, according to the Union. Representatives of twenty organizations conferred on February 19 with Mr. McNutt and Attorney General Biddle acting at the President's request, to consider the set-up of the F. E. P. C. and the scope of its activities.

The Union's communication was signed by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, board chairman, Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel, and Roger N. Baldwin, director.

The Afro-American, March 13, 1943

F. D. Urged to Order Railroad Hearings

NEW YORK—A letter urging the immediate opening of hearings in Washington on railroad discrimination, which were abrutly postponed, was sent to President Roosevelt by representatives of twelve national organizations last week.

The group pointed out that the sub-committee of the Fair Employment Practice Committee which had charge of the hearings is still intact, and that action need not wait for the pending reorganization of the FEPC.

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INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE

Published by

DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Gleanings from press releases and other sources to inform busy but sincere people of some of the things affecting the lives of racial minorities. Let's do away with walls! "We are all one in Christ Jesus."

The Material in the News Service is given for information and is not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies of the Department of Race Relations or the Federal Council of Churches.

Vol. 14 No. 2

March, 1943

"Interracial Tensions Jeopardize National Unity and Welfare."

(From "A Message to Our Fellow Christians," The Federal Council of Churches).

Race Relations Sunday Comes of Age

Under the theme, "Interracial Brotherhood Through Christian Unity," came nation-wide activities in observance of the Twenty-first Anniversary of Race Relations Sunday on February 14. Not only the interest of new communities and church groups was evident but greatly renewed activity from hundreds already identified with the observance; and especially effective public statements came forth from editors and organizations cognizant of the need for new emphasis on the theme in a world at war.

"Race Relations Sunday assumes a new importance this year," said a message from Mrs. Harold V. Milligan, President, National Council of Women of the United States, Inc. "Its significance now extends beyond our own borders into the entire world . . . White or black, Protestant, Catholic or Jew, native- or foreign-born, rich or poor—we have a common destiny and a common goal."

"Race prejudice is a disease that has spread through the body of humanity," opened the annual Message from The Federal Council of Churches. "We are all affected by it. Humanity is sick." In asking the question, "Has Christianity any remedy, or does it share the infection?" the Message proceeds to challenge the Christian Church and to point the way with suggestions for increased action toward "curing" the infection.

Reports received in the Department of Race Relations from 140 cities in 35 states (still coming in at press time) show the usual large number of interracial pulpit, choir and other group exchanges along with mass meetings, get-togethers of youth, women's and ministerial groups of both races. White ministers in several localities were most vocal on the theme and its direct bearing on American democracy (see some quotations below). Over a hundred public schools in the New York area sent for special help in the conduct of their assemblies, debates, essay-writing, etc. on the subject of interracial brotherhood.

Picked at random the reports show: Arrangements for 56 pulpit exchanges were made in **Chicago.** At **Webster Groves, Mo.,** for the first time the ministerial alliance promoted the interracial activities of the Day which included a union church service of white and Negro people. The Metropolitan Church Federation of **St. Louis** called attention to the importance of white churches having Negro Scout troops in attendance at their services and vice versa. At **Marion, Ohio,** in a series of forums through the Methodist Church, on the responsibility of the Church for peace, the subject of all races and minority groups in America is being studied under the topic, Will America Perpetuate Her Caste System. At **Cleveland** a Memorial Service to the late Negro scientist, George Washington Carver, drew a thousand people, Negro and White. The **Columbus** Urban League distributed the special literature to every church and Sunday School in Columbus, and reported "one of the most successful observances with the churches, schools, radio and press cooperating splendidly." A prominent white minister of a liberal church at **El Paso, Texas,** based his sermons for the entire month of February on the need for the Church "to make good its claims for the brotherhood of man . . . or retire from the position of leadership which it has so long held."

A resident of **Charleston, S. C.** reporting on a well attended meeting addressed by Miss Thelma Stevens, an executive in The Methodist Church, stated: "It makes us very unhappy to realize the problem here of the need for more recreational facilities for Negroes . . . and better county schools with higher pay for the Negro teachers." In **Covington, Va.,** a Race Relations Council of five white and four Negro people has been established to be active through the year. **Roanoke** reported that the accustomed segregation in seating arrangement was "definitely out" in the large Race Relations meeting held there at the white Baptist Church; several Negro speakers were heard at white Sunday Schools and vice versa; both local radio stations and newspapers cooperated in the observance.

Young people's societies of white and Negro held joint services in **Baltimore, Md.** where year-round activities of their Fellowship Church have registered large monthly attendance of both racial groups—more than a thousand in January. **Harrisburg, Pa.** reported six pulpit exchanges; good cooperation from the local ministers, press and radio; and a special conference of representatives of various churches to study the problems and needs of Negro soldiers and defense workers in the Harrisburg area. The **Summit, N. J.,** *Herald* carried an effective editorial written by Rev. Florence Randolph, AME Zion minister, on "If I Were White," giving emphasis to the need of community awareness of "the unjust housing problem affecting Negroes, the school problem, the movies, the hospital and certainly the Negro physician; the lack of Negro books in the library, the ignorance of Negro history because not taught in our schools."

Seventeen different choirs including Chinese, Japanese, Negro, were included in the annual Interracial Song Festival of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, **New York City.** Hebrew, Russian and Chinese songs were included on the program. An entire Japanese Sunday School visited the

church in the morning, with a young Japanese girl reading the Scripture and a Chinese boy giving the Call to Worship. All-day services at the Cuyler Presbyterian Church, an interracial church in **Brooklyn,** embraced programs in which a Chinese post-graduate student at Columbia University was the morning preacher, an Indian read the Federal Council's Message; an Interracial Christian Fellowship in the afternoon was attended by white, Negro, Indian and Hawaiian; and at night the secretary of the Negro YMCA was the speaker with two Indian women singing native songs. Through the Brooklyn Church Federation were promoted special local features including an interracial forum with Jewish, Negro, White speakers. **Nassau County, N. Y.** reported a Brotherhood Service with twelve churches and synagogues participating, five towns included, two thousand attendance, choir of one hundred voices.

Says a report from **Niagara Falls, N. Y.,** "Everything the Niagara Peace Council does is interracial and excellent cooperation is always had from our ministers, press and radio. Our race relations emphasis goes on all the year."

During the period Dr. George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary of the Department of Race Relations, filled speaking engagements in a two weeks' tour of several western cities, including Denver and Los Angeles; appeared before mass meetings and as consultant in smaller conferences on questions of interracial adjustment and Christian unity.

"Twenty-one years of Race Relations Sunday technique have served to show the churches where their professions and practices for interracial betterment square off," says Dr. Haynes, "and they are increasingly stepping forward rather than side-stepping the issues."

Witnessing Unafraid

Taking good advantage of the February season for emphasis on Christian Race Relations, several staunch white leaders stood fearless in their convictions and utterances in meetings, over the air and through the press.

Serving as speaker for the Department of Race Relations on the "Wings Over Jordan" (CBS) period the morning of Race Relations Sunday, **Dr. Buell G. Gallagher,** President of Talladega College (Alabama), minced no words in a broad challenge to Christian America that the matter of better race relations is put "squarely in the center of the Christian religion," through the observance of Race Relations Sunday now recognized because of religious convictions. "It means intelligence," said Dr. Gallagher. "It is not to be relegated to the sentiments and settled by emotion; there is too much emotionalism and too little straight thinking in it already . . . Consider the single-minded straight thinking of Jesus in this matter . . . Straight as an arrow that leads the thinking mind to the conclusion that all men are brothers, members of one family. That is not sentimentality . . . And may I say that when I meet a person who professes to be a Christian but who denies the essential oneness of all mankind, that person excites not so much my moral indignation as my intellectual contempt. He cannot follow one simple intellectual step from the Fatherhood of God to the brotherhood of man. Let us have done with intellectual shilly-shallying . . . Persons who are at this very moment planting the seeds of racial dissension and suspicion, who set one racial group against another, or maintain the alleged superiority of any racial group, are working not in the spirit of Christ but of Hitler. Not Jesus, but Adolf, believes in a superior race. We Christians must make our choice . . ."

Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Foreign Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches and Secretary in America for the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, in a mass meeting attended by over 600 white and Negro people at the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N. J. on Race Relations Sunday declared that "it is humiliating to the lover of the ideal of democracy to know that it is American prejudice on racial lines which causes trouble in Britain, in China, in West Indian areas and elsewhere as our forces spread around the world. Christian people may well study the story of lynching and mob violence in our own country; may well enter into the sufferings of minorities vicariously themselves and realize the problems; may well learn to detect and expose propaganda with facts . . . To be free from prejudice as an individual is not enough, but it is necessary that we associate ourselves with those actively seeking to promote racial goodwill."

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Preaching to his own congregation at Flatbush Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, the **Rev. Karl M. Chworowsky** stated: "The institutions of organized religion have an unique opportunity on this Race Relations Sunday to speak with power and conviction upon the problems which the war has brought to the attention of all decent men and women . . . Already this war, which on so many occasions has called forth such enthusiastic proclamations and professions of the equality of all men, has on several fronts disclosed rifts and fissures in an alleged 'unity' that constitute ominous threats to both the winning of the conflict and the winning of the peace . . . And it is not exaggerating the issue to say that unless the White Man takes more seriously the implication of his own confessions of Freedom and Democracy in relation to the colored peoples of the world, no lasting peace can be made and the seeds of a new and even more terrible war will be sown . . . And let the churches on this Race Relations Sunday not be satisfied with grand oratory and brilliant rhetoric; that will not solve the issue. The time has come for fierce denunciation . . . and action."

* * *

"Our nation cannot endure part black and part white," declared the **Rev. Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers,** pastor of the Broadway Congregational Tabernacle, New York City, in a strong sermon to his congregation. "As Christian people we should be aware that unless we change the accepted pattern of racial separation our democracy is doomed . . . No one who knows the facts can justify the glib idea that a black man is by nature inferior. There have always been Negro geniuses."

* * *

"Negro soldiers who have been taught to kill those standing in the way of democratic principles are not going to discriminate between a German and an American who does the same thing," said the **Rev. James H. Robinson,** Negro, pastor of The Church of the Master, Presbyterian, New York City, in addressing a conference on "Religion in the Modern World," sponsored by Columbia University. "The Negro soldiers hear platitudes of democracy, but can see no adequate demonstration of them . . . Lynching is not the basic problem; it is that spiritual death which is worse than physical death," Mr. Robinson continued, in asserting that the problem required the most serious thought on the part of Americans. (*New York Herald Tribune,* Feb. 25).

Choking the Stoker

Flames Gush!

2,400 Negro locomotive firemen working on 24 southern railroads but in imminent danger of being eliminated permanently were due to have a hearing on January 25-27 in Washington before the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This case was urgent for two reasons: 1) The Interstate Commerce Commission decreed that steam engines should be replaced by stokerized or Diesel engines by Aug. 15, 1944; 2) on February 28, 1941, an agreement was signed by the Southeastern Carrier's Conference Committee and The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen making it impossible for a Negro fireman to work on stokerized steam engines or trains switched to Diesel engines. A long list of participants

Along With Casablanca

President Roosevelt's visit to the West African republic of Liberia and the comradeship shown to President Edwin Barclay in their joint reviewing of United States forces stationed in the republic not only established a new precedent by an American Chief Executive, but heightened the morale of the non-white peoples associated in the titanic struggle to defeat the Axis. (N. Y. *Amsterdam Star News*, Feb. 6).

* * *

"Solving the peculiar problems of Liberia would be a step toward solving the post-war problems of all North and West Africa," was the gist of a statement of Arthur I. Hayman and Garoli Preece, authors of the recently-published *Lighting Up Liberia.*

They further declared, "It is regrettable that President Roosevelt did not have more time to spend there. There are so many things to see other than natives tapping rubber. We are quite certain that the President would have been keenly interested in talking with some of the people in the back-country . . . He would have learned that our step-child, originally meant to be a haven for freed Negroes turned out to be a slave country controlled by the very descendants of the first settlers.

"We think that the President would be very interested to know that Liberia today embodies all the repulsive features of Hitlerism, plus a few of the Japanese queer concepts of right and wrong thrown in. Mr. Roosevelt would have raised his eyebrows, we are sure, were he to have spoken to the embittered and beaten peoples whose lives are not their own." (*People's Voice*, New York, January 13).

* * *

An editorial from the *Chicago Defender*, February 20, states: "Unconditional surrender", that is the decree of the North African conference. The annihilation of Hitler and Hitlerism. No terms of peace are possible—except "unconditional surrender."

The locale of the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting is very interesting . . . Now on the shores of Africa the doom of Hitler and Hitlerism is sealed. If the African people are armed, as they should be, and allowed to participate fully in the big push, the sealing will take place in short order. . . .

If the Casablanca conference was an historic meeting, even more historic was the visit of President Roosevelt to Liberia—the first American president to step on the shores of this black state founded in 1822. But the status of Liberia now is that of a semi-colony. It is a Firestone plantation. Lend-lease aid must be given to Liberia. Schools are needed and must be built. Industry is needed. There are rubber plantations in Africa but the crude rubber is shipped here for processing. That must be ended. Let Liberia build its own industry. Send experts from America. That should be the outcome of the Roosevelt meeting with President Barclay of Liberia.

America's Own Nipponese

A Loyal Japanese Majority

A great majority of the American-born Japanese in this country are loyal to the United States and there should be little difficulty in recruiting from their number enough to form a Japanese-American combat unit, John C. Baker, chief of the Office of Reports of the War Relocation Authority said recently.

Mr. Baker, who said the living conditions in the evacuation centers in the West might be described as a "minimum standard of decency," declared that by the end of May his office expected to have a roster of more than 40,000 employable Japanese men and women "eligible to make their contribution to the man-power needs of this country." (N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*, Feb. 14).

* * *

Japanese American Fighting Squads

A revision of policy to ease restrictions on Americans of Japanese ancestry and employ loyal ones in war work has been announced along with plans for an Army unit of Japanese-Americans.

The Army unit is to include infantry, artillery, engineer and medical personnel organized in a combat team. Announcing the decision to form it, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, said: "The War Department's action is part of a larger program which will enable all loyal American citizens of Japanese ancestry to make their proper contribution toward winning the war—through employment in war production as well as military service." . . .

A few hours after the Washington announcement it was disclosed by Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, commander of the Hawaiian Department at Honolulu, that he had been ordered to accept 1,500 Americans of Japanese descent as Army volunteers.

Some Japanese-Americans already are serving in the Army, but there are no units of the size of the projected combat team which, presumably, would number several thousand men.

"Once in a great while," the general said, "an opportunity presents itself to recognize an entire section of this country for its performance of duty. All people of the Hawaiian Islands have contributed generously to our war effort. Among those have been Americans of Japanese descent.

"Their role has not been an easy one. Open to distrust because of their racial origin and discriminated against in certain fields of defense effort, they nevertheless have borne their burdens without complaint and have added materially to the strength of the Hawaiian area.

"They have behaved themselves admirably under most trying conditions and have bought great quantities of war bonds and by the labor of their hands have added to the common defense." (N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, January 29).

* * *

Resettlement and Employment

The Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans sponsored jointly by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council of North America in cooperation with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, in a recent *Resettlement Bulletin* gives several interesting items, among them: The W. R. A. has opened field offices in Salt Lake City, Denver, Kansas City, Chicago and Cleveland to explore employment possibilities, assist local civilian agencies, and forward job offers directly to Project Directors in camps . . . A large number of evacuees are desirous of taking office positions whereas a large number of job offers are for farm hands and domestic workers.

In St. Paul the International Institute has taken the initiative in setting up a city-wide sponsoring committee for the resettlement of Japanese Americans in that community. This committee is made up of prominent laymen from the larger Protestant church groups, the Roman Catholic church, the Christian Science, the Unitarian, and Jewish congregations, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Council of Social Agencies, prominent business men and other interested individuals . . . A sub-committee on housing and one on employment have

to be in the hearing included representatives from the Negro firemen working on railroads, the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, set up and staffed by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; the all-white Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the all-white Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, neither of which allow Negro firemen to become members; also committees representing the southern railroads. (From special release on "The Case of the Negro Firemen," from the Provisional Committee, New York City).

Commissioner McNutt's Hodful

"Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt has intervened to suppress the Fair Employment Practice Committee's dynamite-packed exposure of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry," recorded *PM* January 11. "Under pressure from McNutt, the FEPC, a unit of the Manpower Commission, has been forced to 'postpone,' indefinitely, public hearings at which it was prepared to shoot the works against railroad management and unions for defying President Roosevelt's anti-discrimination order. McNutt's move appeared certain to create a major blow-up on the discrimination issue and may lead to sudden collapse of the FEPC.

Summarizing from *PM,* January 22, Mr. McNutt's reasons for postponement were 1) "That FEPC had no strict legal authority to enforce its orders except on employers with war contracts containing non-discrimination clauses; 2) the railroads have no such war contracts except possibly in the sense that government officials buy railroad tickets which constitute a contract."

Drafts Opened!

Henry Epstein, former New York State Solicitor General, resigned as chief counsel to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice because Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, had ordered indefinite postponement of committee hearings into anti-Negro discrimination on the railroads, set for January 25-27. . . . Indefinite postponement, Mr. Epstein held, was tantamount to cancellation, and such action was a "challenge to democracy." (New York *Herald-Tribune,* January 13).

Malcolm MacLean, chairman of the FEPC quit to take a job as adviser on Negro affairs for the Navy Department, it was learned . . . He was said to have been the only member of the FEPC who sided with Paul V. McNutt in the latter's suppression of FEPC's attempt to hear charges of discrimination against the railroad unions. (*PM,* January 19).

In a statement to the press, James Myers and George E. Haynes, Federal Council of Churches secretaries of industry and race relations respectively, deplored as "most regrettable" the "indefinite postponement" of hearings which had been scheduled and declared that the incident raises "the whole question of the status and future usefuleness of FEPC which has been a beacon of hope in a heretofore dark picture of race discrimination and lack of democracy in employment practices in many industries. Emphasizing that "moral and religious issues of justice and brotherhood are involved which can no longer be evaded," the joint statement gave an historical review of Negro employees on southern railroads and set the challenge that the impending situation brings to the conscience of America.

More protests came: from labor circles, organizations, mass meeting resolutions, through the press. A delegation from 28 *organizations was promised an audience with Mr. McNutt in Washington but upon arrival were refused conference as an entire body, the Commissioner talking with only four of the delegation. Nothing was accomplished. Feeling ran high. Later the FEPC held a conference with Mr. McNutt and received assurance that every consideration would be given to its recommendation for rescheduling the hearings. Meantime the protesting organizations sent petitions to the President.*

President Roosevelt Steps In

Taking cognizance of complaints among minority groups concerning alleged Federal inaction on discrimination in war employment, President Roosevelt directed Commissioner Paul V. McNutt to call a conference to consider revising and strengthening the powers of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. (N. Y. *Times,* Feb. 4).

Organizations Present Solid Front in Protest

A solid front against any weakening of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice was presented to Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt on Friday, February 19, by a conference of twenty or more leaders of organizations and movements which had protested against the sudden cancellation of scheduled hearings on racial discrimination in employment on railroads. Speaker after speaker at the conference urged 1) restoring FEPC to its independent status under the White House and removing it from the War Manpower Commission; 2) an immediate re-scheduling of the cancelled railroad hearings and also the cancelled hearings on discrimination against Latin-Americans in the Southwest; 3) giving the committee an adequate staff and budget; 4) giving the committee sanctions in the form not only of public hearings but of money penalties and liquidating damages; 5) keeping in service the members of the present committee who have not resigned.

The entire group was against a paid committee such as has been suggested from time to time by government spokesmen. In urging independent status for the committee the conferees said such status should be "sufficient to protect it from the veto power of government officials other than the Chief Executive. The Committee should be set up in the Office of Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President," they said.

A call to government officials, including President Roosevelt, to "take a forthright stand for true democracy at home" was issued by the conference. (Kansas City *Call,* February 26).

Not Proudly Hailed!

Judge Hastie's Reasons

Judge William H. Hastie, Negro civilian aide to the Secretary of War, resigned in January from that post, and when his duties terminated his reasons for this move were publicized in the daily and Negro press throughout the country.

The Amsterdam Star-News (N. Y.) of February 6 recorded: Blasting "the reactionary policies and discriminatory practices of the Army Air Forces in matters affecting Negroes," which forced his voluntary resignation, Judge Hastie declared among other things:

"When I took office, the Secretary of War directed that all questions of policy and important proposals relating to Negroes should be referred to my office for comment or approval before final action. But in December, 1940, the Air Forces referred to me a plan for a segregated training center for Negro pursuit pilots at Tuskegee. I expressed my entire disagreement with the plan, giving my reasons in detail. My views were disregarded. Since then the Air Command has never on its own initiative submitted any plan or project to me for comment or recommendation. What information I obtained, I had to seek out. Where I made proposals or recommendations, I volunteered them."

Quoting Judge Hastie, the *New York Herald Tribune* of February 1 stated: "But the reactionary policies and discriminatory practices of the air forces are much more serious than the matter of ignoring my office. It should be understood that from the beginning the air command did not want Negro personnel. Resistance bred of that attitude has been met ever since . . . The simple fact is that the air command does not want Negro pilots flying in and out of various fields, eating, sleeping and mingling with other personnel, as a service pilot must do in carrying out his various missions."

1943's First Lynching

Robert Hall, young Negro mechanic of Newton, Georgia, became Number One on the 1943 Lynch Parade when he was beaten to death by police on January 29. The mob murder swung the Peach State back into the lynch column after a two years' lapse.

Hall met his death after being arrested, forced from his bed and taken from his home on a police warrant charging him with theft of an auto tire . . . No charges in connection with the incident have been preferred as yet. Sheriff Screws, however, was absent from duty for several days after the incident. When he returned February 3 reports were spread that he is under the case of a physician, suffering from a "nervous breakdown." (*People's Voice*, N. Y., February 13).

Mississippians Plead Not Guilty

Five white men, indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of having violated the federal civil rights statute in connection with the lynching of Howard Wash at Laurel, October 16, 1942, (*see Interracial News Service November* 1942) pleaded not guilty when arraigned before U. S. Commissioner W. E. Estes. All five were released on $1,500 bonds each, returnable at the April 12 session of the Federal Court at Hattiesburg. (*Chicago Defender*, January 23).

Texas Soldier Shooting Case Closed

United States District Attorney Steve M. King said today, that because "it is lacking in those elements promising a successful prosecution," the case involving the shooting of a Negro soldier July 7, 1942 (*see Interracial News Service September* 1942), by two Beaumont, Texas, policemen, has been closed. (New York *Herald-Tribune*, Jan. 17).

Wasting Manpower in Binghamton, N. Y.

The "white only" policy of dozens of war industries holding government contracts remains the common practice despite statements by industrialists to the contrary, according to Charles Eason, Executive Secretary of the Interracial Association of Binghamton, N. Y. . . . Like other industrial communities, Binghamton has felt the impact of manpower shortage but no move has been made to utilize available Negro manpower.

This problem of rank discrimination has been brought to the attention of the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Employment. Its representatives have conferred with officials and were "assured that this practice would be discontinued." After months of these promises, there are still comparatively few Negroes employed. (*New York Amsterdam Star-News*, Jan. 30).

Still Nursing Prejudice

The private hospitals of New York were criticized by Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, Executive Secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, for refusing to accept Negro nurses in spite of the critical need for trained nurses.

Explaining that only the city-operated hospitals admitted Negro nurses, Mrs. Staupers told the committee on public health of the Women's City Club: "It isn't a matter of giving Negroes a chance but of serving humanity." She said the Army, notwithstanding its need for nurses, still accepted Negro nurses on a quota basis and that the 200 who were serving the Army had been assigned on a segregated basis, all with Negro units. No Negro nurse has been admitted to the Navy, she declared. (*New York Times*, Feb. 17).

Is Segregation "Equal Opportunity?"

That Alabama will seek to better race relations through "independent development" for Negroes . . . by working toward the "equal opportunity to which men are entitled" was pledged recently in the inaugural address of Gov. Chauncey Sparks at the state capital . . . He declared that the solution to Negro and whites "living together in peace" rested upon two irrevocable principles. "First, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development." (*Chicago Defender*, Jan. 30).

Silver Linings

Civil Rights in Missouri

A civil rights bill, banning segregation in public places and making it a misdemeanor to discriminate against citizens on account of race or color, was introduced in the House of Representatives of the Missouri legislature by Rep. Edwin F. Kenswil of St. Louis.

Mr. Kenswil, the only colored member of the body, and serving his first term, is also the first colored Democrat to be elected to the Missouri legislature. "The law is intended to secure equal accommodations for the Negro citizens of Missouri," Kenswil said. "If we call our system of government and life a democracy it should be a real democracy and all persons should have equal privileges in public places and the same access to public facilities." The measure provides fines up to $500, one year imprisonment, or both if convicted and covers restaurants, hotels, soda fountains, taverns, road houses, barber shops, railroads, elevators and numerous other public accommodations including cemeteries. (*Norfolk Journal* and *Guide*, January 30).

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College Aid to Negroes

The New York State War Council with Thomas E. Dewey, governor, presiding for the first time as chairman, served notice on the War and Navy Departments that the barring of Negroes from college war-training courses was a violation of state policy . . . It was learned that in taking over certain colleges in the state for war-training purposes, the Navy has refused to admit Negroes to certain courses in such colleges . . . The council, in a resolution, declared that on the basis of the State Constitution and legislative enactments, it was "the declared policy of this state that there shall be no discrimination or segregation because of race, color or creed in the public schools and colleges or other institutions serving the public." (New York *Herald Tribune*, January 20).

* * *

Negro Bar in A.F.L. Protested

In a clear-cut, positive, policy report to the closing session of the A.F.L. Southern War Labor conference, L. R. Weyler of Louisville, (white) urged an end to discriminatory practices toward Negro unionists . . . On the question of the Negro in labor Weyler declared: "This conference declares that the labor movement should serve the workers without regard to race, creed, color, and further declares that there should be a condition of absolute rights on jobs and job opportunities without discrimination whatsoever . . . We're going to lift him (the Negro) from the ditch, or he'll grab our coat-tails and drag us down into the ditch with him." (*The Informer, Houston, Texas*, Jan. 30).

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been organized . . . 40 or 50 employers in St. Paul are in the process of sending for Nisei workers, including nurses aides, stenographers, beauty operators, and highly trained specialists in various fields as well as the very popular household workers . . . Five students have been enrolled at Macalester College, two at Hamline University and one at St. Thomas, a Catholic college for men.

The report includes items of similar character showing the situation in Chicago, Madison, Wisconsin, Philadelphia, San Francisco and New York City. In the latter city, student relocation applications received to date number 2,751.

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Student Aid

College students throughout the United States are contributing funds to help release less fortunate Japanese-American youths from desert relocation centers in the West so that they may continue their studies at Mid-Western and Eastern colleges it was learned recently. About $9,000 has been turned in already through the World Student Service Fund, New York . . . About 1,200 students have been cared for so far, 600 having received permits recently to leave the relocation centers to attend colleges after the War Relocation Authority decided to release Japanese-Americans from its ten relocation centers. (New York *Herald Tribune,* Feb. 1).

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A Different Note Struck

Japanese and their descendants, regardless of citizenship, are prohibited from owning land in Arkansas under a bill just signed by Governor Homer Adkins. (New York *Herald Tribune,* Feb. 1).

Other Lands

China

A Message from Miss Me Tsung Kaung, Chinese, before the Fellowship Dinner of the Board of Missions and Church Extension, Cleveland, in January, cited that:

"War in China means greater activity for the church. The Chinese Church, in collaboration with other Chinese agencies such as The National Christian Council of China and Young Men's Christian Association, takes up war-relief work. Moore Memorial Church, in the three years of war when the refugees concentrated in Shanghai, maintained two of the best refugee camps in the city. It sold cheap rice to the suffering poor people. Child-welfare camps have been established everywhere for the homeless. The National Christian Council has service units for wounded soldiers in transit, and the YMCA is engaged in providing emergency service to soldiers in service, very much like the U.S.O. . . . Moore Memorial Church is operating a community church in French concession . . . Soochow University has moved out of Shanghai and is sending her branches to take root in Free China . . . New China is still in the process of making. The Chinese church is in a strategic position to contribute helpfully to the solution of rival economic and social ideologies." (*The Methodist Woman,* Feb. 1943).

DR. CARPENTER RETURNS

Back from a 7,000-mile tour through China, Dr. J. Henry Carpenter of Brooklyn reports that "The Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are . . . helping to bring economic freedom to China and the Chinese people." Dr. Carpenter visited 300 cooperatives that manufactured everything from blankets and paper to machines and boots. In a nearby cooperative, Dr. Carpenter saw "an interned German who could speak neither Chinese nor English and who was released for work in the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives by the local magistrate. He was busy at planing. At Chang-Sho-Sze (Long Life Temple), Dr. Carpenter saw 30 disabled soldiers, one with an eye shot out, a second who had one of his arms amputated, another on crutches—but all of them joined together in a cooperative. (From *Indusco Bulletin,* January 11).

Judaism's Teachings

"Eliminate Racial Discrimination!" is the title of a little folder just off the press containing a message from the American Institute on Judaism and a Just and Enduring Peace under the auspices of the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Under its chairman, Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, the Commission has been giving much attention to the problems of racial adjustment, and this Message is their annual challenge to the large constituency of the Synagogue. Says the Message in part:

A corollary to the cardinal doctrine of Judaism, the belief in one God, is the belief in the oneness of mankind. This belief is echoed and re-echoed in Biblical and rabbinic literature. . . .

The doctrine that there are superior and inferior "races" is a modern superstition . . . Neither "race" nor color indicates cultural progress or capacity. Every human group possesses worth. Difference signifies variety, and variety promotes cultural enrichment . . .

By reason of our troubled history and the centuries of persecution we have endured, we Jews should feel ourselves especially obligated to understand the plight of the Negro in all his right to earn a living unhindered by the disabilities which at present bar his way. He must enjoy the same advantages that other Americans enjoy in education, medical care, and housing. The day must come when lynching will be abhorrent to every American. Finally, we urge the removal of all barriers which impede the progress of Negroes as children of God.

We declare the basic equality of all races.

We assert that no race has the right to dominate another.

We reaffirm Judaism's teaching of the brotherhood of all peoples.

We deny that God has selected some races for special favors and others for debasing servitude.

We urge the education and full emancipation of all peoples.

We do not regard conflict between races as inevitable. On the contrary, they must cooperate as equals if there is to be a just and enduring peace.

We look with special concern upon the exploitation of many millions in Asia and Africa, and urge their admission as equals into the councils of nations.

All sanctions for racial discrimination and segregation must be eliminated from the laws of states and nations, and from the minds and hearts of men.

(*A limited supply of this message, a small printed folder, is available at the office of the Department of Race Relations*).

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...1943

...to F.D. on ... Probe

NEW YORK — A conference ... dangers from further ... to FEPC hearings on rail-road employment discrimination ... requested of President Roose-velt this week through head-quarters of the March on Wash-ington Movement.

In a telegram signed by repre-sentatives of a number of lead-ing organizations, the President was reminded that such delay might encourage employers guilty of racial discrimination to be-come "more emboldened and ag-gressive in treating your Execu-tive Order 8802 as the proverbial scrap of paper." Signers of the telegram were:

... White, secretary, NAACP; ... H. Tobias, National Council ...; Lester Granger, executive ... National Urban League; ... K. Gonerwith, chairman, Negro ... Committee; Morris Milgram, ex-... secretary, Workers' Defense ...

... Sidney Goldstein, Commission on ... and Peace, Central Conference ...merican Rabbis; Dr. Max Yergan, ...ent, National Negro Congress; ... Arnold Hedgeman, Brooklyn, ... A. Philip Randolph, national ... March on Washington Move-...

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1943.

'Service' Charges For Pullmans End

So-called "service" charges made by a few travel agencies on top of authorized prices for Pullman reservations are cut from now on, Vanderbilt Arnold, chairman of the passenger department of the Trunk Line Assn., representing railroads serving the New York area, said today.

The association for some time has been investigating sales of sleeping and parlor car tickets on trains reported as "sold out." Some agencies have been charging an extra fee for last-minute tickets made available through cancellations, Mr. Arnold said, but he added, "there were not enough cases of sufficient consequence to be called a 'black market'." As a result of the investigation, all agencies have agreed to stop the practice, Mr. Arnold said.

The Afro-American, April 3, 1943

WASHINGTON

Women will soon don porter's caps on at least one of the country's railroads.

A railroad representative last week told the conference on "Womanpower in Transportation," sponsored by the Office of Defense Transportation, that women will soon be employed to meet manpower shortages among railroad porters.

The company is conducting the experiment with some interest and expects to prove, the representative said, that women excel men in creating a homelike atmosphere on trains.

PM, MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1943

Negroes Accuse Alabama Governor Of Trying to Get Control of Tuskegee

Prominent Negro and white leaders charged today that Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama is attempting to seize control of Tuskegee Institute, one of the outstanding Negro universities in the country, through a State subsidy of $100,000.

At the same time, Negro and white leaders urged rejection of the proposal by Tuskegee's board of trustees, which will hold a special meeting in New York City this afternoon.

The proposal was outlined by Gov. Sparks during Founders Day exercises at Tuskegee on Apr. 4. Under the plan, the State legislature would appropriate $100,000 for Tuskegee, to finance post-graduate studies in agriculture, domestic science and rural education. In return, Sparks would name six members to the present Tuskegee board of 19.

When the proposal first became known, protests began pouring in on Dr. William J. Schieffelin, of New York City, chairman of the Tuskegee board.

On Apr. 16 a group of prominent New York Negroes wired Dr. Schieffelin that "the proposal is tantamount to surrendering control of the institution to the state of Alabama."

Signers of the telegram included:

... White, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; ... Walter White, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; ... Committee; ... Philip Randolph, president, ... of Sleeping Car Porters; ... W. Bethune, ...

visory Committee on Selective Service, and the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation.

Mrs. ... Arnold Hedgman, regional director of race relations, Civilian Defense Volunteer Office.

Other protests have been sent by:

A. C. Powell, Jr., councilman; editor, *People's Voice*, and chairman, Peoples Committee.

Ferdinand Smith, secretary, National Maritime Union, CIO.

Dr. Peyton Anderson, Harlem physician.

Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts, chairman, Harlem Committee, New York Tuberculosis and Health Assn.

The New York and Washington Tuskegee Clubs, and some 15 other alumni groups throughout the country.

White leaders opposed to the plan include Dr. Walter Gray Crump, New York physician, executive board member of the NAACP, and for 15 years a member of the Tuskegee board, and John Hammond, also a member of the NAACP executive board.

On the day Gov. Sparks advanced his proposal, he also expressed his views on how to solve the problems of the Negro. In ... he said that "absolute ... should be ... of the ...

CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1943

...ail, Union Heads ... Discuss Wages

NEW YORK CITY. — A ... president of the ... Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters ... declared this week that 20 of ... railroads, including the Pull... Company, have arranged ... conferences with brotherhood ... for the discussion of wage ... cases.

... to be discussed include ... per hour ... minimum of ... guarantee ... operating employees ... increase in the ...

...Railway Labor Act

...TOWNSEND ... witnessed the ... Fair Employment Practices Committee, ... by the Congress ... Dean Pickens, ... and now the ... the Negro railway worker. The following events presage the opening gun in this latest attack.

The "Railway Labor Act" of 1926 made it mandatory upon the employees ... reasonable effort ... through ... chosen by ... for the purpose of disputes was ... This act was ... that its essential ... unchanged.

... despite the ... of the act, ... an open ... One may ... among the ... twisted logic to ... of some of the ... board, in its ... of denying Negroes ... protection of the ... Act, have ...

...UNIONS

... has consistently ... railroad unions ... admit Negroes to ... but these selfsame ... the right to bargain ... and the Mediation ... aided and abetted this ...

... interesting to note that ... National Mediation Board was ... friendly to the United Transport Service Employees and still ... On November 26, 1940 the ... dismissed the UTSEA petition for certification to represent ... red caps at St. Paul and ... ended the collective bargaining ... to the Brotherhood of Clerks (who have a constitutional clause only admitting "white Americans" to membership).

The UTSEA protested this decision before the District Court in Washington, D. C., and on the 6th of July, 1942, the court set aside the Mediation Board's ruling and issued an order that the UTSEA be certified forthwith.

Again in the case of track laborers on the Florida East Coast Railroad, where the UTSEA found a condition as vicious as any known to organized labor, and in violation of the Railway Labor Act, the railroad company had negotiated an agreement for the white employees and excluded the Negroes; yet when the UTSEA attempted to become the certified representative of these men, the National Mediation Board, through its mediator, aided and abetted in terrorizing the Negro employees, resulting in the loss of the election.

SAME TREATMENT FOR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The other labor organizations in the railway field who are representing Negro employees, have experienced substantially the same disregard of the intent of the Railway Labor Act, and disregard for fair and impartial judicial reasoning.

The great difference between the UTSEA and these several other organizations is, the UTSEA insists on airing these starchamber decisions in the Federal Courts. The National Mediation Board cannot forgive this rank heterdoxy.

Their indignation and fear has reached the point where their chairman, George A. Cook, wrote a letter to the president of the CIO, Philip Murray, in effect asking that the UTSEA be stopped from disturbing labor unity. Mr. Cook asked that the attempt to organize the unprotected workers in the railway industry be curtailed. In effect he is asking the CIO to endorse the vicious practice of the Railway Brotherhoods, and the American Federation of Labor in their undemocratic procedure of setting up auxiliaries.

In these auxiliaries, the colored brother is supposed to join, but after joining he does not have the privilege of participating in the selecting of officers nor a voice in the policies. He can only pay dues. Of course this outrageous request was cloaked under the heading of labor unity.

OPEN VIOLATION

The most disturbing aspect of this letter is the open violation of so-called judicial objectivety. Either the chairman of the Mediation Board feels very sure of the step taken, as a result of the resurgence of the anti-Negro reactionary and undemocratic element in Congress, or he cannot re-orientate his thinking into accepting the fact that, at long last, there is an aggressive and hard hitting union in the railway field, that is determined to protect all workers whether they be black or white, Negro, Mexican, Filipino, or Hottentot.

...By JAMES E. HOGANS

WAR CASUALTY

NEW YORK—Bags and Baggage, official organ of the Red Caps' International Union and one of the best edited periodicals of its kind, becomes a war casualty after the April issue, its last for the duration.

According to official announcement, however, red cap events will be carried in the National CIO News.

During its six-year life, Bag and Baggage set a new pace in trade union journalism. Under the editorship of Ernest Calloway, it not only presented union news in an interesting and vigorous manner, but its technique was that of formal journalism rather than high school composition, which is so conspicuous in the average union organ.

Editor in Army

It also was a potent force in centering attention on the valiant struggle of the red caps for industrial freedom.

Mr. Calloway, scheduled to be inducted into the army this month, has been identified with the United Mine Workers of America, the AFL American Federation of Teachers and the CIO American Newspaper Guild.

MISSING

Pvts. Homer Glenn and George Hall of New York, former porters, are reported missing in North Africa. Both men were well known in Pullman circles. Glenn, jovial but generous, was dubbed the "play boy" by his friends.

HERE AND THERE

The quarterly meeting of the Retired Pullman Porters' Association will be held Monday, May 3, at the YMCA, West 135th Street.

The annual memorial service of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association is scheduled for Sunday, May 23, at Salem Methodist Church, 128th Street and Seventh Avenue.

Former Porter Arris Shy of the Cleveland District is now a corporal in the 12th Aviation Squadron, Orlanda, Fla.

The Pittsburgh Courier

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

'Berth 13' Suspect Convicted

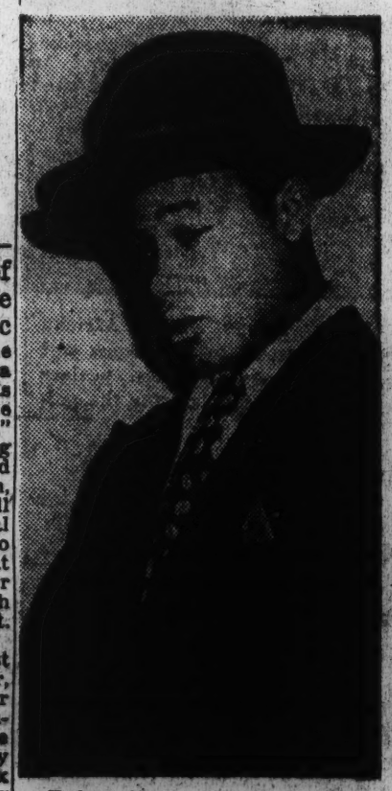
ALBANY, Ore., April 29—Declaring the conviction of 20-year-old Robert E. Lee Foulkes, Southern Pacific Railway dining car cook, for the murder of Mrs. Martha Virginia James, white society matron, as "the worst miscarriage of justice in my 14 years of law practice," Atty. Leroy Lomax, outstanding white local lawyer who has waged a brilliant defense for the youth, announced this week that he will file immediately for a new trial and, failing, will take the case to the State Supreme court. If that effort fails, the determined lawyer says he will take steps to push the case to the U.S. Supreme court.

APPARENT SURPRISE

To bring its verdict against Folkes for the January 23 murder, the jury of eight women and four men deliberated 17 hours, 23 minutes. When the jury returned the verdict, calling for a mandatory death penalty, both Attorney Lomax and Presiding Judge L. Llewelling seemed visibly surprised and William E. Pollard, executive of the Dining Car Waiters and Cooks' Union, Local 587, told Courier reporters: "I have just seen an innocent man railroaded to his death."

Ensign Richard F. James, husband of the slain 21-year-old Nor-

CONVICTED!



Robert E. Lee Foulkes' conviction for the murder of Mrs. Martha Virginia James in the celebrated "Lower Berth 13" case was described by his white Albany (Oregon) lawyer, Atty. Leroy Lomax, as "the worst miscarriage of justice in my 14 years of law practice." The case has been appealed and machinery set in motion for a new trial.

...Va., woman ... emotion ... read and ... wise ...

orkers Claim Railroad Race Bias

Men Denied Jobs ...men—Women Office Work

...Island Railroad this ... accused of flagrant dis... in a complaint car... the FEPC by six young ...m D. Phipps and F. W. ... under the men bring... charge had applied in ... as trainmen.

... had applied in a New ... of the Pennsylvania ... along with a long line ... men. The white men in ... behind were hired at ... he was told he would ... later.

... then applied at the ... office and was told that ... all the trainmen they ... The following week ... hiring white girls in ... jobs because of the ... men.

... same time the men ... another memorandum ... FEPC citing the grievances ... other Negro employees ... Long Island Railroad, over ... a large amount of ... terial for the armed ...

... the items was the case ... women who were employed ... at the Arch Street ... station pulling heavy ... loaded with freight. ... women applying for the ... told to place applica... easier and better jobs, ... stated. The two ... Mrs. Louise Long, 410 W. ... Street, and Miss Iris Mul... W. 143rd Street, were ... asked if they could ... red to an office job and ... by C. N. Allen, agent for ... that the railroad would ... colored women in office ... they said.

... protesting the pre... practices and statements ... had previously been sent ... superintendent of the ... Railroad, E. L. Hoff... As a result, Joseph E. ... Harlem lawyer, was re... the company to investi... charges of discrimina... mistreatment of the ... employees.

... seven Negro employees ... suspended, the memorandum ... on charges of refusing to ... the management-labor com... letter's statement on absentee-... form although they said they had been told that they did not have to sign.

The absentee statement had been drawn up by the management of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks Union, a lily-white affiliate of the A. F. of L. The Negro employees belong to a Jim Crow auxiliary of the union.

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1943

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Rail Job Discrimination Continues Despite Manpower Shortage—OWI

WASHINGTON.—Although Negroes now hold many transportation jobs in which they have not previously been employed, discrimination against Negroes persists in many places; the Office of War Information reported this week on completion of a comprehensive survey of the transportation situation.

Discussing the manpower problems of the transportation industry, the OWI declares:

"Negroes are filling increasing numbers of skilled and semi-skilled railroad jobs, but, war or no war, unwillingness to employ Negroes in many types of railroad jobs persists.

"In some cities vehicles are lying idle due to lack of people to run them. Still, out of 227 local transportation companies — representing 86 per cent of total employment in the industry — only eight employ Negro operators. Women 'motorettes,' 'conductorettes,' and bus drivers are no longer a novelty in San Francisco, San Diego, Detroit, Columbus, Ga., and other cities."

The problems of dining car employes and sleeping car porters in the civilian transportation field are discussed at length in the report.

"Because of the inroads of selective service," the OWI declared, "many of the trained dining car employes have disappeared, and untrained substitutes replace them. Working long hours, on some days from 5:30 in the morning to 1 or 2 the next morning, they serve continuously.

"Formerly, if there were more than 100 persons on a train to be served, a second diner was added; now a single dining-car crew of 10 to 13 men may serve as many as 700 meals a day, with scarcely any let-up between what were once meal periods. This shortage of trained dining car help is far from being the only or most serious manpower shortage on the railroads, but it is the one that many travelers are most conscious of as they stand waiting for places at the table.

"Sleeping car porters are worn down by the great amounts of baggage they have to handle, by the constant making-up and breaking-down of berths necessitated by the usually more than complete 'top and bottom loads,' and by the lack of adequate rest between and during trips. With their traditional ... now almost always sold to travelers, ... on ... of ... ding cars.

particularly helpful to the large number of Americans now riding Pullman for the first time in their lives, and who have to be initiated into the mysteries of sleeping car travel. One thing that many new Pullman travelers don't seem to know is the fact that tipping is customary. 'We do our best to enlighten them on this point,' one sleeping car porter said. 'Tactfully, of course: we don't want to embarrass anybody. Sometimes what we say gets across and sometimes it doesn't.'

"About 1,000 sleeping car porters have been drafted, and about 2,500 new men have been hired during the past year to take their places and to handle the increased passenger load. Porters are paid time and a half for any work beyond 250 hours a month, and most of them are at present working overtime. This is a considerable change from before the war when the 250-hour limit was seldom reached.

"Nowadays even the new and extra men doing the untipped work on troop trains are making more money than the average porter made formerly with tips; but a considerable amount of illness and forced absence due to overfatigue is reported. Few sleeping car porters have left to enter war industries."

Saturday, May 1, 1943

THE CHRONICLE

Brotherhood Polices Contracts

New York—In commenting on the scope of the organization and wage agreements entered of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the International headquarters in New York City, A. Philip Randolph, International President pointed out that the International affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, contracts, ... and policies were contained ... that are worth more than twenty million dollars annually.

... Lines, ... Paul and ... Line, the ... Pullman ...

... a number of ... the securing of a ... "J" or the ... can be made ... of ... tracts except ... the railway ... Brotherhood.

He continued ... hood of Sleeping ... duces more ... maintenance ... such as the ... as, schools, ... than any ... agency today. ... he scholarship ... years of the ... office, and ... and ... and the ... the ... work ... or other ... exist.

...ployees, we are ... industry and partners ... cause; a cause to pro... posterity of mankind, we ... a definite responsibility, ... are not to shirk our ... all realize that in ... analysis we are just ... we must all "give ...

...pressing my views, ... them to be wholly in ac... with your point of view, ... all, co-workers, I ... and believe in the ... principles of unionism as ... by the wise and ... "independent unionists." ... have written many items ... certain unionists and ... industrialists, but what I ... done has been in the spirit of ... a movement for which I ... great respect.

...employers of yesteryear were ... unfair through ignorance of ... those of that time. It is not fault ... of the present generation of hon... est employers. We are not living in the past, but in the present and for the future. The mistakes and abuses of the past should be credited to experience, and belong to history.

In conclusion, if the porters group or their leaders as a whole could only realize that those who create employment are entitled to a reward which will promote initiative, inventive and executive ability and to encourage these faculties is to encourage industrial turmoil. If we are to go forward; we must meet conditions of today and tomorrow, and operate accordingly. There is no ifs and ans

The Pullman management and porters must operate in unison. There must be harmony. The abuse of either is the concern of both. Regardless of what you are now being told about your future, here is something that you must not forget: laws cannot be passed to make crooks turn honest, chislers stop chisling. And any law condoning such inequity will eventually have to be stricken from the statue books. And I am going to tell you right here and now, it's a hell of a condition ,especially during this war period, when the partners of industry are prohibited from exchanging ideas for the promulgation of mutual interest. Now what do you think of my views?

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS

Saturday, May 1, 1943

...bor Forum

By M. Moran Weston

...s American labor movement has given ... working people of the world their ... lying day, May Day. For years, all ... May 1 has been the occasion for the mass demonstration of the growing power and accomplishments of organized workers in their march towards security and freedom. It has been a day to express the unity of the labor movement, not only in this country but throughout the world.

For Negro workers this growing power and unity has expressed their hopes ... and an equal place in the ...

... this year occurs during one of the ... periods in world history. All the ... people have won, all the ... which they aspire hang in the bal... this terrible world war against the ... of fascism in every land. The labor ... has recognized this fact. Because ... occurs on a production day, a Sat... celebrations here have been shifted to ... May 2, for the first time. In so doing ... its maturity and patriotism. The ... celebration will be in Harlem at the ... It promises to be a truly in... demonstration of unity. Repre... of the British and French labor ... will be there. Senator Claude ... of Florida, sponsor of the anti-Poll ... last year, will represent the Admin... There will be representatives of all ... nounced. ... of ... will ...

America will dedicate themselves anew to bring about this complete unity. One step in this direction is the wiping out of all remnants of jim crow in the labor movement itself. LET THE LABOR MOVEMENT QUARANTINE SUCH UNIONS as the International Machinists AFL, which only a few days ago took a stand against unity and democracy in the labor movement by re-stating their opposition to the entrance of Negro workers with equality in the machinist's union. YES, LET LABOR QUARANTINE JIM CROW IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

No Labor Minister From the Railroad Brotherhood

Recently, the New York Post, in a leading editorial, proposed that the organized labor movement sponsor a national manpower service law, with a representative of organized labor to administer the law such as the British have done through their national service act, administered by Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor and former head of the British Transport and General Workers Union. The Post also proposed that the labor representative be chosen from the leaders of the Railroad Brotherhoods. The general proposal for a master plan to see that every man and woman in America is in the right job at the right time is good. This Column advocated this last week in analyzing the Pepper-Tolan-Kilgore bill now before Congress. But such an over-all manpower plan must go hand in hand with a master production and military plan for victory. One without the other is to continue the piecemeal methods used up until now. It creates only confusion.

But the proposal to choose the labor representative to administer the law from the Railroad Brotherhoods is dead wrong. The Railroad Brotherhoods represent the most reactionary section of the American labor movement with Jim Crow practices and discrimination against Negro workers. The Brotherhoods share much of the responsibility for the cancellation of the Railroad Franchise scheduled by the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).

Saturday, May 15, 1943

NEW YORK AGE

Things Seen, Heard And Done . .

AMONG PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

I have often wondered why it was that every time L. F. Colbert, A. A. Richardson and John H. Gibbs came in contact with each other they would go into a huddle. Wednesday evening, April 28, at the "Club Dancaland" the secret was explained by their appearance in the membership list of the Essene Club of Celestial Lodge, No. 3, F. & A. M. Prince Hall, of the State of New York.

It was the initial complimentary assembly given by this club. And of course L. F. Colbert being chairman of the program committee naturally had to consult his co-workers, John H. Gibbs and A. A. Richardson, for their services on certain things. But the one thing that has many of us puzzled is how did our good friend Gibbs know that S. C. Mapp would not show up to occupy the box which had been assigned to him by the club?

It goes without saying Gibbs knew that he wouldn't be there because he took the chairs and tables from Mapp's box and was still ont able to seat all of his guests. When questioned about his act, his only reply was: I always know what I am doing. Anyway, the boys and girls ann their friends spent a most pleasant evening with this popular Masonic Club of New York City. Music by the Club Dancaland Orchestra had everybody swinging and swaying and I might add a tuxedo definitely makes a big improvement on some people.

You have often heard it said: send me flowers while I can smell them, for they will be no good to me when I am dead. Well, there are several ways one can or might take such a statement. But the Chicago West Porters didn't take any chance with their beloved Porter Instructor, James W. Carr. They heard that he was going to retire, and got busy right away to let him know just how much the men in Chicago thought of him for the good work he has done among them. And Sunday, May 2, they had him to come to Quin Chapel, 24th and Wabash avenue, and presented him with many useful gifts among cost more than one hundred dollars.

Maids Ruth Nicklos and Henrietta, both of the Chicago Western District were present to share in the program of presentations. J. R. Reece, secretary-treasurer of the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, was the master of ceremonies and presented the guest speaker for the occasion, who was none other than that great orator and demonstrator in the Pullman Building from the Chicago Northern District, Porter Jake Wolf, who in his talk related many of the kind acts that he had known Porter Instructor Carr to do for young men entering the Pullman service. Continuing he said:

"As I look over this large audience I see faces from every Pullman district in the City of Chicago and to me it is indeed a demonstration of loyalty to a man who has met every requirement from the Pullman management and yet retained his self respect. James W. Carr entered the Pullman service March 3, 1899; he has worked faithfully and skillfully. The Pullman company demands that of its employees and had he not met those requirements he could not have remained with the company for 44 years. May each of you present take inspiration from his achievements and try to be like him, noted for calm judgment and practical wisdom. That's the landmark which our good friend set for our guidance."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

"Mortals and Immortals" is the subject of the lesson-sermon in all Churches of Christ, Scientist, on Sunday, May 16. The Golden Text is: "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh" (II Cor. 5:16).

Bible references explaining the subject are taken from Job 14:1, 2; Psalms 103:17: "Man that is born of a woman is of a few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not . . . But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to

VOL. XLIII NO. 18 NORFOLK, VA., MAY 1, 1943 PRICE 10 CENTS

FEPC RESCHEDULES HEARINGS

Will Air Findings In Detroit

Transit Hearing Set For May 13 In Washington

By ERNESE E. JOHNSON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—No one in the capital seems to have any doubt as to the motive behind the move on the part of the Fair Employment Practice Committee last week in scheduling hearings in Detroit, Washington, and ahead with [illegible] the formal [illegible] with four [illegible] decided that [illegible] air the results of the [illegible] tions that have been [illegible] the Motor City [illegible] under G. James [illegible] er in charge. [illegible] the dates they [illegible]

Confronted with [illegible] that the hearings [illegible] In connection with [illegible] of the Capital Transit [illegible] pany of Washington [illegible] Negroes in accordance [illegible] directive to do so, [illegible] mittee decided to [illegible] in hearing on May 13 actually the next [illegible] to the

(Continued on page 2)

NEGRO LABOR NEWS, SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1943

job.

Personnel in the USES field offices have been attending meetings this week studying the WMC plan. Meetings were held in Dallas, Ft. Worth, Amarillo, El Paso, Waco, Austin, Albuquerque, Shreveport, Houston and Beaumont.

* * *

RAILROAD MEN TO MEET

Plans for a meeting of state and district chairman of the Railway Brotherhoods in Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma with representatives of war agencies in Dallas on May 14 and 15 were announced Saturday by Carl A. McPeak, assistance regional representative of WPB's labor division here.

The Purpose of the meeting, Mr. McPeak said, is to discuss participation of Railroad Brotherhoods members in ativities under the direction of such agencies as the War Manpower Commission, Office of Price Administration, War Production Board and War Labor Board. Representation of brotherhood members on advisory committees aiding these agencies also will be planned.

Attendance of about 40 is expected at the meeting which will be held in room 1201, Mercantile building, starting at 9:30 a. m. on May 14 and 15.

The Afro-American, May 15, 1943

Among RR Workers

By JAMES H. HOGANS

GENE ROUNDTREE RETIRES

NEW YORK—Eugene C. Roundtree, veteran New York–Boston porter, retired last week after forty-nine years in Pullman service.

He was the third oldest porter in point of employment in his district (N.Y.) and the fifth oldest in the Pullman circuit. He was described in the Boston Post several years ago as the "best porter" in the Pullman service, although the description was questioned by some of his coworkers.

Well-Known Realtor

One of Pullman's most industrious workers, Gene has a pleasing personality and is a notable example of thriftiness.

In Boston, where he lives, he is also known in business circles, and controls considerable property. Before the crash in 1933, he was reputed to have been worth about $175,000 in realty and business holdings.

With the aid of his wife, who died three years ago, he managed those interests during his off time. He is the father of seven children. One, a son, died two years ago. A daughter is well-known in the theatrical world.

* * *

FINDERS KEEPERS

H. G. Loving, veteran Washington porter, has returned many pocketbooks to their owners during his long years with Pullman, but he had no such luck when he lost his wallet recently containing $400 at the porters' quarters in Boston or at the New Haven Essex Street Yards.

Rienzi B. Lemus, former president of the old Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees, is reported to be employed as a clerk in the Washington office of the ODT.

J. L. Stinson was elected president, John [illegible] was president, and Sylvester Brown, secretary-treasurer, of the [illegible] Pullman Porters of New [illegible]

NEW YORK

Saturday, May 22, 1943

Folkes Granted Stay

[illegible], Ore—Robert E. Folkes, [illegible]-old knife slayer of Mrs. [illegible] Virginia Jones, on a California bound Southern Pacific Limited last January, who was sentenced several weeks ago to die in the gas chamber of the State Penitentiary, was granted an indefinite stay Saturday, after notice was filed on an appeal to the State Supreme Court.

[illegible] action was brought about [illegible] failed to grant a new trial for the defendant charged with killing the Navy en-

NEGRO LABOR NEWS, SATURDAY, MAY [illegible], 1943

Pullman Porters Purchase $25,000 More War Bonds

NEW YORK CITY—The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in New York City, [illegible] Secretary Treasurer Ashley L. Totten, to purchase another [illegible] worth of U. S. [illegible] Bonds. The Brotherhood [illegible] $25,000 worth of war [illegible]

...had entered the ...ork and had not ...

...Corporation accused the union, ... Federation of Labor ... of staging brief sit-down ... in the plant every working ... since Feb. 10 to slow down ... production and block the com... war goal of turning out ...

to promote
n campaign

The Afro-American, March 27, 1943

H. B. 145 Would End This

Here is interior of one of the Baltimore and Annapolis Railroad's jim-crow cars, showing the partition which separates colored and white patrons. Small compartment (four seats) is for colored or when a reversed trip places the partition at the front end of the car, colored must sit on rear seats. Passage of the bill to abolish the law requiring separation of the races on trains and ferries operating on intra-State travel would abolish this. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad operates the B. and A.

Pullman Co. ... in January ... to $400,202

Pullman Company, ... affiliate of Pullman, Inc., ... for January a net income of ... 202 after taxes, compared ... $701,398 for the corresponding month last year.

G. A. Kelly, vice president, ... stated that of the provision of $1,610,814 for federal income taxes for January, 1943, $1,312,... for excess profits taxes and ... 230 for normal income, ... surtax. In January, 1942, ... vision for federal taxes amounted to $483,756.

Gross revenues for January reached $9,130,512, compared with $7,029,125 last year. After adjustment of air conditioning revenue, January gross was $... 057, compared with $6,971,...

Cities Service Company and ... subsidiaries report for 1942 a consolidated profit of $16,... equal to $25.46 a share on the ... bined preferred stocks. This compares with a profit of $14,... or $21.41 a share, on the combined preferreds for the previous ...

Unpaid dividends at the end of 1942 amounted to $62.50 a share on the $6 cumulative no par preferred stock, $63 a share on the "BB" cumulative preference stock and $6.30 a share on the $6 ... preference stock.

Expenditures of the company and its subsidiaries in 1942 for construction and acquisitions were $27,000,000.

Consolidated profit of the Cities Service Corporation for the three months ended Jan. 31, 1943, the first quarter of its fiscal year which ends Oct. 31, totaled $... 575 after all charges and provision for income and excess profits taxes, according to Bror Dahlberg, president.

This is equal after preferred dividends to 37 cents a share on the outstanding common stock and compares with a profit of $278,290, or 37 cents a share, for the same period last year.

Non-Partisan Political Bloc Urged By Randolph

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.—Before the Oklahoma Negro Teachers Association's Convention in Oklahoma City, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington Movement and international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed that the Negro people develop a powerful non-partisan political bloc, representing Negroes of all political faith, embracing the major national Negro organizations, civic, religious, trade union, business, educational, fraternal, women's and youth groups in the country, which can talk turkey to the anti-Negro elements in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Such a political weapon is indispensable to advance and defend the interests of the Negro in America these days of power-politics. This non-partisan political bloc should not commit itself to any political party nor accept money from any political party, but depend entirely upon the funds received from Negro organizations and individuals.

Also, a non-partisan political bloc of Negroes should contribute funds to any candidate's campaign and also send speakers and literature into certain places to fight anti-Negro candidates and legislation, and to support pro-Negro candidates and legislation.

Thereby, a group of twenty millions of people in America should have ... a powerful non-partisan political bloc comparable to the ... Union, and the Southern ... CIO, the Big Four and ... of the National Manufacturers ...

CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1943

Car Cleaners To Join Brotherhood

NEW YORK CITY.—A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), announced this week that plans are under way to organize the Pullman car cleaners, thereby giving them the advantages of organizational leadership. Randolph said: "This organization campaign is the result of constant requests from the car cleaners ... to get ... wherever ... are in ... porters, they ...

Dr. Dibble Honored By Urban League

CATL 3/5/43

Dr. J. Edgar Dibble, who has been a member of the board of directors of the Kansas City Urban League ever since it was organized in 1919, was honored for his years of devotion to that organization Sunday afternoon at the 24th annual meeting of the League.

Dr. Dibble was presented a plaque in appreciation to the service he has given the League for the last 24 years. The plaque was presented to Dr. Dible by James A. Jeffreas on behalf of the board of directors.

The plaque reads:

"To Dr. J. Edgar Dibble
for
Long and Unselfish service as
Charter member 1919
Vice President of Board ...
President of Board ...
Active Member for 24 Years ...
Dr. Dibble ..."

esources Board's Findings and Recommendations to Congress on Expand

By The Associated Press.

...HINGTON, March 10—The ... and recommendations of ... Resources Planning ... security, work and relief ... are as follows:

... given our reasons for ... that the adoption of cer... and the application of ... financial and administra... would result in a ... adequate, well-rounded, ... system of public-aid ... In summarizing these ... we wish again to em... that, precisely because we ... to develop a well... and consistent body of ... principles, no one of ... recommendations can ... apart from the whole ... which it is an integral ...

... context, and for the rea... have given in the preced... we therefore make the ... recommendations:

... Public-Aid Problem

... American people should base ... policy upon the accep... the following facts:

... need for public aid will be ... and persistent for some ...

... need for public aid is in ... measure caused by serious ... in the operation of ... and by personal physi... psychological defects, many ... can be remedied.

... social problem created by ... insecurity is many-sided ... for its solution a ... diversified programs.

... Objectives of Public Aid

... objective of public ... be the assurance of ... minimum security for all ... wherever they may re... the maintenance of the ... ability and values threat... people lack jobs or in...

... SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

... specific objectives of public... should be:

... increasing emphasis upon poli... ... at the prevention of ... insecurity through a full... ... of our productive re..., including labor, and by ... comprehensive measures to ... the health of our people.

... permanent provision of work ... adults who are willing and ... to work. If private industry is ... to provide employment.

... appropriate measures to equip ... persons beyond the compul... school-attendance age for as... the full responsibilities of ...

... assurance of basic minimum ... through social insurance, ... as possible.

... establishment of a comprehen... underpinning general public-... system providing aid on ... of need, to complete the ... of protection against ... insecurity.

... expansion of social services ... essential for the health, ... and efficiency of the whole ... this expansion should ... and as rapid as possible.

... Finance and Administration

... following financial and ad... principles should be ... consistently applied in all public-aid ...:

... financing of public aid ... be provided for as a normal and continuing function of government in a revised and reorganized fiscal system.

2. Public-aid financing, even if treated on a compartmentalized basis, should be coordinated with the broader economic and monetary policies of government.

3. Reliance on consumption and earmarked taxes should in general be avoided.

4. A distribution of financial responsibility for total public-aid costs between the various units of government is advisable and should reflect differences in need and in economic and fiscal capacity.

5. The objectives of the various special programs should be clearly stated and distinguishable, and the beneficiaries of each should be those, and only those, for whom the specific program is appropriate.

6. Although Federal-State cooperation is preferable as a general principle, the allocation of administrative responsibility for the various diversified programs between Federal, State and local governments should be determined by reference to:

A. The capacity of the different governmental units for the exercise of specific financial, policy-forming, technical and routine administrative functions; and

B. The national importance attached to the attainment of the objectives of the given program.

7. In jointly administered programs special attention should be paid to defining as logically and clearly as possible the respective responsibilities of the participating governments and to developing techniques for cooperative action.

8. The advantages of administrative decentralization should be explored to the full, especially through a more constructive development of the regional basis of organization.

9. The personnel administering public-aid programs should be fully qualified by training and experience for the performance of tasks which call for a high degree of skill and professional competence.

10. Citizen participation in policy formation and program operation should be encouraged wherever this is consistent with sound and impartial administration.

V. SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

The existing programs should be modified in the light of these policies and principles in the following ways:

1. Federal Work Programs

A. To carry out the principle that work should be provided for all adults willing and able to work, a Federal work agency charged with responsibility for developing and operating work programs should be established on a permanent basis. The organization should operate with a high degree of flexibility.

In developing appropriate projects, the organization should work in close contact with the public works programming division of the National Resources Planning Board, the Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board and appropriate technical agencies, and with State and local public works and welfare administrations. State and local governments should be encouraged to intensify the efforts now made to develop long-range public works planning with a view to maximizing the amount of work given during periods of economic depression. It is recognized that the types and volume of pblic works which will lend themselves to such programming will change from time to time. Increasing attention should, however, be paid to planning for nonconstruction work and service activities.

b. The character of the work performed should be adapted to the developing needs of the nation and of communities for both construction and nonconstruction work, including social services. It should also reflect the occupational characteristics and geographical distributions of the unemployed and the probable future needs of the economy for workers with specific skills and occupational experience. Necessarily the programs must be flexible and highly diversified.

C. The standards of performance demanded of project workers should be those normally required in private industry and should be strictly enforced.

D. Rates of remuneration, conditions of employment, and hours of work should parallel as closely as possible those prevailing in private employment. Where, however, the work projects are primarily used as an instrument for training or retraining, suitable training grants should be paid in lieu of wages.

E. Eligibility for employment on work programs should be restricted to persons normally dependent upon full-time employment and those who are not entitled to receive unemployment compensation benefits, or whose unemployment is likely to persist for an extended period of time. Persons undergoing short spells of unemployment and partially unemployed workers should not normally be assigned to work-project employment. Special work projects, limited in duration, should be devised for farmers and agricultural workers during slack seasons.

F. Eligibility for employment should be determined by relative employability and need for work. Access to the program should not be dependent upon undergoing an investigation of economic need. Adequate appropriations for a work program and a general public-assistance system would make such a test unnecessary.

G. All persons seeking work should be required to register at public employment offices and access to the work program should be through the employment office.

H. Major responsibility for the operation of work programs should remain with the Federal Government, although every effort should be made further to develop cooperative relationships with the States and localities.

I. Major financial responsibility should be carried by the Federal Government. In sponsored programs the share which sponsors are required to contribute should reflect the fiscal capacity of the sponsor.

2. Programs for Youth

A. Federal financial aid as needed, to assure educational opportunity for all young people above the age of compulsory school attendance who desire and can benefit by continued schooling, should take the form of educational grants. These grants should be distributed by the educational authorities and, in determining payments to be made to families under public-aid programs, no part of the payments made to enable youth to continue schooling should be treated as part of the resources of the family.

B. The curricula of the schools should be revised so as to provide that all young people obtain meaningful unpaid work experience in the school or in community service during the period of school attendance.

C. Apprenticeship should be recognized as an appropriate channel for the occupational adjustment of youth.

D. Young people who are not in full-time attendance at schools or institutions of higher learning or who are not in private employment should be provided with productive work for a wage. The character of work and the wages paid should reflect the inexperience of the young workers. Both resident and nonresident types of programs are desirable. Special stress should be placed upon the educational aspects of the work and upon the inculcation of work habits and disciplines and familiarity with the use of a variety of tools. The hours of work and related training should be the equivalent of full-time work. Close relations should be maintained between th educational authorities responsible for related raining and the administrators of the youth work programs.

E. All young people seeking public work should be required to register at public employment offices, and they should be referred to the various special programs by this service. Access to the youth work programs should not be limited to young people in economic need.

F. Eligibility for the youth work programs should be ordinarily restricted to persons under 21 years of age unless it can be shown that, because of the absence of public provisions, they have not had access to special youth programs or have not had adequate work experience through private employment prior to reaching this age.

G. Facilities for counseling and guidance should be made available to all young people and their parents. The actual counseling should be performed by the schools and the public employment service. The employment service, through a special youth-service unit, should act as the local coordinating body.

H. All youth programs should devote special attention to the physical health of youth, and financial provision should be made accordingly.

I. The youth work programs should be financed and administered on a national basis, and the present CCC and NYA out-of-school work programs should be combined in a unified administration. Local sponsorship of work projects should be encouraged so long as this is consistent with the development of work projects appropriate to the needs of youth.

3 Work Programs for the Handicapped

Further study should be given to the development of therapeutic work programs for those with special physical and mental handicaps and disabilities.

4. THE SOCIAL INSURANCES

A. Disability Insurance

The existing protection against economic insecurity through social insurance measures should be expanded by the development of a system of social insurance to provide at least partial compensation for loss of income attributable to permanent or temporary disability.

B. Unemployment Compensation

The unemployment compensation system should be strengthened and expanded in the following ways:

(aA) Coverage should be extended to embrace seamen and employes of nonprofit corporations and of firms employing one worker or more. The inclusion of workers in domestic, agricultural and other low-paid employments should be considered in relation to the patterns of employment, the character and amount of their earnings, and the feasibility of devising a benefit mula which will yield them significant payments. Consideration might be given to the desirability of developing a separate system with its own eligibility, benefit, and contribution provisions for agricultural workers.

(B) The duration of benefits should be extended to twenty-six weeks and should be uniform for all eligible workers.

(C) The benefit formulas should be reconsidered with a view to assuring benefits which will enable the vast majority of recipients to maintain themselves for a period up to twenty-six weeks without recourse to supplementary payments under other forms of public aid. The payment of dependents' allowances would be a first step in this direction.

(D) Eligibility rules should be revised so as to admit to insurance benefits only workers whose past earnings and employment records offer a presumption that they will draw significant benefits from the system and yet not such amounts as to induce them to prefer benefit status to self-support. The adoption of duration of past employment in place of previous earnings as a criterion of eligibility should be explored.

(E) Experience rating should be abandoned. If experience rating is retained, minimum Federal standards relating to eligibility, duration, and amount of benefit are essential.

(F) The present Federal-State system should be replaced by a wholly Federal administrative organization.

(G) There should be a single national unemployment compensation fund, part of which should be drawn from general tax sources. If, however, the system is not placed upon a national basis, a reinsurance system accompanied by Federal standards relating to eligibility, duration, and amount of benefit should be developed.

C. Old-Age and Survivors Insurance

The old-age and survivors insurance system should be strengthened and made more widely available by the following changes:

(A) Coverage should be extended to employes of non-profit corporations. Additional groups of employes should be covered as rapidly as it can be demonstrated that they will receive adequate or significant benefits from the system.

(B) Continuing study should be given to the feasibility of revising the benefit formulas and the minimum-earnings eligibility requirement, with a view to making it possible for the vast majority of covered workers to qualify for benefits and to enabling the system to offer significant monthly benefits to a larger proportion of the low-paid and irregularly employed workers. Periods of involuntary unemployment, sickness and military service should not impair eligibility for an amount of benefits.

(C) The general principle of governmental contribution to the costs of the program should be specifically embodied in legislation.

5. General Public Assistance

A. In addition to adequate work and social - insurance programs there should be a comprehensive general public-assistance program.

B. There should be a Federal grant-in-aid for general public assistance, which should be available on a basis reflecting differences in need and economic and fiscal capacity as between the States. The States should be required to distribute Federal and State moneys within their political subdivisions on a similar variable basis. The costs of public assistance granted to persons with less than one year's residence in a State should be a wholly Federal charge.

C. The system should be administered through a single State agency responsible for the administration or supervision of the plan. The Federal administrative agency should be the Social Security Board. Where a State refuses to comply with the Federal requirements in accordance with the Federal law or refrains from participation in the program, the Federal Government should have the power to operate the program within that State with Federal personnel until the State demonstrates its ability and willingness to reassume its responsibilities, provided:

(A) That a public hearing should be called at which the Federal Government should show why this step is believed to be necessary and at which the State government should have an opportunity to answer the allegations; and

(B) That the hearing should take place within the State concerned.

D. In addition to the provisions laid down for the special types of public assistance in the Social Security Act relating to availability of aid, throughout the State, selection of staff on a merit basis, the assurance of appeal rights, and the rendering of reports to the Social Security Board, the States' plans for general public assistance should provide:

(A) That public assistance may not be denied any person by reason of race, sex, marital or employment status, or failure to have resided within the State for more than one year.

(B) That public assistance should be administered in accordance with general standards adopted under rules and regulations of the Social Security Board relating to adequacy of aid and methods of payment.

(C) That the same standards regarding eligibility (other than residence) and assistance given shall be applied to persons with less than one year's residence as to the remainder of public-assistance recipients.

6. Special Types of Public Assistance

A. Public assistance now provided for special groups such as the needy, aged and blind and dependent children should be continued with such modifications of existing provisions as are necessary to develop a more fully coordinated program. Consideration should be given to extending the categories to embrace all groups whose need for socially provided income is likely to be relatively permanent or of long and predictable duration.

...NEY ASSAILS ...AGE POLICY

...Workers' President ...Before Board in ... Demand Hearing

...CYNICAL DEVICES'

...the Stabilization Act ...cutive Orders Way ...ding the People'

...nomic Stabilization Act ...ve orders and directives ... to implement it were ... yesterday as "cyni- ... of rhetoric to fool the ... keep the public in a ... state of confusion by ... Whitney, president ... Brotherhood of Railroad ..., in testimony before the ... Railway Panel's emer- ... hearing the demand ... railway unions for wage ... of 30 per cent.

... before the board, pre- ... by Chief Justice Walter ... the North Carolina ... Court, in the Grand Cen- ... Building, as spokes- ... largest railway union ... with a membership ... Mr. Whitney read a ... statement in which he ... the Government's entire ... price control policy.

"... read all these laws and ... directives as they have ... us and our problems," ... said, "and it seemed ... times that words have ... to obscure meaning, or ... substitute for lack of mean- ...

"... pondered the texts of these ... and edicts and orders, page ... page through the Emergency ... Control Act of 1942 down to ... final chapter written by Stab- ... Director Byrnes on May ... could well imagine that they ... have been designed as ... devices of rhetoric to fool ... people, to deceive both work- ... and employers, and thus keep ... public of this beleaguered na- ... in a constant state of puzzle- ... and confusion, while cost-of- ... increases, criminally legal ... illegally criminal, robbed them.

Points to Unfrozen Tariffs

"I wonder if we have not been ... frozen, hypnotized, watch- ... like seven rabbits of the ... economic program to ... pulled out of silk hats of the ... administrators, while ... were being sneaked ... pockets. But here the ... ends. In real life, the ... returns your pocketbook, ... intact, at the conclusion ... but the government sta- ... have not.

"... at least one feature of ... all stabilization policy ... which there can be no mis- ... or dispute: the gov- ... has not yet frozen rail- ... wages.

"... that he had never ... President Roosevelt's ... in stressing the necessity ... equality of sacrifice, Mr. Whit- ... added:

"The truth is that after almost ... years we find in nearly every ... government of our government, ... Congress or in our war ... the principle of equality ... ignored, corrupted ...

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1943

State FEP Wins Okeh By Solons

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The House committee on appropriations unanimously approved recommendation of a bill to create a state Fair Employment Practices Board here Wednesday following endorsement of the measure by former Alderman Earl C. Dickerson, member of the President's Fair Employment Practices committee.

The bill introduced by Rep. Ernest A. Greene, advocates establishment of an FEP board "to prevent discrimination in defense and other industries and employments."

Dickerson, after visiting Governor Dwight Green, addressed the committee on appropriations and won that body's hearty approval of the measure. However, a recommendation for appropriation of $75,000 for operational expenses was cut to $35,000 before its approval was won.

Also appearing in favor of the bill were: Dr. Charles M. Yard, former chairman of the Metropolitan Council of FEPC, and Arnold Aaronson, director of the Jewish Bureau of Employment.

President Asked to Disband FEPC as 'Snare and Fraud'

June 2-1943

A resolution asking President Roosevelt to disband the Fair Employment Practices Committee and to end alleged discrimination by the Federal Housing Agency against colored war workers, was indorsed at a meeting held last night at the Shiloh Baptist Church under auspices of the National Negro Council and the United Government Employes.

The resolution accused the FEPC of being "an unpardonable snare and fraud to delude 13,000,000 colored Americans of their just and constitutional rights by building false hopes of equality in the Government services and war industries."

The group charged John Blandford, administrator of the Federal Housing Agency, with denying Negroes homes in Federal housing projects at the Ford bomber plant at Willow Run and in Chicago, Buffalo, Philadelphia and Los Angeles.

Edgar C. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, presided at the meeting.

The Evening Star.

Sees Opportunity in Hearing

"There is no more appropriate occasion for the President and Director of Economic Stabilization to get information as to how their orders and directives are working out in practice than in a proceeding like this. This would seem to be one of the objects of this investigation."

Mr. Whitney, whose testimony is expected to last several days, said he would present facts to show the connection between the wage demands of the railroad men and the general stabilization program, "not only as it purports to be in these laws and orders, but as it actually is."

"We certainly don't want to see an emergency board decision favorable to us overruled in Washington on evidence obtained ex parte in a closed-door conference with some industry committee, a procedure now widely in vogue in our war agencies," Mr. Whitney said.

The hearings will be resumed this morning.

C.I.O. Calls For Steps to Race Peace

Special to The Chicago Sun.

Detroit, June 22.—R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.), demanded today "immediate and effective community action" to make impossible repetition of race riots in Detroit.

"The ghastly riots which occurred in Detroit yesterday must not happen again," he said. "If we are to make that certain, we must have immediate and effective community action. Individuals and organizations found guilty of rioting or inciting to riot must be punished, but basic causes must be eliminated as well.'"

Seeks Special Grand Jury.

The U.A.W.-C.I.O. president proposes:

1. Creation of a special grand jury to investigate the causes of the riots and to return justifiable indictments. All Detroit citizens should be asked to furnish whatever pertinent evidence or information they have. A competent Negro attorney should be appointed as an assistant prosecutor to work with the district attorney's office and the grand jury.
2. Immediate construction and opening of park and recreation facilities. It is a disgrace to the city that the normal, inadequate park space was permitted to be overtaxed further by the influx of hundreds of thousands of new war workers. It [illegible] started at Belle Isle Park.
3. Immediate and practical plans for rehousing Negro slum dwellers in decent, federal-financed housing developments.
4. Insistence that plant managements as well as workers recognize the right of Negroes to jobs in line with their skill and seniority.
5. A full investigation by the special grand jury of the conduct of the police department during the riots. While many policemen individually showed heroism and respect for their oath by trying to protect innocent victims of the riots, the work of the police department as a whole was weak and ineffective. I believe that any decent police work could have cleared Woodward av. early yesterday and not have permitted mobs to form and reform constantly throughout the day.
6. Special care by the courts in dealing with the many persons arrested. Those found guilty should be severely punished. There must be no discrimination between white and Negro rioters.
7. The loss of homes and small businesses, as well as personal injuries is the responsibility of the entire community. The city should create a fund to make good these losses of innocent men, women and children, so that the resentment which will be an aftermath of the riots may be minimized.
8. Creation by the mayor of a special bi-racial committee of 10 to make further recommendations looking toward elimination of racial differences and friction. This committee will have a special job in connection with our high schools where racial hatred has been permitted to grow and thrive in recent years."

Thomas declared that these recommendations should be enacted [illegible]

ROOSEVELT HINTS RAIL OVERTIME PAY

Indicates Support of Time and a Half Rate Past 40 Hours for Group in 48-Hour Week

JOINT CONFERENCE URGED

1,100,000 Non-Operating Workers Involved—Diesel Issue Referred Back

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 4—President Roosevelt indicated today that he favored a forty-eight-hour week with time and one-half pay after forty hours of work for 1,100,000 non-operating railway employes to bring them in line with workers in other industries. These employes have been working the longer week without overtime pay.

Asked at his press conference if he had any official word concerning rail labor disputes, decided recently by emergency boards, he said that the parties had not advised him officially whether they would abide by the recommendations.

He added, however, that there was one other rail labor question which had not been disposed of in the panel reports, that of paying overtime to the non-operating employes who work a regular forty-eight-hour week. He said that he wanted George M. Harrison, leader of the non-operating unions, to confer concerning this with J. J. Pelley, president of the Association of American Railroads.

Pointing out that many non-operating employes were clerical workers, the President asked why a group of workers employed by a railroad in the Grand Central Terminal in New York City should not get time and one-half for overtime just like the employes in a department store around the corner.

Urges Parley on Diesel Issue

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 4—A joint conference between railroad managements and brotherhood representatives to settle differences over the manning of Diesel locomotives and the basis of pay for enginemen working on them has been proposed by President Roosevelt.

The controversy involves pay rates of firemen and helpers on steam and electric locomotives. An emergency board panel has filed a report.

The President, in letters to [illegible] J. Pelley, president of the Association of American Railroads, and George M. Harrison, head of the Association of Railway Labor Executives, said that he had been advised that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen found the board's report "quite unsatisfactory" and argued that some of the most important questions had not been resolved.

After stating that he was anxious to avoid management-labor disputes in "these troublesome times," the President suggested a conference of both sides to settle the points of difference.

The dispute involves proposals of the workers that an additional engineman be employed in each additional unit of multiple-unit Diesel-electric locomotives and that enginemen's rates of pay be based on the horsepower of the locomotive rather than the weight of driving wheels as has been the case on steam locomotives. [illegible] rates are involved.

For Use After the War

The Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company has completed negotiations of a five-year term loan of $3,000,000 from the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, to be secured by a note maturing on May 1, 1947, with annual interest of 3 per cent. The arrangements require the company to pay off the $1,200,000 balance of its five-year serial bank loan and to reduce its current bank debt to not more than $1,000,000.

The purpose of the loan is to provide ample working funds in the period immediately after the war, when considerable sums will be tied up in war contracts, inventories and claims against the United States Government. By making the loan now, the company holds, it will be able to liquidate its war business in an orderly manner without outside assistance.

$2,046,664 EARNED BY JERSEY CENTRAL

Equal to $18.39 a Share in 1942, Against $539,306, or $1.96, in the Previous Year

The Central Railroad Company of New Jersey last year earned, after taxes and fixed charges, $2,046,664 or $18.39 a share on the outstanding common stock, more than 56 per cent of which belongs to the Reading Company, according to a report issued yesterday. These earnings contrasted with $539,306, or $1.96 a share in 1941.

The company's profit and loss account showed a debit balance of $5,807,987 on Dec. 31, 1941. Last year's profit and miscellaneous adjustments left it at $1,463,142 at the end of 1942.

The report by Edward W. Scheer, president, showed a jump from $48,357,579 to $57,446,744 in total receipts, an advance of 32 per cent. Expenses rose 21 per cent and net revenues advanced from $10,984,-836 to $18,136,202. Taxes, with those in New Jersey still being litigated, rose from $3,615,316 to $4,441,557 and payments on balance to other companies went from $2,281,492 to $3,372,793. Income available for fixed charges thus rose from $5,738,919 to $10,215,-731. As fixed charges remained almost the same, falling from $5,199,613 to $5,169,057, income after fixed charges jumped $4,597,358.

Mr. Scheer recited the company's troubles with New Jersey taxes and added: "From the above it will be clear that your company's tax problems in New Jersey are still in an unsettled status. It is also clear that the New Jersey taxes assesed against your company are still excessive and burdensome as compared with taxes imposed on railroads in all of the other States."

Current assets of the road last year rose $8,263,000 to $19,930,191. Cash rose $1,839,291 to $7,359,981.

MISSOURI PACIFIC AGAIN IN DISPUTE

Some Headway Reported in Negotiations to Revise Plan of Reorganization

PROFIT BY MERGERS SEEN

St. Louis Court Calls Meeting to Determine Action on ICC Stand Approved in 1941

Negotiations are in progress among groups representing holders of securities of the Missouri Pacific Railroad and other companies in the system in efforts to reach a revised compromise plan of reorganization and merger of the roads in the system, it was learned yesterday. No agreement has been reached, but some of the negotiators feel that headway is being made.

According to counsel for holders of first 5 per cent bonds of the New Orleans, Texas & Mexico Railway Company, the committee is not prepared now to state its position under the revisions, which are said to increase substantially the allocation of new securities to this interest. Increased participation of securities of the International & Great Northern Railroad Company also is reported in Wall Street.

The reports were that the new proposals had been advanced by the Alleghany Corporation, which controls Missouri Pacific, and the Stedman committee, representing holders of that road's first and refunding bonds.

Federal Judge G. H. Moore of St. Louis has called a hearing for next Thursday to determine what action should be taken with respect to the Interstate Commerce Commission's plan, approved by the court in 1941 but rejected by six classes of junior creditors in a vote taken early in 1942. In that voting, New Orleans, Texas & Mexico capital stock was 69 per cent opposed to the plan; Missouri Pacific convertible 5½s were 80 per cent opposed, general 4s were 73¼ per cent opposed, and secured Serial 4½s were 69 per cent opposed; International Great Northern adjustment 6s voted 73 per cent against the proposals, and Little Rock & Hot Springs Western first 4s were 100 per cent opposed.

Great difficulties in arriving at a final agreement by all classes of creditors, stockholders and the Interstate Commerce Commission were admitted yesterday by negotiators, but the discussions will be pursued in hopes of resolving the issues.

NORTH WESTERN LOSES PLEA

ICC Rejects Petition for Reopening Reorganization Case

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 10 — The Interstate Commerce Commission today denied the petition of attorneys for the Chicago & North Western Railway asking that the reorganization proceedings for this railroad be reopened, that further hearing be granted and that the commission transmit the proceedings in connection with this petition to the Federal District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, with an amended plan of reorganization. The petition was opposed by groups representing the mutual savings banks and life insurance committees.

The petition for reopening the proceedings as presented by the railroad company's lawyers was based on the paying off of the railroad's indebtedness to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation amounting to $48,822,687 and the use of the additional securities made available by this payment [illegible]

By Dorothy Thompson

The Coal Crisis

John L. Lewis did not call a strike of the coal miners. The miners, who are 100 per cent organized, have always refused to work without a contract. Their contract expired at midnight on Friday, Apr. 30, and unless a new one has been negotiated before this article appears they will have quit work automatically.

John L. Lewis has not refused to negotiate. He opened negotiations with the operators weeks ago. Unable to come to an agreement with them, he refused to submit the case to the War Labor Board. The operators, on the contrary, insisted that it be submitted to the WLB and have made no proposals or counter-proposals to the United Mine Workers. In this particular case, it is Mr. Lewis who is standing for agreement between workers and employers with no "government interference."

So together Mr. Lewis and the operators collaborated to bring about drastic government interference.

Mr. Lewis was an initiator of the War Labor Board. But later he split the UMW from the CIO and since then has considered the board prejudiced because of CIO members on it. Mr. Lewis's hates are notorious. When the split came, he expelled from the UMW Messrs. Murray, Bittner and Brophy, all of whom are on the board. Mr. Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the UMW, who was also on the board, resigned, as directed by Mr. Lewis.

There is no reason to think the miners would not get a break from the WLB. Mr. Kennedy, when he sat on the board, often passed on cases involving rival unions, and there was no complaint.

* * *

Miners Have a Case

The coal miners have a case, and it is probable that an impartial board would give them concessions.

The agreement signed in 1941, and now expired, called for a five-day week in the mines. In normal times, the problem of the miners is to distribute enough work. It is rare that they get a five-day week the year around. Late this fall, Mr. Ickes found he needed increased coal production, and asked the miners to agree to a six-day week. They did, with time and a half for the sixth day. The operators agreed, with the proviso that OPA lift the ceiling price on coal to cover the increased labor costs. This was done, adding 13.5 cents per ton to the consumer's price in the biggest coal district.

This price increase was specifically granted for labor costs, but the miners complain that some mines are being worked six days, without the workers getting six days' work, through a system of shifts. This gives the increase, they say, to the operators, not the workers.

* * *

Portal Pay Difficulties

The proposal for portal to portal pay has difficulties recognized by both miners and operators. Some men spend an hour or more getting to and from their work. Others do not. In some mines the time is much longer than in others.

Mr. Lewis wants the six-hour day, with time and a half for the sixth, put into the new contract. The operators had not accepted this—as of Friday. Apparently the operators want the matter to be settled by WLB, because a ruling of WLB as an authoritative government agency will give them a basis to negotiate for another price rise. Maybe, also, they want the Government forced to a showdown with John L. Lewis. In fact, I think this is the point.

A standing commission, if acceptable to Mr. Lewis and the operators, might be created to keep the coal situation stabilized. There are precedents for such commissions, for instance in shipbuilding.

* * *

Dissatisfaction Basic

The basic wage of the miners is $1 a hour. Some fall over or under this level. Coal mining is skilled work, and miners do not shift from one industry to another. Under the expired contract the miners' wages amounted to around $50 a week. The miners' discontent is not wholly due to increased cost of living. Their youthful sons and daughters, without any skills, are going off to defense plants and coming home with $70 to $80 a week. They think it's a strange world where a man who has spent his life acquiring a skill and working in a dangerous trade under bad conditions of dampness and dark, cannot earn what a youngster blithely collects in another trade.

The United Miners contracts all contain a no-strike clause. They never strike during the life of a contract. They simply stop working until they get one.

* * *

Menace to War Effort

Between John L. Lewis's obstinacy and overweening vanity and the operators' aloof intention to force the WLB to settle the matter, we have a menace to the whole war effort. The President, who, God knows, has enough on his mind, has to intervene and settle it. I am sure he will bear in mind the miners themselves, who are soldiers of industry risking their lives, even in time of peace.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC NET UP

Equals $21.30 a Share in 1942, Against $12.08 in Year Before

Income of the Southern Pacific Company and its system after all taxes and fixed charges rose from $45,557,119 in 1941 to $80,315,697 in 1942, according to the annual report released yesterday by A. T. Mercier, president.

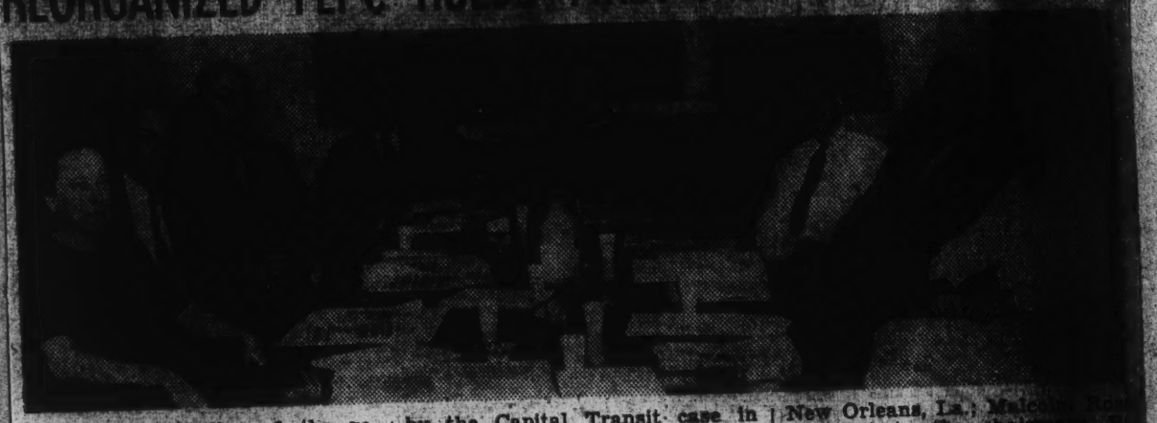
Net railway operating revenue rose from $106,325,443 to $200,126,-142 and income before fixed charges went from $44,730,081 to $108,996,398. Taxes rose from $55,-416,070 to $76,844,995.

Net income was equivalent to $21.30 a share, against $12.08 in 1941. In the course of the year the company brought about a net decrease of $26,244,276 in the amount of its debt held by the public. It also spent $53,945,408 for added equipment and betterments and retired $27,820,076 of equipment. This program called for laying about 425 miles of new rail and 110 track miles of relayer rail. At the end of 1942 63.54 per cent of its mileage was laid with rails of 110 pounds or more to the yard.

Current assets of the system rose from $64,700,000 to $100,567,000, with cash rising from $13,323,139 to $50,210,800, the latter figure not including $30,830,000 in "temporary cash investments."

Re-Schedule Railroad Hearing

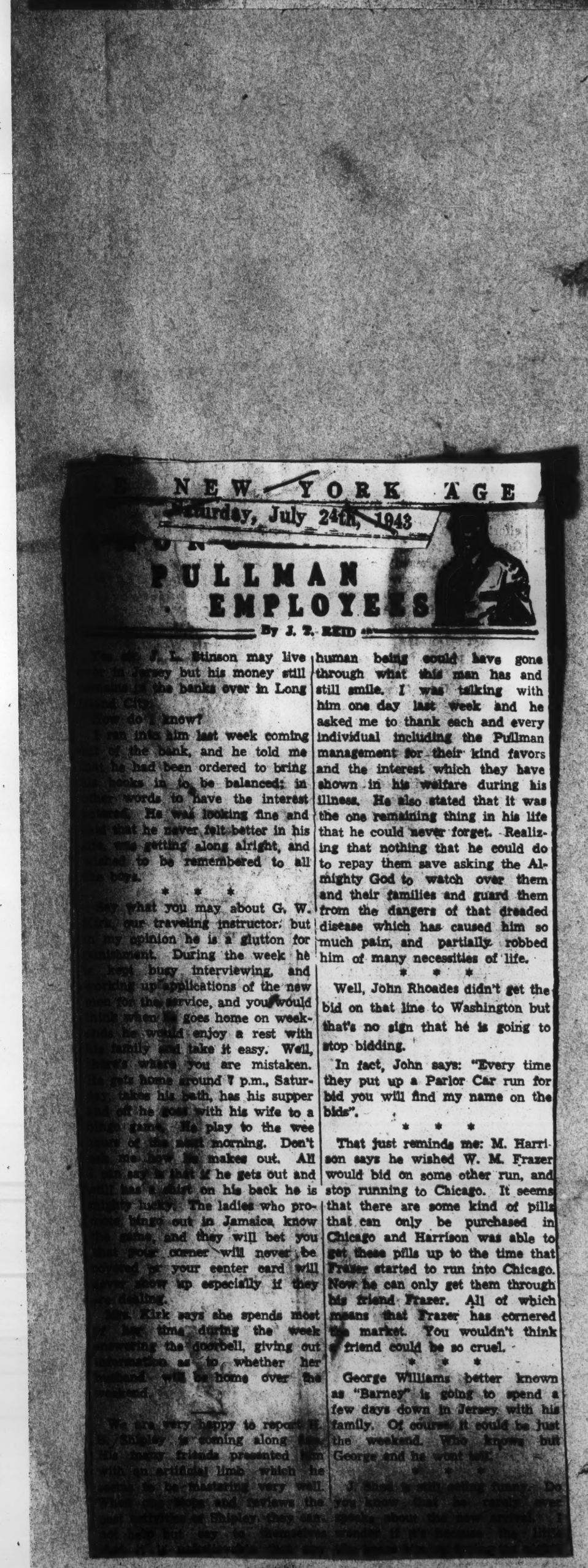
REORGANIZED FEPC HOLDS FIRST MEETING



The first meeting of the recently reorganized Fair Employment Practices committee was a two-day session at their headquarters in Washington last week. Following the meeting, announcement was made that the oft-postponed railway hearing would begin September 15 and continue through the 17th.

These hearings will be followed by the Capital Transit case in Washington, and the action against several large industrial plants in Detroit.

Seated around the conference table are: Miss Sara Southall, supervisor of employment and service, International Harvester Co., Chicago; P. B. Young, Sr., publisher, Norfolk, Va., Journal and Guide; Samuel Zemurray, president, United Fruit Company, New Orleans, La.; Malcolm [illegible], assistant to the chairman; Rev. Monsignor Francis [illegible], chairman; George [illegible], investigator; John [illegible], Congress of Industrial Organizations; Milton P. Webster, international vice-president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Chicago, and Boris [illegible], American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.



NEW YORK AGE

Saturday, July 24th, 1943

PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

[illegible] J. L. Stinson may live in Jersey but his money still [illegible] the banks over in Long [illegible] City.

How do I know?

I ran into him last week coming [illegible] of the bank, and he told me that he had been ordered to bring his books in to be balanced; in other words to have the interest [illegible]. He was looking fine and said that he never felt better in his life, was getting along alright, and asked to be remembered to all the boys.

* * *

Say what you may about G. W. [illegible], our traveling instructor, but in my opinion he is a glutton for punishment. During the week he kept busy interviewing, and [illegible] up applications of the new men for the service, and you would think when he goes home on weekends he would enjoy a rest with his family and take it easy. Well, that's where you are mistaken. He gets home around 7 p.m., Saturday, takes his bath, has his supper and off he goes with his wife to a [illegible] game. He play to the wee hours of the next morning. Don't ask me how he makes out. All I can say is that if he gets out and still has a shirt on his back he is mighty lucky. The ladies who promote bingo out in Jamaica know the game, and they will bet you that your corner will never be covered or your center card will never show up especially if they are dealing.

Mrs. Kirk says she spends most of her time during the week answering the doorbell, giving out information as to whether her husband will be home over the weekend.

We are very happy to report H. [illegible] Shipley is coming along fine. His many friends presented him with an artificial limb which he seems to be mastering very well. While on trips and reviews the [illegible] of Shipley they can [illegible] but say to themselves [illegible]

human being could have gone through what this man has and still smile. I was talking with him one day last week and he asked me to thank each and every individual including the Pullman management for their kind favors and the interest which they have shown in his welfare during his illness. He also stated that it was the one remaining thing in his life that he could never forget. Realizing that nothing that he could do to repay them save asking the Almighty God to watch over them and their families and guard them from the dangers of that dreaded disease which has caused him so much pain, and partially robbed him of many necessities of life.

* * *

Well, John Rhoades didn't get the bid on that line to Washington but that's no sign that he is going to stop bidding.

In fact, John says: "Every time they put up a Parlor Car run for bid you will find my name on the bids".

* * *

That just reminds me: M. Harrison says he wished W. M. Frazer would bid on some other run, and stop running to Chicago. It seems that there are some kind of pills that can only be purchased in Chicago and Harrison was able to get these pills up to the time that Frazer started to run into Chicago. Now he can only get them through his friend Frazer. All of which means that Frazer has cornered the market. You wouldn't think a friend could be so cruel.

* * *

George Williams better known as "Barney" is going to spend a few days down in Jersey with his family. Of course it could be just the weekend. Who knows but George and he wont tell.

* * *

J. Shad is still getting funny. Do you know that he could [illegible] speaks about the new [illegible]

FEPC SETS DATE FOR R. R. CASES

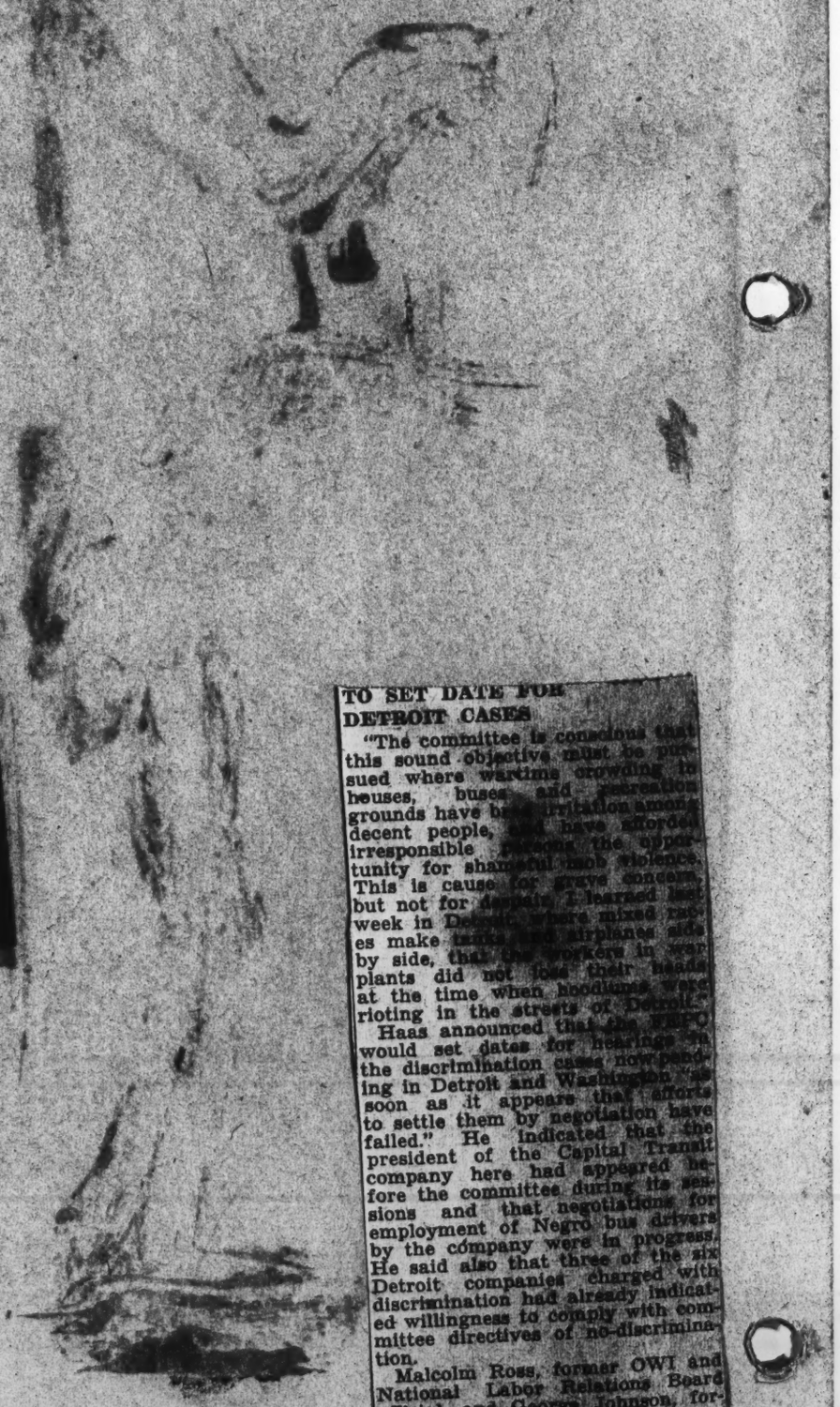
Committee Refuses To Adopt "Middle Compromise" As Precedent for Job Pattern in the South

WASHINGTON, July 15—Agreement to hold here on September 15, 16 and 17 the long delayed hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry, the establishment of 12 regional offices to expedite investigation of discrimination complaints, and an implied rebuke to Chairman Haas for his action in setting the discrimination cases at the Alabama Dry-dock company in Mobile, Ala., on the basis of complete segregation of Negro workers to four of the company's 12 shipways, were the principal features of a two-day, first meeting of the new seven-member FEPC.

TO HOLD PUBLIC R.R. HEARINGS

Father Francis J. Haas, new chairman, in a press conference last week indicated that the full committee would hold public hearings on complaints against 26 rail-

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 7)



TO SET DATE FOR DETROIT CASES

"The committee is conscious that this sound objective must be pursued where wartime crowding in houses, buses and recreation grounds have bred irritation among decent people, and have afforded irresponsible persons the opportunity for shameful mob violence. This is cause for grave concern, but not for despair. I learned last week in Detroit, where mixed races make tanks and airplanes side by side, that the workers in war plants did not lose their heads at the time when hoodlums were rioting in the streets of Detroit."

Haas announced that the FEPC would set dates for hearings on the discrimination cases now pending in Detroit and Washington, as soon as it appears that efforts to settle them by negotiation have failed." He indicated that the president of the Capital Transit company here had appeared before the committee during its sessions and that negotiations for employment of Negro bus drivers by the company were in progress. He said also that three of the six Detroit companies charged with discrimination had already indicated willingness to comply with committee directives of no-discrimination.

Malcolm Ross, former OWI and National Labor Relations Board official, and George Johnson, former associate executive secretary of the FEPC, were named by Haas as "assistants to the chairman."

SAYS EDUCATION PROGRAM NEEDED

Another meeting of the committee is scheduled for July 26, and it is expected that meetings will be held twice [illegible]. A budget in excess of [illegible] million and a staff of more than 100 [illegible] is expected according to Haas. [illegible] for the present [illegible] said. [illegible] the [illegible]

EDITORIAL

RAILROAD HEARINGS

The Railroad hearings postponed by Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of War Manpower Commission well nigh a year ago, were finally held in Washington, D. C. by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, September 15 to 18th in the Labor Auditorium. Counsel for the railroads made a rather general statement giving as the reason for the attitude of the Railway Carriers on problems of race what they termed as the mores or existing civilization of the South. They meant by this that since the South does not accord Negroes justice, they, as business enterprises operating in the South must conform to the customs and practices of the South and therefore must refuse also to grant Negroes justice. This position, of course, is perfectly absurd and indefensible. The so-called mores of the South have no universal uniformity in relation to the Negro People. One of the Railroad attorneys stated that there are no objections to Negroes working as firemen, but it was against the practice for a Negro to have supervision over a white man, which would obtain were Negroes employed as engineers. But this is not industrially sound. Moreover, there are many instances in the South where the Negroes are in the controlling position with white men in subordinate positions.

Let us take, for instance, the situation with respect to Brick Layers in Montgomery, Alabama. There the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Brick Layers' Union are Negroes, but there are white and colored members in the union and the white members can only work when they receive their credentials from a Negro officer of the Union. There is also the case of the Building Laborers' and Hod Carriers' Union over which a Negro President presides with a Negro Secretary-Treasurer. There are large numbers of white workers in this union and they serve under the supervision of these Negro officers. They pay their dues to a Negro Secretary-Treasurer and receive their working cards from him and they sit in meetings that are presided over by a Negro President. One might say, but this is a trade union. Well, the Railroad industry is practically completely organized by trade unions. The white men who compose the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen and the other Railroad Unions are no different from the white men who are members of the Brick Layers' Union and Hod Carriers' Union referred to. If it is possible for a Negro to be in a supervisory position in a trade unon with white men under him, it is also possible and practicable for a Negro to be a Locomotive Engineer with a white fireman under him or for a Negro to be a Train Conductor with the other train crew under him or for a Negro to be a Pullman conductor with Pullman Porters under him or for a Negro to be a Steward with the Dining Car crew under him. The smoke screen raised by Railroad Carriers to the effect that the mores and civilization of the South prevent them from employing Negroes as Engineers is not only not true, but it is ridiculous. There are many instances where Negro Railway Mail Clerks are in charge of the Mail Car, with white men under them. Negro Railway Mail Clerks have broken in white men who have become clerks in charge. This is also true with respect to Firemen. Testimony was offered by Negro Firemen at the hearings indicating that Negroes have broken in white men as Firemen and engineers and that Negro Firemen have handled the engines and performed the services of an engineer.

It is not only in the South that Negroes are denied opportunities to serve as engineers, but in the North also. The Railway Carriers do not contend that the mores of the South are similiar to the mores of the North, yet the action of the Railway Carriers of the South and the Railway Carriers of the North with respect to giving the Negroes opportunities to serve as engineers is the same.

The Negro Firemen who testified at the hearings are to be congratulated upon their ideals and courage when they gave their testimony. Although some of the Vice-Presidents and Attorneys of Railroads on which Negro Firemen who testified operate were present, the Negro Firemen showed no timidity or hesitancy about telling their story as to how they were victimized by discrimination on the Railroads, which is evidence of the fact that Negroes are coming into the spirit of true manhood everywhere and are no longer afraid to tell the truth about conditions under which they suffer. At the same time the Negro Firemen did not show any braggadocio or disposition to pose as heroes and to offer any insults to their employers, but they in a simple and direct manner related their story to FEPC and the public.

We consider that the hearings were historic and will have far-reaching consequences in helping to wipe out injustices in this industry. It must be said to the credit of the counsel for the Railroad Carriers that they showed no disposition to try to keep testimony out of the record, nor did they show any inclination to insult the witnesses or embarrass or to attempt to browbeat anybody. They were respectful and courteous, while at the same time guarding carefully the interests and rights of their Carriers.

According to the reports, all of the Carriers were represented by Counsel. None of them attempted to flout the orders of FEPC.

This is not true of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and the other Railroad Unions. No one apeared for the Unions, although they were equally guilty with the Carriers for discriminations practiced upon Negro Fremen, Brakemen, Flagmen, Train Porters and Dining Car Employees. However, the Railroad Unions cannot expect to escape the consequences of their violation of the President's Executive Order 8802 and the simple principles of human justice. There is a law of compensation which moves unerringly against anyone who violates a basic law of life. It is wrong for any man or organzation to take bread out of the mouth of another man, his wife and children. When it is done, somebody must pay and will pay for it. No amount of power can nullify this law. The Railroad Unions must and will pay for the reckless disregard they have shown for the rights of Negro Railroad workers.

Among the members of the Fair Employment Practice Committee who sat in the hearings was Brother M. P. Webster, 1st International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters who asked most of the questions of the witnesses and carried on the cross examination effectively for the Committee. This was natural because he knew more about the question than anybody else on the Committee in as much as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters organized the Colored Locomotive Firemen so that a case for them could be built up for presentation to FEPC.

Now, that the hearings are over, what is the next step. From the point of view of the Black Worker, the next step is clear. The Committee should order that the secret Agreement negotiated with the Southeastern Carriers Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen which discriminates against the employment of Negro Firemen, should be abolished. Orders to cease and desist in the practice of discrimination of all kinds against Negro workers in the Railroad industry should be issued to each and every Carrier and Trade Union guilty of same. A close check up on the extent to which the Carriers and Unions obey the orders should be consistently made.

When the findings of the Committee have been made a Conference with the President of the United States ought to be sought by the Committee so that he might be informed of the findings and he will be expected to use his power as Commander-in-Chief and President of the United States to correct these abuses if the Carriers refuse to obey the orders of the Committee.

Rail Union Head Quits ACLU Over Negro Ban

NEW YORK — A stir was caused here in labor and race relations circles Wednesday with announcement that A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen (Independent), has resigned from the American Civil Liberties Union, in protest against the demand the ACLU is making to have Negroes admitted to labor unions.

Whitney is regarded as one of the country's prominent labor representatives and his resignation came as the FEPC was planning public hearings on the discrimination against Negroes by the "Big Five" operating railway unions.

Whitney's union bars Negroes from membership, and because of t[illegible]s, one spokesman declared, "it was suggested that he did not belong in the ACLU."

The ACLU announcement stated: "A. F. Whitney . . . has resigned on account of differences over the exclusion of Negroes from trade unions." Whitney said tersely, that his resignation was "inconsequential."

Whitney's letter of resignation was not made public, Lucile Milner, secretary, declaring:

"The long-standing policy of the ACLU has been opposition to discrimination based on rac[illegible] religion or color. But we cannot make Mr. Whitney's letter public." Rev. John Haynes Holmes, board chairman, explained:

"The ACLU raised the question with Mr. Whitney about discriminations against Negroes by his union. We asked him his views, reminding him of our own opposition to discrimination. His answer was unsatisfactory — and he resigned."

[illegible]TURDAY, JUNE 12, 1943

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Blasts Randolph For Exposure Of Jim Crow Unions

NEW YORK.—The current issue of "The International Teamster," organ of Daniel J. Tobin's powerful AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, blasted so-called Negro "propagandists," aiming direct at the March on Washington Movement, headed by A. Philip Randolph.

Randolph has been waging a fight for equal rights for Negroes in AFL, where he has shown that many unions still bar Negroes from membership, and his demand has created quite a stir in labor circles.

Tobin's paper accused Randolph of making "the shocking threat that American Negroes may be lured by the same propaganda the Japs used on the Burmese."

Referring to a pamphlet Randolph sent out recently to national union leaders, Tobin's paper said: "It looks like he wanted to create racial prejudice in order to prove he was right when he said it existed . . . Maybe it does exist to varying degrees in various sections of the country.

"But the kind of propaganda the self-appointed Negro saviors are now circulating can do nothing but

FEPC RE-SCHEDU
RAIL HEARING

(Continued from Page 1)

roads, members of the Southeastern Railway association and against six others on charges of racial discrimination. At the same time he stated the new committee had agreed to establish 12 regional offices throughout the country at points roughly the same as the regional offices now maintained by the War Manpower Commission. He stated that an agreement is being worked out with WMC for closest co-operation in accomplishing the purposes of the President's executive order against discrimination in war industry.

During its sessions the new committee, consisting of P.B. Young, Sr., of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, Samuel Zemurray of the United Fruit company, Sara Southall of the International Harvester company, John Brophy of the CIO, Boris Shishkin of the AFL and Milton P. Webster of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, adopted a resolution refusing to accept with approval the action of Father Haas in agreeing to segregate Negro workers in the Mobile case.

ALA. COMPROMISE NO PRECEDENT

Said the resolution:

"The committee accepts the accomplished fact of the settlement made in Mobile to end a crisis in war production, except that the committee cannot give its approval to the complete segregation of Negroes on the four ways and does not consider that a precedent."

Questioned on the effect of this resolution on the present status of Negro workers at the Mobile shipyard, Father Haas refused to say whether this action would mean a final change in the existing agreement or not. He stated, "it will all depend on whether we get complaints of discrimination from Negro workers at this shipyard."

In a prepared statement the FEPC chairman said: "The newly appointed committee has accepted the responsibility placed upon it to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. The objective is to further the prosecution of the war, workers' welfare and national unity.

mittee, Sara Southall of the International Harvester company, stated that in the work of the committee pushing an end to [illegible] industry must begin [illegible] of education [illegible] desk of the company.

"We are dealing in prejudice," she said. "It is good to begin with the boss down the line. Corporate structure [illegible] who develops [illegible] be changed from [illegible] We must start with [illegible] down to the lowest man."

SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1943
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

IF I WERE A NEGRO

White People Who Tell What They Would Do Fail To Explore Depths of Idea

BY JOSEPH D. BIBB

IF THE average white man would suddenly find himself a Negro, who can tell just what he would do? If he retained the mentality and attitudes that he now holds toward society, he would either run amuck or lose his mind. In order to abide by the existing order of affairs, he would be compelled to acquire either a sustaining philosophy or a deep-seated religion. The average white man has little conception and scant contemplation of what it means to be a Negro in these United States.

Mr. Bibb

When a white man surmises what he would do and how he would think if he were a Negro, he fails to consider the kind of a Negro he might be. If the mind of the average white man was transplanted into the body of the average colored man of the South, we are of the opinion that he would explode. He would forthwith rebel against political, social and economic slavery. He would precipitate a rebellion against Southern customs and institutions.

PEGLER HAS THE RIGHT SLANT

He would not, as one splendid and well-intentioned bishop suggests, "be thankful for his heritage, for the tradition of his people," and he would not "contrast his heritage with the artificial and material elements now dominant in our modern civilization." He would have to be a philosopher and a consecrated soul to do that—and the average American white man is everything but that. He would more likely follow the procedure laid out by Westbrook Pegler . . . "he would live in a state of constant fury and would beat his brains out against his bars."

THE average white man knows nothing about the dignity of humility. He is arrogant and haughty, conceited and domineering. He would not agree with the doctrine of Montaigne, who declared, "Humility and submission alone can bring man to perfection."

COULD NOT BE PASSIVE OR SUBMISSIVE

How could that mentality from whose confines leaped lynching, peonage, mayhem and murder, be transformed by a mere changing of the color of the skin? The white man turned Negro would rise up in Texas, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. He would burn and pillage; he would foam with fury. He would not be passive or submissive. He would not "steadfastly fix his eyes on the horizon of the future."

THE mass mind of the white man is made of sterner stuff, and for that reason, he rides for a fall, for did not Solomon, the wisest of men, declare, "Before destruction, the heart of man is haughty, and before honor, is humility."

DOUBT PATRIOTISM AS A NEGRO

Well-intentioned white people might seek to project their astral minds into the carnal bodies of dark folk, but anything that they conclude they would do is purely speculative. No living white man knows how it feels to be a Negro; no living white man can contemplate the tortures nor the indignities that he is compelled to suffer, and judging by the record of the past, the white man would "take up arms against a sea of troubles."

THIS writer does not even believe that the white man turned into a Negro would be patriotic. He was not patriotic to the English tyrants. He took up arms and sallied forth against the Red Coats, avowing, "Give me liberty or give me death!" He would trust God and keep his powder dry.

BURDENS TOO HEAVY FOR WHITE PEOPLE

Thousands of white people leaped out of windows and blew out their brains when they lost their gold in 1929. Millions of them would leap into death and blast out their brains if they lost their liberty. If white people turned into Negroes, America would be a land of carnage. There would be rivers of blood and mountains of slain. The white man has demonstrated by precept and example, that he believes in direct action and mailed force. He made it his business to impress Christianity with the sword. He is a superlative fighter and knows nothing of the humble philosophy of Mohandas K. Gandhi, perhaps the greatest man on earth. The white man is a brave, courageous scrapper, but at times reveals a savage impulse to oppress the weak and slaughter the innocents. This was demonstrated last week in Beaumont(Tex. What would the white people do if they were turned into Negroes in Beaumont, anyway?

NEGROES have exemplified the Christian spirit of humility. They have been long-suffering and patient. They have carried many crosses up their American Golgothas. The loads and burdens they have borne would be too heavy for white people. They are not so philosophical as Epictetus, the slave, nor are they as religious as Bishop Bernard J. Sheil.

WOULD RUE SUCH A DAY

The whites in this country are infuriated with the wily Japanese and they will not indulge themselves in the "turn the other cheek" theory, even though they claim they are a peaceable people. This writer rues the day when whites in America would be turned into Negroes, and if this did happen tomorrow, this writer, whose racial identity has ofttimes been mistaken, would forthwith set out for the Latin Americas, where there is supposed to be a "Good Neighbor" feeling with regard to the color of the skin.

Saturday, July 10th, 1943
NEW YORK AGE

Things Seen, Heard And Done . .

MONG PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

[illegible] that you are in Chicago [illegible] on your hands, just drop [illegible] headquarters of the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective [illegible] 547 East 47th street, [illegible] 13, and you will hear some [illegible] greatest arguments that can [illegible] by human minds.

[illegible] week I dropped in while the [illegible] were discussing some of the [illegible] of the day, and just as I [illegible] in one fellow said: "In [illegible] war everything goes, including your shirt." While another [illegible] "If this tax business keep on, [illegible] collar man won't even [illegible] a shirt."

[illegible] then secretary-treasurer, J. [illegible] of the Pullman Porters [illegible] Protective Association, [illegible] and said: "I have listened [illegible] fellows talking about how [illegible] are going on in this country [illegible] every other country. Some of [illegible] say the world is going to the [illegible] Well, let me tell you something, the world isn't going to the [illegible] that's sure. No decent dog would have it."

[illegible] discussion drifted to the [illegible] riots over in Detroit, [illegible] President C. E. Hendricks of [illegible] M. P. A. said: "It is [illegible] observing in passing that the [illegible] which are now popping [illegible] this country is likely to be [illegible] of communism's most favored [illegible] for fomenting revolution."

[illegible] he said: "You know [illegible] two-ring ceremony is just [illegible] for a three-ring [illegible]

[illegible] subject which is giving [illegible] concern is whether [illegible] Dispute Law adopted over [illegible] President's veto would forbid [illegible] the union shop or the [illegible] of membership agreements. In my opinion it is a most [illegible] law which will have [illegible] Congressional leaders [illegible] which we hope, it will [illegible]

contended that the section of the bill which provides that NWLB agreements must conform to existing acts of Congress would make a maintenance of membership decision a violation of the Wagner act, and the National Labor Relations Board contends that there would be no violation of the Wagner Act in such a decision.

Anyway one explanation of so many things is that so many people think they can be well-informed without bothering to read anything.

For an example: Susie May and I agree on almost nothing, except on rare occasions, an informal weather forecast. Nevertheless, I find her company, and that of J. Shed, stimulating and refreshing. Perhaps I shouldn't have used that word "nevertheless" but some tolerant folks are chiefly interesting because you can disagree with them and still discuss things calmly. The above statement could also apply to my good friend P. A. Sample, who says: "Why keep changing tax laws? Is it more humane to cut the dog's tail off a little at a time?"

Your columnist, has only this to say: "The New Deal cradle-to-the-grave plan isn't so dumb. If nobody has to work, they can all spend their time rounding up votes for the Roosevelt machine."

See you next week.

—:o:—

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

"Sacrament" is the subject of the lesson-sermon in all Churches of Christ, Scientist, on Sunday, July 11. The Golden Text is: "We being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread" (I Cor. 10:17).

Bible [illegible] explaining [illegible] subject are taken from I Cor. [illegible] communion of the body of Christ? ... For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall be guilty of the booy and blood of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup".

References from "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" by Mary Baker Eddy, the discoverer and founder of Christian Science, are as follows: "Our heavenly Father, divine Love, demands that all men should follow the example of our Master and his apostles and not merely worship his personality. It is sad that the phrase divine service has come so generally to mean public worship instead of daily deeds. Obeying his precious precepts, following his demonstration so far as we apprehend it, we drink of his cup, partake of his bread, are baptized with his purity, and at last we sit down with him in the kingdom of the divine [illegible]

NEW YORK AGE
Saturday, July 17th, 1943

. . Things Seen, Heard And Done . .

AMONG PULLMAN EMPLOYEES

By J. T. REID

These are hectic days for Pullman Porters. What they read and what they hear lead them to believe that the March on Washington program, fostered by their leader, A. Philip Randolph, is giving them and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters too much publicity.

There are many who feel that too much of his time is taken up with outside issues. They feel that he is being paid to look after the interest o fthe porters and should devote his time to that duty. Then here are some who say we must face the issue, we cannot evade responsibility. If we are to have civilization, peace, comfort and security in the labor field, there must be order and reasonably satisfactory relationship between white and Negro workman. Our recent experience out in Detroit challenges the best ingenuity and skill of the most expert.

'There is a very simple but tremendously significant fact that is barely beginning to dawn on the minds of many white Americans. In an uncertain and unhappy world the United States needs the full [illegible] down the barriers of a blind and self-destroying egotism in the South.

Negro citizens are chary of political beatitudes and eloquent generalities which mean all things to all men. They are rightly suspicious of the glib politician, the psuedo intellectual, the well - meaning dreamer, and the evangelical reformer. But they are a spiritual as well as a practical people, and they don't like high-sounding phrases followed by short walks with the devil. Call us what you will, but to win us to any course of action, the appeal must be made to our sense of decency as well as to our sense of danger.

—:o:—

For success in freezing foods, choose fruits and vegetables of the right variety, properly matured; then blanch and freeze them in the shortest time possible after harvest. For more information on varieties of fruits and vegetables for freezing, write to Roberts Hall, Room [illegible], War Emergency [illegible] Varieties of Vegetables and Fruits for Freezing.

THE NEW LEADER

June 19, 1943

Connally Bill

(Continued from Page One)

man who voted for the Connally Bill whether or not it became a law.

Even that democratic right is denied Labor by the bill. For it was for the purpose of preventing Labor's announced retaliation against the Tory Congress that the bill now contains a clause making it a criminal offense for any labor union to contribute funds to political organizations.

But the bill does more. It, in effect, breaks the no-strike agreement which Labor voluntarily made at the outbreak of the war. The reciprocity granted Labor under that agreement for its no-strike pledge is that its unions would be secure against the attacks of anti-labor employers. This has been expressed in the granting by the War Labor Board of maintenance-of-membership and similar union security clauses in its awards.

Under the Connally Bill, however, the War Labor Board is specifically restricted to conforming to the terms of the Wagner Act which does not permit the awarding by the government of maintenance-of-membership safeguards. This, in effect, amputates one of the two legs on which the no-strike pledge has stood so far; and in practical terms nullifies that agreement, for obviously without the guarantees of union security against anti-labor attack the no-strike pledge cannot stand by itself.

In the conspiracy clauses the Connally Bill goes beyond taking away union security, it makes possible in positive terms the wrecking of unions such as was done to the Hatters International following the infamous Danbury decision by the punitive harassment of damage suits which could bleed the unions white.

That the intent of the bill is to shackle Labor and cut down its power to demand a square shake is made further clear by the definite terms of the proposed act which specify that strike-bound plants seized by the government must be returned to their owners within 60 days after the strike is broken. Apparently the Tories did not trust the New Dealers with the power to seize and hold plants where an anti-Labor employer might instigate a strike in order to break the union.

As passage of the Connally Bill in Congress left labor circles here with the stunned realization that it really had happened, it was followed by an air of bewilderment that the Administration had not raised a finger to stop it. There was a sense that executive betrayal had been added to legislative assassination.

One explanation of Mr. Roosevelt's silence as his own lieutenants and floor leaders in Congress whooped the bill through was that the President has become sensitive about the ridiculous charge that he is under Labor's thumb, and that he took a hands-off attitude in order to prove his independence of labor.

That explanation makes sense only in a psychological context. And it has some merit only to that extent because it is undeniably true that much of recent Labor action by the Administration and by others no longer lies in the sane field of sound industrial relations but has largely become a psychological problem with all sorts of unstable emotional overtones.

Another—more down-to-earth—explanation is that Mr. Roosevelt's Palace Guard has persuaded him that he does not need the active backing of the labor unions to win a fourth term.

The New Deal Inner Guard is convinced and, apparently, has persuaded Mr. Roosevelt that he is the real leader of American labor, and that the latter will follow him in 1944 and not their union leaders.

When the Labor Victory Committee, composed of the country's top labor leaders, visited the White House recently to place labor's demands before the President, one AFL leader reminded Mr. Roosevelt that 1944 was just around the corner.

The President snapped back with quotations from the Gallup Poll and others, indicating his personal popularity with rank-and-file labor.

When a CIO leader suggested that [illegible] present course of the Administration [illegible] Mr. Roosevelt his friends, [illegible] that it wasn't [illegible] to worry about friends.

[illegible] and packers [illegible]

Determining Stage for Split on FDR

By JONATHAN STOUT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In the light of the possible results what may well be the fateful decision of 10 years of the Roosevelt Administration awaits the pocket stroke of the President. Will he sign the Connally anti-labor bill? Will he veto it? Or will he permit it to become a law without his signature?

A week ago informed observers here were certain that the President would sign the bill. Since then the anger of outraged Labor has had a chance to penetrate through to the ivory towers of Washington and the certainty has lessened to some extent, though not enough to make a veto seem possible.

Looming as the most probable of all is that the President's decision with respect to the Connally anti-Labor strait jacket is that it will not be made on the just merits of the case.

Prevailing opinion here believes John L. Lewis deliberately baited a Tory Congress into passing the Connally Bill on the theory that it would put President Roosevelt on the spot and lead to splitting off his Labor support for 1944. This is ardently believed in New Deal inner circles particularly. It is pointed out that Lewis picked his spot with Machiavellian precision—a situation in which the worst anti-Labor bill in a decade was introduced by a Democrat (Senator Connally of Texas), made worse in the House by the incorporation of the even more vicious terms of another Democrat (Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia), passed by Democratic majorities in both Senate and House, unopposed by a Democratic Administration, and signed by a Democratic President.

None questions that Lewis might enjoy sticking his thumb in Roosevelt's eye, but the above theory leaves completely unexplained how all that maneuvering could have been engineered by Lewis despite the fact that he does not control the Tories in Congress, the Democratic majorities in either House or Senate, the Democratic Administration, and certainly not the Democratic President.

More tenable as a theory, perhaps, is the conclusion of careful observers that what the President does about the Connally Bill may depend very largely on what Lewis does about another coal miners walkout, and that the motive will be to pass the hot foot back to "Mr. Eyebrows."

The current extension of the coal miners contract ends tomorrow at midnight. The President has until next Friday midnight to sign or veto the Connally Bill. Informed opinion here believes that if the coal miners, lacking a contract, fail to go to work Monday morning President Roosevelt may seize the opportunity to sign the bill with the expectation that the country will put the blame on Lewis.

The most unfortunate aspect of this fine art of political feuding as exemplified by Roosevelt and Lewis is that the chief victims are the 12 to 14 million organized and the 30 to 40 million unorganized workers of the nation.

An analysis of the Connally Bill shows clearly that it is more than an anti-Labor bill. It is in fact a key section of a complete economic and political straitjacket for the Labor movement.

Viewed from a larger perspective the Connally Bill is part of a trap in which Labor:

1. Gives of its flesh and blood to the firing lines of the war without any voice in the national councils that direct that national effort.

2. Gives of itself and its skill and labor in the production of the means of carrying on the war effort for ourselves and our allies without any voice in the direction or planning of that production.

3. Gives itself voluntarily to a no-strike pledge and wage freezing under a Little Steel formula without similar equal restrictions on the most scandalous War Profiteering in the history of the United States.

4. Gives of its loyalty and support to an Administration which, while holding wages down to the level of May 1942, has not kept its pledge of price control with the result that the only sacrifices in this war are being made by labor on the home front and its flesh and blood on the war front. There is no equality of sacrifice.

5. And now, to make it impossible for Labor to stir a finger to get out of the untenable situation in which it finds itself, a Tory Congress [illegible] executive step having been taken by the Administration to prevent it [illegible]

Successful Parley Spurs Work of Am. Labor Conference

More than 500 persons, [illegible] section of New York's [illegible] last Saturday [illegible] the American Labor Conference on International Affairs, at the Hotel [illegible] heard leading representatives of European labor movements as well as American labor [illegible] and government officials discuss the role of labor in the post-war world.

The keynote of the parley was struck by Varian Fry, secretary of the conference, in his opening remarks. "What we hope can be achieved in our conference," he said, "is a unified approach to the problems involved and a serious attempt to work out certain fundamental principles, designed to form the basis of future research work." Mr. Fry paid homage to the heroic men and women in the armed forces, the millions of European persons laboring in the Nazi slave factories, and the millions of Jews in Poland who are being exterminated systematically by the Nazi murderers. Mr. Fry paid especial tribute to Szmul Zygielbojm, Polish Jewish leader who commited suicide in protest over the lack of action in saving the Jews of Poland.

Mr. Fry's remarks on Europe were supplemented in the opening sessions by a group of European labor and intellectual leaders including Emil Moe, member of the executive Committee of the Norwegian Labor Party; Omer Becu, secretary of the General International Union of Municipal Workers, speaking for Belgian workers; Paul Vinck, educational director Trade Union [illegible] of (French) Christian Workers; [illegible] meni, former member Italian Parliament; Professor Oscar Jazi of Oberlin College; Clinton Rieve, Vice-President of the CIO. [illegible] eral of the addresses will be printed in [illegible] coming issues of the New Leader. [illegible] ment by Professor Salvemini appears in this week's issue on Page 5.)

A luncheon session, presided over by Dr. E. C. Lindemann, heard William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, emphasize that domestic and international objectives are linked and that social security at home must accompany social security abroad. Mr. Green's speech was broadcast over the NBC network. Mr. Green emphasized the AFL's support for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill which welds our social security system into a single national system and stated that [illegible] standards must be maintained in all [illegible]

Labor's role in the future peace [illegible] was underscored by Mr. Green who [illegible] steps taken by the A. F. of L. to [illegible] war needs.

The afternoon session, chaired by [illegible] Childs of Columbia University and [illegible] of the A. F. of L. post-war committee, [illegible] Carter Goodrich, chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office; [illegible] Hansen, special government consultant, and Arthur Altmeyer, chairman of the Federal Security Agency, discuss the economic problems ahead in post-war readjustment.

Near the close of the sessions Varian Fry called on Raphael Abramovitch, a member of the executive committee of the American Labor Conference and one of its active leaders, to say a few words.

[illegible] of the American Labor Conference on International Affairs, [illegible] Dubinsky, vice-chairman and Varian Fry, [illegible] members of the executive committee [illegible] Dublin

Randolph Says Oppose Connally Anti Strike Bill

New York—The Connally Anti-Strike Bill proposes to abolish the 13th amendment in reality and reduce the workers to a status of involuntary servitude, since it strips labor of the right to strike which amounts to an employer telling a worker that he cannot choose or change his job. Negroes who have suffered from peonage and vagrancy laws in the South that limit their right to choose and change jobs should be the most vigorous opponents of this fascist legislation, stated A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

CHARGE LOWER 13 EVIDENCE IS WITHHELD

Defense Committee Hits Railroading Of Folkes In Oregon Trial

DETROIT, Mich.—Charges that the state of Oregon, the Southern Pacific Railroad company, and the Pullman company connived to withhold certain evidence that might have thrown an entirely different light on the "Lower 13" murder case, were made by James H. Anderson, of the Robert Folkes Defense Committee, here last week.

Anderson, a delegate from Los Angeles, Calif., obtained the floor a few minutes before the close of the Saturday morning "Securing Democracy At Home" session of the N.A.A.C.P. emergency conference, and stirred the audience with a succession of allegations that Folkes was made the butt of a plan to "solve" the crime is speedily as possible.

Among other things, he asserted that "more evidence was produced to convict the government's key witness, Marine Harold Wilson, than was presented to justify the holding of the cook."

Anderson also intimated that the jury was intimidated into rushing a verdict by a mesage which warned of the rapidly-rising cost of the case to the county. He said further that the manner in which the trial judge instructed the jury was one of the prime travesties of justice.

Folkes is the young second-cook who last month was found guilty of the Pullman berth slaying of Mrs. [illegible] E. James, white, whose throat was slashed as she lay in her berth of a train enroute from [illegible], Ore., to Los Angeles.

[illegible] a member of the committee fighting the conviction. Folkes, scheduled to die for the crime late last month, has been granted a stay of execution pending action on an appeal filed by his attorneys.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

June 12, 1943

HASTIE GETS ANNUAL SPINGARN AWARD

[illegible] mother [illegible] Mrs. Roscoe Hastie, mother of Judge William H. Hastie, [illegible] right).

STRIKE VOTE TODAY

Will Put in Motion Machinery to Protest Vinson's Ban on Increase in Wages

FEDERAL SEIZURE IN VIEW

AFL Reported Ready to Back Proceedings Even to Ending Pledge Against Strikes

By LOUIS STARK

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3—Chiefs of fifteen cooperating railway unions will confer here tomorrow to settle the date for issuing strike ballots to 1,250,000 railway workers.

The ballots will serve as a protest by the unions against what they consider the Administration's delay in handling the wage dispute which resulted in an emergency board award of an increase of 8 cents an hour in May, but which was voided by Fred M. Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization, on June 23. His action was taken the day before the railroads and the unions were to sign contracts embodying the award.

All efforts by the unions to win Mr. Vinson to a modification of his veto have been unavailing, it was reported today, and unless the railway managements confer soon with the unions and they arrive at an agreement, the thirty-day strike notice will be formally issued under the Railway Labor Act.

The railway unions made an agreement with President Roosevelt last year to forego the taking of strike ballots for the duration of the war. One condition was provided—that the President create an emergency board panel from which the membership of emergency fact-finding boards would be drawn when a railway labor situation reached the emergency stage. This machinery was set in motion to obviate the need under the Railway Labor Act for taking a strike ballot in order to have an emergency declared and a fact-finding board created.

Now that the unions say they feel they have been "getting the runaround" from the Administration, they are about ready to abandon the arrangement under which emergency boards could be created without a strike ballot.

The unions blame James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, for their dififculty with the Administration. They insist that President Roosevelt was agreeable to the 8-cent increase and that the President was ready to have the railway workers paid overtime after forty hours' work a week, instead of after forty-eight hours as at present.

By their decision the unions will, it is reported, make it mandatory upon the Government to take over the railroads, the second of the nation's basic industries to be seized as a result of a wage dispute. The bituminous coal industry was the first one taken over, as a result of a strike called May 1 by the United Mine Workers.

If the railway wage dispute should be settled within a reasonable time by direct conferences between the carriers and the unions, it is assumed that the Government will stay its hand and permit the private owners and operators to remain in charge. If a stalemate occurs the further efforts of the National Mediation Board probably will be invoked.

What is regarded as of overwhelming importance in this situation is that the American Federation of Labor is understood to be ready to base its future stand on the outcome of the dispute.

If necessary, it was stated in informed circles, the AFL will request the post-Pearl Harbor no-strike pledge of the railway unions. This would mean withdrawal from the National War Labor Board and automatically the collapse of that

RAILROADS SHOW LARGER PROFITS FOR LAST YEAR

B. & O. Net Income Nearly 4 Times 1940 Total.

Earnings announced yesterday by railroads showed substantial increases in 1941 over the 1940 level, altho December profits were reduced in many instances.

The Baltimore and Ohio had net income in 1941 of $21,091,883, an increase of more than 15 million dollars over the $5,549,497 total in the preceding year. Net earnings for December increased to $1,490,695 from $1,054,492 in the preceding year.

The New York Central railroad's net income for 1941 more than doubled the 1940 figure, but December earnings were barely half those for the same 1940 month. Net earnings for the year totaled $26,375,356, compared with $11,265,084 in 1940. December profit was $2,040,182, against $4,000,235.

Net income of the Chicago Great Western in 1941 amounted to $1,739,581, compared with 39,944 in 1940. December net income was $104,667, against $219,095 in the 1940 month.

Chicago Roads Have Gains.

Three Chicago roads reported larger net operating incomes for 1941, but two of the companies showed declines in net operating revenues for December.

The Chicago Burlington and Quincy's net operating income for the year was $19,135,005, against $13,082,778 in the preceding year. The December total was $1,461,677, against $1,910,430 in 1940.

The Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific had net operating income for 1941 of $28,181,975, more than double the $13,845,644 figure for 1940. December total was $2,062,946, against $1,883,057 in 1940.

North Western Earnings Up.

Net operating income for 1941 of $16,793,076 was reported by the Chicago and North Western, compared with $10,094,500 in the preceding year. The December figure was $738,000, against $1,883,057 in 1940.

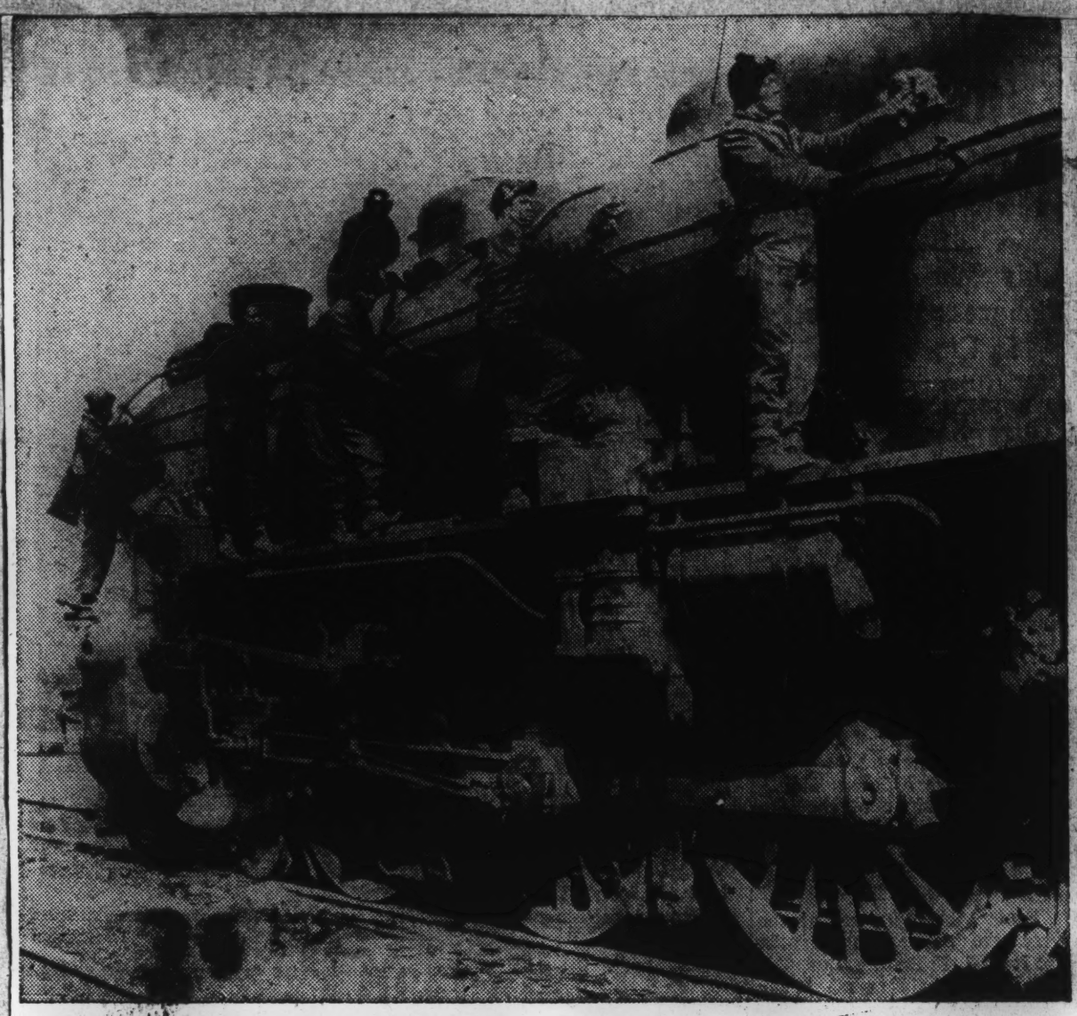
F. J. Gavin, president of the Great Northern estimated 1941 net income at $16,776,000, against $10,208,194 in 1940. Matthew S. Sloan, president of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas, said net income for the company in 1940, after fixed charges but before contingent interest requirements, was $33,353, compared with a deficit of $2,162,257 in 1940.

Rail Earnings Reports.

Earnings of railroads reported yesterday follow:

	1941.	1940.
December Net Income.		
B & O	$ 1,490,695	$ 1,054,492
Chgo & Grt W	104,667	219,095
Del Lack & W	453,164	421,292
Lehigh	77,790	154,803
New York Central	2,040,182	4,000,235
Norfolk & W	1,949,702	2,330,975
Tex & Pac	536,211	199,237
Western Maryland	115,591	302,128
12 Months Net Income.		
B & O	21,091,883	5,549,497
Chgo & Grt W	1,739,581	39,944
De Lack & W	3,671,698	205,277
Lehigh	3,256,470	*301,026
New York Central	26,375,356	11,265,084
Norfolk & W	27,194,003	31,383,976
Tex & Pac	3,546,001	1,563,328
Western Maryland	2,554,354	2,100,734
December Net Operating Income.		
Alton	259,178	168,605
Ann Arbor	58,122	79,060
Chgo Burl & Q	1,461,677	1,910,430
Chgo M St P & Pac	2,062,946	1,883,057
Chgo & NW	738,000	1,569,400
Chi St P M & O	246,373	120,462
Colo & So	5,709	81,980
Del & Hud	665,978	471,258
Ft Worth & Den City	292,916	59,299
Gulf Mobile & O	134,912	154,296
MKT	621,582	330,227
Nashv Chatt & St L	345,747	363,932
Penn	8,813,370	9,098,888
Western Pac	†18,224	400,867
12 Months Net Operating Income.		
Alton	1,992,757	15,978
Ann Arbor	662,367	450,290
Chgo Burl & Q	19,135,005	13,082,778
Chgo Mil St P & Pac	28,181,975	13,845,644
Chgo & NW	16,793,076	10,094,500
Chi St P M & O	1,703,732	406,869
Colo & So	1,043,185	68,093
Del & Hud	8,497,736	5,619,253
Ft Worth & Den City	1,228,092	344,699
Gulf Mobile & O	3,661,480	1,508,525
MKT	3,969,685	1,937,901
Nashv Chatt & St L	3,309,419	2,069,426
Penn	97,102,488	86,499,496
Western Pac	14,223,986	2,648,040

*Net loss; †Net operating loss.



Taking their place in vital war jobs, Negro women wash locomotives on the Pennsylvania railroad. Replacing manpower, this crew of women engine cleaners are doing an important task in keeping transportation of the nation rolling.

RAILROAD BONDS IN GOOD DEMAND; OTHERS ALSO UP

New York, Jan. 26 (AP).—Railroad bonds were fairly popular with buyers today and a long list moved up fractions to a point or more.

Heavy turnover of New York City Transit unification 3s depressed the issue more than 2 points and there were other equally backward loans in this class. The general trend of United States government bonds, both tax exempt and taxable, was lower, although declines in both the stock exchange and over the counter were mostly less than ⅛ point.

Foreign dollar bonds were mostly neglected. Moderately higher prices were paid for Argentine 4s, Australia 4½s, and Uruguay adjustment 3½s. Lower were Cuba 4½s and Peru 6s.

Transfers totaled $11,436,000 par value, against $11,508,100 on Friday.

...CALIFORNIA EAGLE
...75 CENTRAL AVE. PHONE CE. 2-4228
...62 — No. 38 LOS ANGELES, CALIF., THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1942 PRICE 5 CENTS

...orters Win ...ig Wage Boost

...rters Win ...2,500,000 ...y Boost

...FORK, Jan. 1.—In the ...national offices of the Bro... of Sleeping Car Porters ... York City, A. Philip ...dolph, international presi... announced that the organi... had signed an agreement ... the Pullman company for ... increase in pay of 10 cents an ... or $24.00 a month.

...will represent an increase ... two million dollars for ... Pullman porters, maids, at... and bus boys in the ...man service. This group of ... will also receive $21.60 ... for three months of back ...ending from Sept. to Dec. ...served Randolph.

...increases were also se... by the brotherhood for ...porters who are members ... organization, represent... ...per month with 7½ ... back pay extending ... Sept. to Dec. 1.

...head of the porters' organ... pointed out that various ... with which the brother... holds contracts are being ... up rather rapidly for in... in pay ranging from 10 ... for the non-operating ... including chair car, parlor ...oach and buffet porters, ... the back pay of nine cents ...r and also including train ... in the operating group at ... and one-half cents wage in... with the seven and one-half ...nt back pay of a three-month ...od.

...is estimated that the in... for the members of the ...rhood of Sleeping Car ... will run much above ...llion dollars, stated Ran...ph. Mr. Randolph points to ... notable achievement of col...ive bargaining for colored ...rkers by the Brotherhood as ...licative of a new era in the ...nomic life of Negro workers ... America.

Want Negro on War Labor Board

NEW YORK, Jan. 1.—Appointment of "at least one" competent Negro to the War Labor Board which will handle labor disputes for the duration of the war has been requested of President Roosevelt by the NAACP, it was learned this week.

HAPPY NEW YEAR

Propose A. Philip Randolph for ...peace conference...[if and when]

Because he has the "courage, the cultural fitness, and the vast experience with world affairs to insure his fitness," A. Philip Randolph is named in a resolution, drawn by John W. Fowler, civic leader, for a seat at the world peace table when peace is declared.

"Even now while one half of the world is in a turmoil, there are some who are praying for peace and are thinking in terms of a New World order," the resolution, which Fowler was joined in framing by E. Richard Abrams, declared.

"After the war, when Hitler has been crushed and the Democracies sit down to write the new order. . . there must be some one present at the peace table who will speak for the Negro and demand that he, under the new order, be guaranteed all the rights and privileges guaranteed all other human beings in a true Democracy," the resolution reads further.

Randolph, who is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was described as "eminently fitted" to fill the suggested role.

The resolution, which petitions Congress and President Roosevelt to invite Randolph as an adviser on Negro affairs, is offered all public meetings for adoption, Fowler, who is one of two advisers on Negro affairs in the District Attorney's office, declared.

L.A. TRIBUNE 1/11/42

NEGRO OF THE YEAR

The TRIBUNE nominates for the Negro of the Year, 1941, A. Philip Randolph for his stimulating and harnassing of the growing industrial consciousness of the American Negro.

A. Philip Randolph, who is responsible for the largest single labor organization of Negroes in the country, rendered another great service to his race in the astute statesmanship which resulted in the President's order, banning discrimination in National Defense, and forming the FEP committee.

The FEP committee has taken no revenge on companies which have caused untold injury to Negroes for generations in refusing to hire them as skilled and unskilled labor. Instead, the Committee has accomplished farther reaching aims. By providing a setting in which Negro protest groups and laborers, and white industrialists might meet in a sponsored negotiations, the Committee has accomplished a measure of education of both sides.

For all of this, A. Philip Randolph, whose proposed March on Washington had this result, is responsible.

Statesman, scholar, idealist and yet realist, A. Philip Randolph is clearly the man, not only of this year, but in the results of his activities which this foreseeing may already glimpse on the horizon of ...

[illegible] Prove Himself in Djukaland

By HAROLD PREECE
(PV Special Correspondent)

THE FIRST BLOW for liberty in the New World was struck not by the Minute Men at Lexington and Bunker Hill but by rebel Negro slaves who proudly set up their sovereign state of Djukaland in the protecting forests of Dutch Guiana.

The Founding Fathers met at Philadelphia in 1776 to sign the Declaration of Independence. A year before that time, the Djukas had treated European mercenary troops exactly as George Washington had treated the hireling Hessians paid to crush America's struggle for independence.

Under the leadership of their great chieftain, Captain Bonny, father of the present Boni tribe, they had driven out the hired white men and the hired Negro "rangers" whom the Dutch had sent into their country after signing a treaty of peace with the black nation in 1749.

SCORCHED EARTH POLICY

Captain Bonny started the Scorched Earth type of warfare long before our Russian friends used it against hitler. The invaders nearly starved to death because Bonny had instructed his warriors to destroy everything when they were compelled to retreat.

And the siege of Bonny's village, Gado Saby (God Understands), reads like the siege of Stalingrad. Hut by hut, rice field by rice field, the black soldiers and civilians fought to defend their soil.

They seized axes and chopped down the trees to hinder the invaders. When they ran out of bullets and powder, they loaded their guns with pebbles, buttons, and pieces of silver to answer, shot by shot, the blasts of the invaders.

That war ended with the Dutch continuing to pay their annual tribute of cloth, meat, spirits, firearms, and ammunitions to these Negro freemen who, to this day, yield allegiance to no white man.

WHITES NOT WANTED

It isn't easy for any white man to gain admission into Djukaland, so named for the Ouca plantation where the Djuka chiefs signed a treaty of peace with the humbled whites almost 200 years ago. But once a white man does find himself admitted, he'd better walk easily and speak softly because no Djuka has ever been known to defer to any stranger of any color.

And no white man, however trusted, has ever been admitted to their Holy City of Dahomey, named after the Old African kingdom from which many of their ancestors were kidnapped as slaves. No white man, so far as it is known, has ever talked to Dahomey's chief, Songai, who perpetuates the names of the great Songhay empire which Negroes built and developed in Africa.

But the six tribes of the Djuka, numbering some 30,000 people, could teach the whole white world —and particularly the white politicians—some practical lessons in democracy.

LESSON IN DEMOCRACY

The six tribes have no central government because that is unnecessary in their type of society. But the Granman (Big Man) or head chief of each tribe works in the cassava fields, when it is necessary, or helps in getting lumber ready for export to Paramribo, capital of Dutch Guiana.

Granman Jankoeso of the Sarmacaner tribe would be a man who received a lot of special privileges in our world of too many privileges for too few people. The old man could easily set himself up as a forest Napoleon: his tribe has far more people than the combined population of the five neighboring "Nations": the Aucaner, the Boni, and the Matawaai, the Quintee—Matawaai, and the Paramacca.

But Granman Jankoeso, unlike many statesmen in the outside world, has no imperial ambitions. All that he wants for all of the Djuka tribes is that they may continue their way of life based economically upon common ownership and common cooperation; spiritually, upon the West African culture which the Djuka Founding Fathers brought with them before they fled into the wilderness and hewed out this black commonwealth.

AFRICAN WORDS PERSIST

The Djuka peoples have lived so long here on South American soil that they [illegible] Africa as such [illegible] still persist [illegible] lects which also [illegible] English, French [illegible] of them worship [illegible] the Great Father [illegible] subordinate Wes[illegible] are commemor[illegible] que native da[illegible] held at diffe[illegible] year.

And now [illegible] show their [illegible] the mothe[illegible] they do in [illegible] folk art.

No self-[illegible] hammers together [illegible] comb or pot stirrer. Every [illegible] of utility in a Djuka [illegible] be also an article of beauty [illegible] with faces and curlicues [illegible] geometrical figures [illegible] ist of the outside world [illegible] his soul to duplicate.

NATIVES LOVE BEAUTY

Somebody has said that [illegible] people produce the most [illegible] cultures. During their [illegible] the African kinsmen of the Djuka have been hard put [illegible] of imperialism, to maintain [illegible] of their traditional customs [illegible] art forms because the white conquerors have tried to impose [illegible] "civilization."

The Djuka intends to remain free and has kept himself constantly prepared to defend his freedom. When the black peoples of the world are again free, he will have much to give his brothers and enslaved kinsmen all over the globe.

IN LIBERIA

In the picture to the right [illegible] ter L. Walton, U. S. Minister to Liberia, and Brig. Gen. [illegible] ler, are shown in a jeep [illegible] they recently inspected [illegible] troops and a company of WAACS (below) stationed [illegible] the African Republic near Monrovia, Liberia.—American Foreign Service Journal [illegible] from OWI.

JOINT COUNCIL NOW REPRESENTS 15,000 WORKERS

...eeting of what is now the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees was held in Chicago on Feb... 1938, as photographed above. From this humble beginning the union has grown and now ...s 15,000 employees.

...15,000 IN NUMBER:

...ining Car Workers Union ...portant to War Effort

By ISHMAEL FLORY

...AS HAS BEEN SAID, an army moves on its stomach, so does the na... behind that army move on its stomach in the prosecution of the war. ... tens of thousands of soldiers moving over the nation, with important ...rnment officials covering more miles in connection with their war duties ... ever before in history, plus the usual run of necessary public travel, the ... 15,000 dining car em... are playing a role in the ...ort far more important ...n often realized. They func... oil in the wheels of the ... war machinery.

...ining Car employees know ... because they know how ...t it is to win the war ... Axis. No small amount ... for this understanding is ... Joint Council of Dining ...loyees, the National Cen... Dining Car Employees and ...ship.

... and waiters on the rail... have come a long way since ...s of the wooden cars and ... efforts to form unions. ...rly days, with the doors ... of the AFL unions closed ... and at best grudgingly ...en by a few, dining car ... began to form indepen..., the most important of ... the National Brother... Dining Car Employees.

... of experience and weak ... soon brought a dissolu... this group, and thereupon ...ial servants of the pub... to form local union ... part of the Hotel and ... Employees Interna... and Bartenders In... League of America, ... they are still part of ...national, functioning through the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees.

The Council represents the most powerful group of workers predominantly Negro and under Negro leadership in America. It represents the largest group of Negro workers in the railroad industry, comprising a total in excess of Pullman Porters and Red Caps combined, the other of the Railroad Service employees predominantly Negro.

It was in 1937, the year of the great upsurge of American labor, in which period the CIO was making dramatic labor history, that the Council was born. Dining Car employees were isolated in separate locals. They were without a coordinating center that could bring about unified action around common needs and common problems. They were without representation among the Railroad Executives' Association which represented practically all of the important unions in the railroad industry.

Without such connections, dining car employees were greatly handicapped in that they were not able to bring to their struggle the backing of these powerful groups and force the carriers to deal with them on a national scale as they did with the former two groups. They were without voice and influence before such important government agencies, which greatly affect the operation of the railroads, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the National Mediation Board and the National Railway Adjustment Board.

They were without influence or vital legislation locally and nationally affecting the welfare of themselves and the Negro people. Out of this chaos the Council was born. It's objectives were well stated by its first secretary-treasurer three days after he had come to Chicago National Headquarters of the Joint Council: "Our tasks must be to unite all the workers on the dining cars, white and black, for the protection and betterment of all. The Council's tasks are therefore large and immediately necessary. With the determined expression of solidarity and cooperation of the various units of Dining Car employees we are certain to succeed."

(To be continued next week.)

Tenants! Unite For Rent Price Control!

In an effort to freeze and control rents in Harlem, the Consolidated Tenants League, 209 W. 125th st., is urging tenants to report rent increases promptly to the PEOPL'S VOICE, 210 W. 125th st., or to the league, itself.

Why [illegible]

[illegible]ndolph Sees Negroes' Interest at Stake

[illegible]TON/

[illegible] deep-voiced A. Philip [illegible]ndolph, head of the Interna[illegible]l Brotherhood of Sleeping [illegible] Porters, was explaining in [illegible] offices at 217 W. 125th St. [illegible] his union of 7,200 persons [illegible] declare itself in favor of [illegible] more aid—even battle[illegible]—to aid the British.

[illegible] union is scheduled to do [illegible] for a six-day convention [illegible] here Sunday.

"It's a matter of enlightened self-interest," the Harvard-accented labor leader, a mild-mannered Socialist, said. "Negroes want Britain to win merely because they love her, but because they love themselves—because they love the democratic way of life and the status of human beings."

"Most Dangerous"

Randolph, target in his day for some vigorous name-calling, went placidly on. The old Lusk Committee, of pre-Dies days, once called him "the most dangerous Negro in America" and later railroad executives characterized him as "a wild-eyed radical uppity Negro hustler who has never made a Pullman berth in his life." Since he resigned as president of the National Negro Congress, charging Communist domination, the Communists have been attacking him.

"If England loses this war," he said, brushing all that aside, "the United States is sure to be militarized, civil liberties will almost certainly be suppressed or destroyed. The American Negro can only hope to win his rights under a democratic system, with a free press, free assembly and the power of protest."

With almost a shudder, he added: "In 'Mein Kampf,' Hitler openly alludes to the Negro as 'inferior,' and says he is subhuman. If he wins, Negroes can only expect re-enslavement to the status of chattel property.

"We are not forgetting Britain's attitude toward Negroes in particular and darker races in general; they have been deceived, betrayed and oppressed, but they are regarded as human beings.

Making Some Progress

"In the British colonies Negroes are making some progress—slow but sure. It is to the interest of the Negro to support the cause of Great Britain because only in a democratic system can he hope for the ultimate status of free men."

In 1917, when he was a young follower of Eugene V. Debs, Randolph opposed actual entrance into war and still does. During the final days of the World War, he founded the leftist Messenger magazine which became the spearhead of his drive to organize Pullman porters. Eventually he signed on the porters' behalf a contract guaranteeing wages of $89.50 to $100.50 for 240 hours' work.

Negotiations now in progress would reduce the hours to 210. A report on progress of the negotiations will be offered at the convention, which will be addressed by Mayor LaGuardia, Gov. Lehman, Eleanor Roosevelt and others.

Lewis to Organize State Farmers Into Unit of United Mine Workers

Dairymen and All Other Growers Are to Be Included—Also Utilities Employes, Dynamite Workers and Perfume Extractors

With virtually all the coal miners in the country working under union shop contracts, John L. Lewis extended to New York yesterday an organized drive intended to bring farmers, perfume extractors, utility workers and dynamite workers into the "by-products" division of the United Mine Workers.

If the drive succeeds it will not be long before metropolitan milk distributors find the bushy-browed founder of the C. I. O. sitting across the bargaining table from them as representative of up-State dairy farmers in negotiations to fix the price of fluid milk.

Ora E. Gasaway, national president of District 50, the by-products division of the mine union, said that already it had enrolled 5,000 Michigan dairy farmers and expected to sign up 22,000 more in New York and other States within two months.

Asked how the dairy farmers fitted into the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers, Mr. Gasaway said one of the derivatives of milk was casein, which was used in the manufacture of plastic buttons. Other plastic buttons are made from coal and coke derivatives and, therefore, all plastics and the things from which they are derived—animal, vegetable or mineral—are part of the jurisdiction of District 50, according to Mr. Gasaway's explanation.

Obviously, he added, if dairy farmers are eligible for membership, there can be no sound basis for excluding farmers who raise corn or anything else, so the United Mine Workers is ready to welcome all farmers into its fold.

The same elasticity characterizes other sections of District 50's jurisdiction. It has agreements already in the metropolitan district covering makers of corn cures, floor wax, toothpaste, hair wave preparations, disinfectants, roofing and headache remedies. Mr. Gasaway estimated that its potential membership in the district around New York was 300,000 and he put its nation-wide potential at well above a million.

To give impetus to the organizing campaign here, Mr. Gasaway formally installed Michael F. Widman, director of the successful C. I. O. drive in the Ford Motor Company, as regional director of District 50, with offices at 1776 Broadway. Thirty organizers will work under Mr. Widman's direction.

Both Mr. Widman and Mr. Gasaway gave assurance that there would be no jurisdictional conflict with other C. I. O. unions in the signing up of new members for the mine union. For strategic reasons Mr. Widman declined to indicate the plants on which he would concentrate his efforts in the immediate future.

"We will get around to everything that is organizable soon or later," he said.

Kathryn Lewis, daughter of the U. M. W. leader, is secretary-treasurer of District 50.

Communism Is Peril to Negro Race, Randolph Warns Pullman Porters

New York, N. Y.—The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L., the only Negro international union in the United States, was warned at its fifteenth anniversary convention in Harlem that communism was no solution for the problems of the Negro.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the brotherhood, who resigned last April as president of the National Negro Congress, on the ground that it was controlled by Communists, said in his address to the convention:

"With the march of dictatorships we must reaffirm our faith and devotion to the cause of democracy and liberty. To that end, we reject the Communist program as a solution of the problems of the Negro, because it is the negation of democracy.

"We condemn all Communist front and transmission belt organizations as a peril to the constructive and sound program of the Negro people, since they seek only to serve the cause of the Communist party, which is only concerned about the success of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia.

"We stand solid for adequate and complete national defense. We call for labor unity by C. I. O. unions returning to the home of labor—the A. F. of L.

"We call for the abolition of the poll tax and white primaries, and the passing of the Anti-Lynching bill.

"We are opposed to America entering the war, but we advocate all aid to Great Britain."

Seniority of Railmen In Armed Services Protected

Standard Unions Obtain Pact With Carriers for Return Of Employes to Their Jobs, With All Rights Unimpaired

When railroad workers return from military or naval service they will find their full seniority and job rights waiting for them as a result of a "Memorandum of Understanding" which has been signed by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations and all rail carriers, except the Santa Fe.

This important protection for rail employes was first asked for by the Railway Labor Executives' Association in 1940, as soon as it became apparent that large numbers of railmen would be called into the armed forces. The Association of American Railroads appointed a committee which met with the rail labor chieftains in April, 1941, and worked out the Memorandum of Understanding.

Some Roads "Stalled"

Then followed a series of delays and "stalling" by some of the roads, but the carriers in all three territories—Eastern, Southeastern and Western—finally signed the Memorandum, which reads in part as follows:

"Any employe of this company who has established a seniority date and who shall be ordered or inducted into the land or naval forces, or who has enlisted after the declaration of an emergency by the President on September 8, 1939, shall, upon completion of such service, be restored to such position with this company (including rights to promotion) to which his accumulated seniority entitles him, the same as if he had remained in railroad service.

Absence Treated as Furlough

"The general purpose hereof is to provide that all such persons who return to the service of this company shall be considered as having been on leave of absence or furlough, shall be restored to service without loss of seniority, and shall be entitled to participate in the insurance or other benefits offered by this company.

"Such employes, while so engaged in military or naval service, will be granted free transportation to the same extent as though they were employed in the active service of the company."

WMC-FEPC REFEREE

ON JOB BIAS FIGHT

Threat of Rail Strike Passes; Vote Delayed for New Parleys

Union Feels Government Treats It Unfairly

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5.—There is not going to be a strike on the railroads during wartime.

That is a safe prediction today despite the action of the 15 non-operating railroad unions in voting to print up strike ballots.

The railroad union leaders, in an all-day session here, also voted to hold up distribution of the strike ballots until they make one more attempt to settle their dispute with the carriers. The unions have been negotiating for a settlement for 11 months.

Protest Vote

If it does come off, the strike vote will represent a protest against the way the Government has handled the railroad union dispute.

Railroad union leaders feel that they have been denied treatment now accorded to every other worker in the country every day.

Earl M. Jewel, president of the Railway Employes Department of the AFL, explained:

"Railroad employes have had no wage increase since September, 1941.

"Railroad unions have no union shop, maintenance of membership or other union security provisions in their contracts.

"For railroad employes overtime pay starts after 48 hours work, not 40 hours as in every other interstate industry.

"These grievances will be taken up again tomorrow with a committee of authorized representatives of the railroads at a conference arranged through the office of Fred M. Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization."

Increase Cancelled

It was Vinson who cancelled an 8-cent hourly wage increase authorized by a special committee of arbitrators appointed by President Roosevelt.

The President's committee had worked on the problem for six weeks. It had collected 6000 pages of testimony, including 25 exhibits, and filed a 250-page report.

Vinson held that the committee decision was not proper under the hold-the-line order.

Yesterday a committee of union leaders headed by Jewel and George Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, AFL, met with Vinson and a committee of carriers headed by J. J. Pelley, president of the American Association of Railroads, and arranged Friday's negotiating conference.

[illegible] that the labor on this job was "scab."

The exact reverse was true! The Negroes were the "poor working man." The oppressors were the prejudiced unions which would not let them in and would not let them alone.

That a few Negroes do find work with the bars up is of little help. Work for all is a God-given right, protected by the Constitution's own prohibition against federal or state interference or denial because of race and color. That right is ours by law, but we must establish it in fact.

One step is obvious—the courts. But lawsuing costs money. In a court action we would have to fight the government and the unions, not an even match by any means. The other step is easier and quicker—the election of men who honestly believe in democratic rule to the point that they will see to it that every citizen enjoys equally whatever benefits the law bestows. We do not care what your politics is. If you are a Negro concerned about your people and interested in your own welfare, have

[illegible] ago and upon.

Once there was a single college graduate. Today Negroes have a host with the degrees of master and doctor. The Government should have given flying its start among us long ago. It did not. We get it anyway.

With each new step Negroes run afoul of the criticism of their trying which expresses itself in doubt of their getting a chance to use their new knowledge. "What's the use of a Negro boy learning a trade which his people are not permitted to work at?" says the school system when it fails to teach Negro children all that it offers whites. It patterns its logic on that of the mother who warned her son not to go in the water until he learned to swim! By some mysterious spiritual strength within, Negroes challenge the future, preparing to do what they are not yet admitted to do. It is well. Of such is progress made! Up from the primeval ooze of which the scientist speaks, man has made his way. Negroes show themselves at their best when they rise above the unusual difficulties that beset them as they do when they learn flying.

THE CALL

Established 1919

Published Every Friday

C. A. FRANKLIN, EDITOR

KANSAS CITY CALL COMPANY, Inc., Publishers

Entered at the Post Office at Kansas City, Mo., as second class matter May 9, 1919, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Address All Mail to THE CALL

Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year (out of city) $3.00

Six Months..... 1.75

Advertising Rates on Application

Advertising Representative:

INTERSTATE UNITED NEWSPAPERS, INC.

New York City

THE CALL believes our country can lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords Negroes their human and citizen rights. Hating no man, fearing no man, this paper strives to help every man because we believe all are hurt so long as anyone is held back.

Labor's Hands Are Not Clean

In all seriousness, we urge an attack on the present labor law or its administration. Two weeks ago we charged that its effect is to drive Negroes out of employment, contrary both to man's natural right and the Constitution. If the law is alright, then its administration is at fault. The Negro loses his rights, even this one necessary to life itself, and nobody cares! The President, Congress, the President's labor board all wash their hands of us!

The case needs only to be stated for the Negro's side of it to be understood. Out of the schools and otherwise Negroes learn trades. By printed rule and by custom, the majority of labor organizations refuse them membership. Under the old law, they could still compete for work. Under the new they cannot because the all-white labor setup has the government behind agreements it makes with employers.

"Collective" bargaining should not be perverted into "exclusive" bargaining. The President should require labor unions to admit members without discrimination on the ground that only by so doing are they in line with the Constitution. Jobs for whites and only relief for Negroes violates the accepted rule in America that he who asks justice must come into court with clean hands.

Get it clearly in your mind, Negroes! THE GOVERNMENT THAT HAS IN ITS CONSTITUTION THAT A MAN'S PROPERTY SHALL NOT BE TAKEN BY ANYBODY AND THAT IT SHALL NOT BE TAKEN BECAUSE OF HIS RACE AND COLOR, IS LETTING ORGANIZATIONS ROB HIM OF HIS LABOR AND LIVING. THE EVIDENCE THAT IT IS DONE IS YOUR EVERY DAY EXPERIENCE AND THAT IT IS DONE BECAUSE OF RACE IS WRITTEN IN THEIR UNION CONSTITUTIONS!

Let others talk about Hitler and foreign affairs! Let taxes worry the rich! We must have work! None of us is fool enough, to believe we will go on being fed if we do not work!

Kansas City offers the classic example of this organized opposition to Negroes working. In this city Negro carpenters, masons and other builders (except painters) are not admitted to unions. By dint of enterprise, some Negroes found a construction job for [illegible] scene of their opera-

you think about what the candidate of your choice thinks about a Negro's right to work?

Must We Suffer in Silence?

Democracy is not for the lazy. Government by the people calls for each citizen to be responsible for the welfare of all. That duty done, we have a commonwealth. If not, we fall into the ways of dictatorship. How close the United States has come to abandoning democracy is seen in the comment that no one should say harsh things about President Roosevelt.

Let's learn from the past what is wise for the present. Read a page out of the story of our own people in this country. A hundred years ago, the opposition to slavery which had existed in a mild form even when the Constitution was being written in 1787 began to agitate for abolition. A still small voice at first. But through Lovejoy and Harriett Beecher Stowe and John Brown, the movement swelled until in 1856 it challenged the old system at the polls.

Lincoln, whose election was the culmination of that movement, was still engaged in saving the Union when an election rolled around in 1864, a parallel case to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt if the country is in the danger he says it is. But Lincoln, when candidate for reelection was not treated as some sacred idol whom none dared criticise. While head of the armed forces actually at war, he was opposed bitterly.

The country is in no worse danger now than it was in Lincoln's day. Then why should not Willkie talk about the President?

Roosevelt is no more an idol to be spared comment than was Lincoln. Those who argue that Willkie hits too hard should see that attacks will serve to bring out the excellence of the administration's record—if that record is good. The dangerous symptom is that United States citizens argue seriously that the democratic process of discussion of public matters is to be abandoned.

Flying Comes To Missouri

The opening of the school for teaching student flyers by Lincoln university at Jefferson City is a step of far-reaching importance. Every time a deadline is set across which Negroes surge, however they accomplish it, the color line is wiped out that much and the American people become that much more united.

It goes without saying that getting this school was not easy. Without bothering to see how regulations work out for Negroes, the government is in the habit of making rules that suit whites. The poor black citizen, absolutely the same in aspiration, but set apart by arbitrary custom from the same preparation, is required to match performance though handicapped. It is not fair, but that is our America.

The bright side of this dark picture is that here and there the happy combination is found of white persons who disregard custom, and Negroes who can make good. Out of those contacts come the pioneers who prove the race's capabilities. Behind them come enterprising organizations, like our Lincoln university attempting on a big scale what [illegible] individual Negro has done

Mrs. Roosevelt Addresses Pullman Porters In New York

NEW YORK, Sept.—(By John H. Thompson for ANP)—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of the Land, headed the largest group of celebrities ever to attend an all-colored labor convention in New York or elsewhere, when she addressed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at their dinner at Mecca Temple, Monday night, as part of the week long 15th anniversary and biennial convention, Sept. 15-20.

Other celebrities at the speakers' table included Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, "First Colored Lady of the Land," Mayor Fiorello La-Guardia of New York City; Lieut. Gov. Charles Poletti; Aubrey Williams, national director of the N. Y. A.; Dr. Channing Tobias of the UMCA; Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P.; James Quinn of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood, and other officials of the BSCP.

More than 800 persons paid the $2.50 per plate to listen to this brilliant array of speakers, who paid tribute to Randolph and the brotherhood.

Mrs. Bethune introduced Mrs. Roosevelt, who after paying tribute to the head of the colored division of the NYA, launched into her speech. Said the First Lady in part: "We have a right to improve Democracy in the U. S. The Conscription Bill is the only way to make the nation really safe . . . for it is better to have young people trained for warfare than to send them into battle untrained . . . . if they are not trained early last minute measures may not save us from war.

"Each of us has an obligation to try in all ways to perfect the democracy of the country . . . you know what it is to struggle against handicaps . . . we can overcome them only as we work side by side. . . . The color line is gradually being broken down and becoming a thing of the past. . . . We must work together and not let

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt Addresses Pullman Porters

(Continued from Page 1)

any one group suffer. . . It is only lately we have realized how much culture of the country has come from the minority groups of the United States. As James Weldon Johnson once said to me, 'You are making a mistake when you do not recognize how much more my race has contributed in many ways. The Negro has a great gift for culture in many things. . . I am tremendously interested in young people and I know those of your group and their difficulties. I appreciate what young people meet with today in colored groups . . . we all need courage and wisdom and patience as great changes do not come over night.

"In the past few years we have come far along the road to a better understanding, a greater appreciation of the dignity of human individuals regardless of race, color or creed. . . . We can make all democracy better by all giving the best we have to give. . . . I pledge to you my faith, my cooperation to make this a better

country, not for you alone but for all. This will make all feel our country is safe and a better place in which to live."

Mrs. Roosevelt received a tremendous ovation from the audience as she took her seat. Ashley Totten then rose, declared it "was not a political meeting nor do I wish to speak of politics but Franklin D. Roosevelt is the greatest man ever to step into the White House." Waves of applause greeted this statement.

Totten next introduced Mayor La Guardia, "a friend of the common people," who told listeners that it had been made perfectly clear "that this was a non-partisan meeting and therefore I can speak in ease. In any gathering of men and women who toil for a living and who have witnessed the progress made by the brotherhood in the past few years, would also be non-partisan and for Franklin D. Roosevelt." (Loud Cheers) "I want to tell you all that your greatest success was not only in the right to organize, increase wages and gain better working conditions but it was in giving self-respect to every employed Pullman porter. . . ."

Walter White, field secretary of the NAACP took to task William Green for his speech before the brotherhood, Sunday at Salem church, in which Green stated: "I am against intolerance and racial prejudice as long as I can express myself." White cited numerous instances to refute this statement.

Lieut. Gov. Poletti paid tribute to the BSCP and Randolph, and ended his speech by calling Mrs. Roosevelt the "quintessence of American Democracy."

Other speakers who praised the BSCP and their 15-year fight with the Pullman Company included the Rev. William Lloyd Imes and C. L. Dellums, fourth international vice president.

At the conclusion of the dinner Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Bethune were besieged by autograph seekers. They [illegible]

Weekly Column Devoted to Interests of Rail Labor

DEBS AND RAILROAD UNIONISM

There is no name connected with the history of railroad labor in the past 50 years more cherished by railroad men than that of Eugene V. Debs. Few, if any, old-timers are still living and working on the railroads who were associated with Debs and the great American Railroad Union of 1894. But the memory and tradition of Debs, his efforts to unite the railroad workers, his political ideas and the things he stood for—his militant leadership of railroad labor from the time he joined the Firemen's Brotherhood in the early 70's, still linger in the minds of thousands of railroad men to this day. When the history of railroad unionism is written by some competent historian of the future Socialist America the name, deeds, inspiration and contributions of Debs will be a luminous chapter in the whole long bitter struggle.

Whatever may be said about the American Railway Union (ARU), it remains an epic in the long line of fights for unity, better wages and working conditions for the men who labor on the railroads. Just as in the more recent strikes and struggles led by militant union leaders to unite the American workers paved the way for the modern industrial union and the CIO, so Debs' ARU in its early period instilled the idea of unity in the minds of the railroad workers. Every name that a corrupt capitalist press could conjure up was hurled at Debs and his militant ARU, as today the same press snarls and barks for its masters at Bridges, Lewis, Murray, Curran, Quill—and the entire embattled labor movement of the U. S. A.

Debs and Unity of Action

Debs was the first to raise the issue of closer cooperation, coordinated effort and unity of action for better conditions among all crafts of railroad workers. The idea swept the rails from coast to coast bringing into the ranks of the ARU everyone from locomotive engineer to section-hand. Under Debs' leadership hundreds of thousands of railroaders became acutely aware of the futility of separation by craft in comparison with the vital basis for unity—to-wit: the exploitation of all railroaders of every craft on every railroad in the country. United in an industrial union, the ravages of long hours, low wages, high prices and huge profits for the Wall Street railroad bankers could be successfully combatted. Craft bargaining at the expense of other crafts in the same industry enslaves and defeats every craft said Debs—and railroad history sustains his contention.

Divide and Rule

"Divide and rule" is an old axiom known to every tyranny in history. And the axiom is just as well known today to the tyrants of monopoly capitalism as it was to the masters of the Ancient Roman Empire. Twenty-one unions in one industry are 21 times as easy for the railroad bankers to bamboozle, corrupt and defeat as one strong industrial organization. And how well it is succeeding, Brother—at OUR EXPENSE! The steel workers—with one union—get 10 cents an hour increase by united militant action. Over $200.00 per man added to their yearly pay-checks. And the leadership of our 21 craft unions don't even have enough gumption to unite on vacations—let alone a long overdue drive for a substantial pay increase. While they continue their juvenile jockeying for "favors," the railroad bankers wax rich and arrogant.

Railroads Next on Order of Business

That there is going to be a drastic change soon is known in every railroad shop and shanty in America. It is feared by the Association of American Railroads who see our industry is next on the order of business of the labor movement for higher wages.

Two things are certain:

First: United, Militant action must be achieved at once.

Second: The pussy-footing union leadership that now blights railroad unionism will go the way of Homer Martin and his kind. In New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and Frisco the rumblings of right-wing indignation at the do-nothing policy of our Union Chiefs are mounting—and these same chiefs will be pushed aside by their membership in the coming struggles on the railroads if they don't heed the demands of their membership—and act.

This is an era of lightning changes and improvements on the railroads. Diesel power is more power at less cost—and knocks off jobs by the thousands while the Railroad Labor Chiefs twiddle their thumbs—too servile to fight for any share in the improvement. The "push-button" system of train operation, hump switching, longer freights—all these changes are piling up the chips for the bankers and they are rapidly eliminating from the industry a large section of railroad labor as well. These "Peace-division" destruction of jobs play no favorites as to craft. They take their toll of the whole 21 with complete impartiality. One million railroaders of 1941 are [illegible] million than in 1920.

Debs' Idea—Then and Now

Debs was the greatest pioneer in industrial union organization on the railroads. His ARU was beaten—it had few allies and no equals—but his argument for the dire need for unity in railroad unionism is as true in 1941 as in 1894. The job still remains to be done. The building of a powerful national industrial railroad federation, uniting the million workers of all 21 crafts in a fight for higher wages and better conditions, is the need of the hour on the American railroads. Today the CIO has powerful industrial unions in the great basic industries—and would support such organization on the railroads. The workers in the CIO no doubt marvel with a sort of scornful pity at our pre-1894 railroad unionism, with the bulk of railroad labor the lowest-paid of workers in any basic industry in the country—a sort of Little Orphan Annie in the Labor Movement! And yet — with all our organizational sins upon our heads—there is a long and honorable tradition of struggle on the railroads. In the coming months this column will set forth the seething, growing opinions and ideas of railroad labor for bringing these honorable traditions into organizational life.

"Blood, Sweat and Tears" may be a good enough slogan for high-salaried, war-mongering railroad union chiefs who cannot even wheedle out a two weeks' vacation for their members. But it won't do for the CIO, nor the militant sections of the AFL. And it won't do for the labor, again haunted by the spectre of war, low wages and high prices—and with the strong, clear tradition of a great industrial union on the railroads of Eugene V. Debs.

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LOW RENTS FOR LOW INCOMES

USHA

A vital aspect of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program administered by local authorities throughout the country with the aid of the United States Housing Authority

JOE SMITH, his wife, and kids live in a slum. But not because they like it.

"If we could find anything better for $12 a month or even a little more," declares Mrs. Smith, "we'd move out in a jiffy."

The Smiths have done plenty of looking. They have scanned the advertisement columns of the local papers and plagued their friends with inquiries. They have examined dozens of vacant dwellings.

Yet all the homes that rented around $12 a month were no better than their present house. The same small, ill-ventilated rooms, the same bad plumbing, and the same dismal neighborhood. . . .

And all the homes that were better were being rented at $20, $25, or $30 a month. Joe Smith could not pay that much rent since he earned only $50 a month and every additional dollar for rent meant using money that should go for clothing, medicine, and other necessities.

How can the Smiths and other families in the same predicament or even worse escape from the slums?

1

"The only solution," some say, "is to increase the Smiths' income so that they can afford better housing."

Unfortunately, this approach can lead only to a partial solution. There are about 8,000,000 families in our cities and on our farms whose incomes are too low for them to live in anything but substandard dwellings. Naturally, every increase in their purchasing power—whether it be effected through higher wages, lower prices, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, or other measures—helps ease their housing problem.

But it would be utopian indeed to look forward to such enormous increases in the incomes of these 8,000,000 families that would be necessary to bring them within reach of healthful, comfortable shelter. And certainly it would be more than utopian to believe, as some do, that these families could solve their problems through some fanciful home ownership plan. Home ownership is wonderful, but if slum dwellers could afford it they would not live in the slums.

The practical thing to do, then, is to provide better housing for people like the Smiths at rents they can pay.

Experience and experiments have shown that the job cannot be done, however, by the private construction industry. Private builders openly confess that they are unable to build good houses for a profit at rents of even $20 a month and that they are more interested in providing homes at rents of $40 a month and higher. This means that private builders cannot even meet the needs of the

group earning $1,000 to $2,000 a year, let alone the $1,000-and-below group to which belongs the great majority of our slum population.

Aware of this difficulty, in 1937 Congress decided to help provide low-rent housing through public action. By a vote that cut across all party lines it set up the United States Housing Authority and authorized it to assist local housing agencies through construction loans, through subsidies designed to lower rents, and through technical guidance.

In writing the United States Housing Act, Congress never lost sight of the fact that the all-important thing is *low rents for low incomes.* It is specifically stated in the Act that the USHA should assist in the construction of homes only for families of low income who *"cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise in their locality or metropolitan area to build an adequate supply of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for their use. . ."*

Exactly how low are the rents on USHA-aided projects? Are they low enough for low incomes? Or are they too high for families from the slums? Let us look at a few typical projects.

The Haney family lives in Brentwood Park, built with USHA aid by the Housing Authority of Jacksonville, Fla. It is a simple, sanitary, row house—untroubled by leaky roofs, insects, or lack of fresh air and sunlight. The rent is $10.50 a month, excluding, of course, the cost of electricity and other utilities. If you ask Mr. Haney how much he paid before his family moved to Brentwood Park, the answer is "$12 a month—and for a musty old slum that should have been torn down 20 years ago!"

Frank Shaw is an unskilled laborer in a Buffalo factory. He averages $18 a week, or about $78 a month. Before the Lakeview housing project was built in Buffalo, he and his family lived in the worst slum section in the city. The rent was $22 a month. In order to help balance the budget, the family slept in one bedroom and took in a roomer

who paid them $8 a month. Their rent was thereby cut to $14.

Today Frank Shaw and his family are paying the Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority the same $14 a month for shelter rent. But what a difference in what they get for their money! The children play and frolic in the project play spaces instead of in

the streets. The family has two bedrooms for its own use, instead of one.

The Jamison family lives in Rosewood, a project in Austin, Tex. Its weekly income—including the husband's pay check and the wife's off-and-on earnings as a seamstress—averages no more than $10 a week. Before the project was built, the family lived in a dilapidated shack for which it paid $7 a month. When the project was completed, the Jamisons never even dreamed they might some day be living there. "What's the use of thinking about it?" Mr. Jamison told his wife. "We could never afford it."

But one day a truck stopped at the house of a nearby neighbor. They learned that he was moving to Rosewood. A half hour later Mrs. Jamison was at the project filling out an application. A few weeks later the Jamison family was living in a clean, well-built home at Rosewood. The shelter rent it now pays is only $6.60 a month.

Other families living in USHA-aided projects could tell similar stories.

As can be seen from the following table, rents are well within the reach of the lowest income groups

in the localities in which rent schedules have been approved.

RENTS AND INCOMES

Average monthly shelter rent per home and average family income for projects under the USHA program for which final rent and income limits have been approved.

Location and name of project	Average monthly shelter rent per home	Average family income for project
Augusta, Ga. Olmsted Homes	$10.35	$665
Augusta, Ga. Sunset Homes	8.99	625
Austin, Tex. Chalmers Street	8.62	640
Austin, Tex. Rosewood	6.97	550
Austin, Tex. Santa Rita	6.59	545
Buffalo, N. Y. Commodore Perry	13.22	825
Buffalo, N. Y. Lakeview	13.35	850
Buffalo, N. Y. Willert Park	12.91	750
Charleston, S. C. Robert Mills Manor	12.26	765
Jacksonville, Fla. Brentwood Park	10.58	750
New York, N. Y. Red Hook	16.64	1,060
Syracuse, N. Y. Eastern	13.72	834
Toledo, Ohio Charles F. Weiler Homes	14.25	839

It is obvious from this table that average shelter rents to be charged by the first 13 projects under the USHA program for which rent schedules have been approved are sufficiently low to be well within the reach of the low-income families in the localities in which these projects are situated.

The average rent charged in any project is every bit as low as—often lower than—the average rent charged for slum shelter in the same localities. In this connection, it is important to note that once the tenant has paid his rent he does not have to

worry about any supplementary charges. His receipt is evidence that he has paid his share of the cost of living in the house sheltering his family. He does not have to pay additional charges for "upkeep," "interest," "payment on account of purchase price," or anything of the sort. Morever, he may not have to pay as much for electricity and other utilities as he did when his family lived in the slums. Utilities charges are always extremely reasonable in public housing projects. Wherever possible, the local authorities have signed agreements with local utility companies to supply their services at wholesale rates.

The rents are even low enough for families on WPA and home relief. In most sections of the country WPA workers earn enough to pay the rents charged in those public housing projects. In many cities, families on home relief receive rent allowances equivalent to USHA rentals or even higher. The proportion of WPA workers and home relief families admitted to a project is at the discretion of the local authority.

There are numerous safeguards that guarantee the use of these projects only by those families whose need is greatest—those who have been ill-housed and whose incomes are very low.

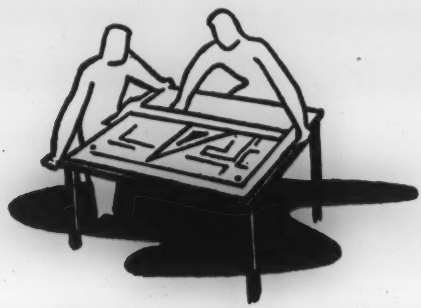
Before the signing of any lease, the local authority always sends an investigator to the applicant's home. The condition of the house is accurately noted and preference is given to those who live under the worst conditions. Any family that has not been living in an unquestionably substandard dwelling is rejected. Moreover, according to the United States Housing Act, no family may be admitted to a project if it earns more than 5 times the gross rental (6 times in the case of families with 3 or more children). But the local authorities have gone still further. In most cases they have set up income limitations that are somewhat lower than 5 times the rent.

Planning for low rents begins long before a single spadeful of earth is turned.

USHA funds are made available to a local housing authority only when it can prove that rents in the proposed project will be low enough. Accordingly, the local authority usually conducts a survey to determine what rents are now being paid in the slums. It submits general plans for a project. If these plans provide for homes that might rent at higher figures than the local slum rents, they must be revised.

Special attention is given to obtaining not only low construction costs but low maintenance costs also. No matter how low first costs might be, high maintenance costs would result in high rentals.

Walls and foundations are constructed of materials that will last for the longest possible time. Surface coverings are used which require little or no painting. Equipment is installed which will



call for a minimum of repair. A heating system is chosen only after a comparison with annual costs of operating other systems. Local utility rates are investigated and negotiations are carried on with utility companies long before it is decided what utilities will be used. As for insurance, special rates are generally obtained from the insurance underwriters.

The more space that can be maintained by the tenants the smaller the amount that will have to be added to the rents for public maintenance. For this reason publicly maintained corridors and stairways are often eliminated by building row houses rather than apartments. Wherever possible, each tenant is provided with a large amount of garden space which he can maintain himself.

Counsel In FEPC Hearing On R. [illegible] Crow

FDR Will Decide Policy Disputes Between Agencies

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19—A plan signed August 2, but not announced until last week, by War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and Monsignor Francis J. Haas, chairman of President Roosevelt's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, calls for "harmonious and expeditious" execution of the ban against employment discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin.

Under the joint plan, the FEPC shall formulate policies preventing discrimination and make its recommendations to Mr. McNutt, since the WMC has overall responsibility for utilizing and training manpower.

AGENCY TEAMWORK

The two agencies emphasized that a spirit of teamwork existed between them which will make it possible to obtain the utmost efficiency and economy in the enforcement of the non-discriminatory order, in the avoidance of all duplication of effort, and in the prevention of all overlapping jurisdiction.

To cover disputes between agencies, however, it was decided that (1) Disputes arising in regional offices which cannot be solved by regional directors of the two agencies will be referred to their central offices; (2) Those involving questions of procedure which cannot be adjusted by the central offices will be referred to Monsignor Haas and Mr. McNutt for [illegible] (3) If Mr. [illegible] are unable to agree on the disputes, the questions will be submitted jointly to President Roosevelt.

BIDDLE ALSO MEDIATOR

A further agreement was reached whereby the dispute, if it involves interpretation of the non-discriminatory order, will be submitted for a final ruling to U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle.

The non-discriminatory order under which the WMC and FEPC now operate is Executive Order No. 9346, of May 27, 1943, which calls for the closest possible cooperation between the FEPC, which is responsible for the formulation and execution of policies under this Order, and the WMC, which is responsible for the utilization of the nation's manpower in the prosecution of the war.

The agreement became effective immediately upon the joint signing by McNutt and Haas August 2, in accordance with a clause in the articles of agreement.

[illegible]

...s to Race Incitement in Att... Cover - Up Issue

...exposure of ...ro policy of ... and of his asso... leadership of the ... Party, called forth ... editorial and a four ... in the Jewish Daily ... of invectives and in...

...ique of dump... cover up the ... is familiar to those who ... contents of the Forward ... Democratic ... such as the New Lead... certainly don't want to en... competition on that level.

... will press for a discussion ... issues raised and we will see ... those issues are not by... as the Dubinsky clique is at... to go through the For...

...outburst by Dubins... gives obvious evidence ... Daily Worker in its first ... Wednesday touched a ... for we have un... "cover-up" and "don't-... policy on Negro problems.

ON RETREAT

... is another reason for ... outburst. The Dubinsky ... have suffered one defeat af... another in recent months. The ... to the two Jewish ... of the Soviet peo... and Peffer, with hun... thousands of American ... turning out to wel... has left the Dubinsky-... on the side-lines. ... the defeats in the Amer... Party primaries. Now ... on the run as members ... the anti-Soviet ... vice-president ... of the International Ladies ...

... shows that ... leaders ... Jewish ... ready to use ... desperate methods or policies with a passion of people who know neither scruples nor bounds.

They seized upon the issues raised in the Daily Worker article in a belief that they could twist the issues and sow enough confusion around them, to divert the Jewish garment workers from the progressive road they are taking to genuine national unity and policy of victory.

RACE INCITEMENT

Thus they have gone into the dangerous business of race-incitement for the temporary advantage that they think they may gain out of it at the present moment. The harm such a policy would cause the Jewish people is of little concern to them.

The criticism and charges we leveled against the ILGWU leaders, are, thus twisted into charges against a "Jewish union." We, of course, never viewed the ILGWU as a "Jewish union." And we don't think anyone should. For it is a union of people of almost as many national origins as make up America. As a matter of fact, nationally, a majority of the ILGWU members are not Jewish. Even the New York cloak division has a large Italian language local.

DUBINSKY ...

The Daily Worker ... peared no criticism of the Dubins... ue for many years. But this is ... first time that such criticism ... ed in this nonsensical light. ... of our critical articles ar... would probably sho... the space devoted to Dubi... in length only to ... against John L. Lewis, who is cur... ... the labor movement.

We have asked Dubinsky several times to explain why he has taken the initiative to bring Lewis back into the AFL, for "he surely must know of Lewis" anti-Semitic line, but he has not yet explained this ... detail.

...t was the issue raised by the Daily Worker?

A Negro, Francis E. Rivers, was

DUBINSKY

nominated by the Republicans for municipal judge in New York County. Rep. Marcantonio, chairman of the New York ALP, announced ALP endorsement for Rivers and stressed that election of a Negro to this highest judicial office yet held by a Negro would be a great victory for racial equality in America. In addition, of course, Mr. Rivers follows a win-the-war policy.

Dean Alfange, ALP gubernatorial candidate last year, issued a blast against Marcantonio, charging that his endorsement of Rivers was "injection of racial issues into the campaign." Alfange follows an old Social Democratic theory that endorsement of a man because of race or even raising issues involving the rights of Negroes, is "injecting" race issues. We took issue with Alfange's entire position and pointed to the ... tion in the union dominated by his political associates.

MUM ON RIVERS

It is interesting that in all six columns of printed matter of the Forward dealing with the Daily Worker article the name of Rivers is not mentioned, nor is there even a hint that the basic issue centers on the degree to which Negroes are given a chance to participate in all the country's spheres of life.

What is at the bottom of this issue.

It arises from the fact that the 12,000,000 Negro people are practically denied representation in government or in most other fields. Of the 435 congressmen there is only one Negro. There are none in the Senate. Of the many thousands of legislators in the 48 states, the "Negro Handbook" lists a total of only 25 Negroes, three of them in New York state. Of the many thousands of judges in the country only nine judgeships are held by Negroes. Of all the tens of thousands holding federal, state, county or municipal position, the "Negro Handbook" is able to list only 126 Negroes in Federal posts and 96 in the other subdivisions for the entire United States. Only nine Negroes are in the foreign services, according to the State Department. In the Army there is one Brigadier General and a few Negroes in lower officer ranks.

According to the Alfange-Dubinsky line, pointing to this picture, is "injection of race issues," and we should just close our eyes to it and repeat the old advice that men should be endorsed only on the basic of their ability.

This springs from the old white chauvinist conception that a Negro has no ability and for that reason doesn't get to places.

But we know that a Negro may be the most able of a group of candidates, but because of the absence of endorsement that is broader than the Negro community can give him, he comes out last. The Alfange-Dubinsky policy means leaving matters as they are—with no representation to the Negro people.

Furthermore, as Americans, we resent the conception that the fight for Negro rights is the duty of only the Negro people, just as we believe that it is the duty of every American — Jewish, Protestant, Catholic or of any other denomination—to struggle against anti-Semitism.

How does this relate to the ILGWU or, for that matter, to any other union? Unions are America's principal fountain of progressive influence. Their activity and their own life, does and should drive America forward. Does the ILGWU, a much reputed progressive union, play that role?

A glance through the union, we pointed out, gives us a picture that is approximately about as discouraging as the one above for the country generally.

There is not a Negro on the General Executive Board or among the officers.

There is not a single Negro holding the managership or any other important office in a single New York local.

The number of Negroes on executive boards or business agents in all the New York locals could be counted on your two hands.

There are thousands of Negro members in New York. Their number has been augmented recently because the manpower shortage has forced even some unwilling employers to hire them.

In Local 22 there always have been thousands of Negro members. Of some 30-odd executive board members, two places were given Negroes. Of some 30 business agents, one was hired for trouble shooting on "Negro" matters.

DIVERTING ISSUES

We heard of various excuses for this picture. Some locals conduct their affairs in Italian, others in the Yiddish language, which is true. But that only still further narrows the possibilities for Negro members to take part in the life of the ...ion. We have pointed out tha... nomic position of the N... bers is pretty well reflec... picture among the hundr... fice holders and legislator... the ILGWU.

We may argue on the peculiarities of various crafts and differ on the reasons why in this or that field there are no Negroes. But even the Forward, ... inquiring from ILGWU ... not been able ... those sections ... in large ... on the For... ward ... prominently ... the higher ... dress press...

...ers among whom there ...

The height of ... case the Dubinsky ... through the Forward ... Unity House, a ... where equality prevails, ... that in 1934 it moved its ... from a hotel that ... against Negroes and of the ... policy of equality in its ... tivities. That is true. ... who know ILGWU history ... who is responsible for such ... as has been made on this ... It is due to the struggles ... rank and file under the ... of the so-called "left wing" ... Communists who have been ... tails of the ILGWU un... farce. The ILGWU leaders ... not dare condone any ... ties of social inequality. ... are well aware that for ... the overwhelming majority ... membership, the so-called ... and "lefts" are progressive. ... Why are there two Negro ... board members in Local ... Rank and File draws ... votes in union elections. The ... "left" influence in the ... pinned the leadership to the ... on this issue, and forced it to ... what little recognition there is ... the Negro problem.

PROBLEMS IN GENERAL

We are, of course, glad that the Forward has made it possible for us to bring the problem before its readers, especially the garment workers. We believe that the real issue will break through even the thick layer of mud that the Forward is piling around it. But, as our readers know, our interest in the ... Negro rights is not confined to the ILGWU. As we said in the ..., and the Forward ... it, the ILGWU's picture ... typical of what we find in many unions. There are some that are much worse.

Nor do we exempt even some progressive-led unions from such criticism. If the Forward was interested, it would look up the ... Through the Daily ... hundreds of occasi... unions were ... to take steps in ... rights in hiring, ... ing, union leaders ... pride in the fact ... have reflected almost ... those struggles that ... the National Maritime Union is a typical example. It gives ... tional segregation ... point to the progress in many ... union locals, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, International Fur and Leather Workers, Transport Workers, and many ... filiates of the auto, shipbuilding, culinary trades and other organizations.

Only the Daily Worker took up the fight against Daniel Tobin for his attacks upon A. Philip Randolph's speech at the Toronto convention of the AFL. Only the Daily Worker took up the fight against the Negro-baiter who heads the fight against the Negro-baiter who heads the Federal employees ... of the International Association of Machinists. Is it not those who follow the policies of the Daily Worker and the Jewish Daily Freiheit who are leading the general fight to remove ... bars in the railroad brotherhoods ...

...

...

...

...this issue for the Forward ... upon the Negro people. One of the letters it printed said:

"No wonder that they (the Negroes) do such things, because people are continually claiming that the Negroes should receive the same rights as the whites."

It is this line of the Forward ... fanning race hatred, and ... the underlying causes of ...

[illegible] the Forward [illegible] for [illegible] the [illegible] upon the Negro people. One of the letters it printed said:

"No wonder that they (the Negroes) do such things, because the people are continually shooting that the Negroes should receive the same rights as the whites."

It is this line of the Forward, fanning race hatred, and ignoring the underlying causes of racial violence, that encourages such [illegible] as we saw in Harlem or Detroit. In its many years of existence the Forward has not run a single editorial dealing with Negro rights in the ILGWU or any other union where it has influence.

This policy of the Forward defies the best traditions of the ILGWU, particularly its Jewish membership. A Jewish worker is especially sensitive to the problems of the Negro worker because victimization [illegible] springs from anti-Semitism is the twin evil to anti-Negro discrimination. As far as the membership in the ILGWU at large is concerned, there is no doubt of their desire to make the life of their union a democracy that would be a [illegible] for the national unity so urgently [illegible] America today.

We again remind Mr. Dubinsky that he still owes a few answers:

1. Why did he and his delegation walk out of the AFL convention last year and a year before, when Randolph rose to fight for a resolution calling for abolition of anti-Negro bars in AFL unions?

2. Why has the ILGWU, until just a few days ago, been associated with the Workers Defense League in a move to sabotage the fight for the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill?

3. Why does he still try to bring Lewis into the AFL when he knows he is an anti-Semite, as well as a fascist influence in the labor movement.

OPINION

Discrimination Rides the Rails

The railroad's defense for not hiring Negroes except as menials is that rail lines must adapt their "operations and employment practices to the prevailing mores and legal systems of the states they serve."

Yes, of course. You almost always find fried chicken on the menu of the Southern Railway (not always good, but anyway fried). And no doubt if it should happen that Nevada, for instance, legalized bigamy, the Union Pacific would be happy to rearrange its sleeping accommodations, at least as long as its cars were on Nevada soil. Very touching consideration.

Actually, I did not know railroads served states: I thought they served people, all the people. That was the basic reasoning on which the Federal Government moved into the country's interstate transportation picture, and declared railroads "common carriers."

Allegiance to Whom?

Does the Rock Island Railroad, which operates a fast service between Minneapolis and Houston, owe allegiance to Minnesota or Texas? And to what state does the Pullman Co., which operates in 48 states and the District of Columbia, owe allegiance?

I profoundly suspect this sudden and touching consideration by the railroads for "mores." The railroads of this country have fought with impressive consistency against lowering of fares, although cheap travel is certainly in conformity with the "mores" of travel-loving Americans. The railroads of this country fought investment in new equipment in the months preceding Pearl Harbor, although by that time war-alertness had become part of our "mores." The railroads of this country have consistently fought against certain types of taxes, although the "mores" of democratic America call for taxation in accordance with ability to pay.

And most especially is it peculiar that the railroads should treat so tenderly the "mores" of the South with respect to Negro employment policies, for this is the same South that had been strangling for years, and complaining bitterly for years, under discriminatory freight rates imposed in favor of the North (which owns the railroads).

A Fair Exchange

I wonder whether the "mores" of the South would be shocked at the redemption if the Southern, the Seaboard, or the L. & N. hired a few Negro engineers, and at the same time sometimes brought to the Southern industry a breath with low-level freight rates. I think the South could stand up under such a shock. It is surprising, the effect of pocketbooks on "mores," especially with respect to race relations.

And so, at the risk of repeating what this newspaper has said many times, I say that the railroads, in their smooth defense of discrimination, are thinking not of "mores," but of profits. For the railroads, as has big business everywhere, have never found it profitable to press for human rights when such rights interfere with business. And what better cloak could there be for the morals—or lack of them—of business, than an eloquent reference to the "mores" of people?

The Railway Unions

I do not mean to charge here that the railroads alone are to blame in this whole situation, which bears so closely upon our war-manpower problem. The Railroad Brotherhoods, or sections thereof, are as reactionary on race policy as the companies, and primarily for the same economic reasons.

The fact is that there are contracts in existence which calls explicitly for discrimination, contracts signed by certain railroads and railroad unions. The current hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee will doubtless develop these facts. I do not know what defense the unions are going to put up. Will they, too, lay the blame on the "mores" of the people?

At any rate, I should like to see, at the hearings, the railroad companies blaming the unions and the unions blaming the railways. There's no telling what good may come when reaction turns upon itself.—Victor H. Bernstein

FEPC Sets Its Own Mail Week

Much Postponed Case Of Locomotive Fireman Scheduled September 15

Discrimination against American citizens by American railroads in job opportunities and in travel accommodations was under heavy bombardment on two fronts this week as the powerful FEPC tackled the unfair job situation and the Hansberry Foundation of Chicago stepped up its drive against the stubborn "Jim Crow car" line.

FEPC hearings, scheduled to begin in Washington Sept. [illegible] will investigate not only [illegible] roads, including the Pennsylvania,

Continued on Page 2

...wrecking of the FEPC, but President Roosevelt, who created the FEPC, immediately took over and built upon that wreckage a much stronger FEPC and put the reorganized body under the chairmanship of forthright tough Msgr. Francis Haas, of Catholic University.

A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who, for the past few years has been working to save the jobs of Negro locomotive firemen announced this week that "plans indicating a sweeping victory for the firemen are rapidly reaching culmination."

Age of Terror

In his statement, Mr. Randolph said that during the past decade eleven Negro firemen have been shot, from their engine seats on southern railroads in one of the most disgraceful episodes of labor fighting in the history of the country. It is his belief that, Mr. Randolph added that the forces fighting the Negro firemen will stop at nothing to deny them jobs—to crush them."

Negroes have fired the trains of America for more than 100 years. Firing an engine was considered a job counted beneath white men's dignity. However today because of the technical improvement which has made engineering more sanitary, the jobs are the most desirable...

having said that he had ... by 1927 no colored firem... main on the left side ... engine cab."

Senator William La... Dakota, long time ... and staunch supporter ... ques, will be the guest ... a mass meeting and dance ... sponsored by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters ... Committee to Organize the ... Locomotive Firemen Sunday ... mont Avenue Baptist Church, ... Vermont Avenue.

Meanwhile the fight to ... discrimination against ... means of Jim Crow cars ... intensified through the ... a pamphlet titled "How ... the Jim Crow Car (see ... this issue). It is believed ... pronged offensive against the railroads, this time, will produce some results.

FEPC Sets RR Hearing Next Week

(Continued from Page 1)

New York Central and the Baltimore and Ohio, but will probe into alleged discriminatory practices of 14 major railroad labor unions.

FEPC's Agenda

On the agenda of the FEPC for its often-postponed hearing is listed a series of complaints, charging discrimination by the railroad against Negroes by means of:

Refusing to hire or upgrade Negroes, ignoring their seniority rights, depriving them of full-time employment and maintaining unfair differentials in wages paid ... against whites for identical ...

Barring of Negroes from ... promotion to work on the ... and refusing ... them in or promoting them to ... as locomotive engineers, trainmen or machinists or machinist helper in the roundhouses.

Union Collusion

The investigation is expected to crack wide open alleged charges of collusion between the railroads and the unions. Among the unions to be investigated are some of the most powerful in the country, including the Locomotive Engineers, the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Railroad Trainmen and the Railway Conductors, known as the Big Four Brotherhoods, and are among the wealthiest and most ... of labor organizations.

To Be Investigated

Among the other roads to be investigated are the Chesapeake and Ohio, Union Pacific, and the railroads of the Southeastern Conference.

Originally the railroad complaints

...Panel

...CRISIS IS CREATED

...Five Brotherhoods to Join ...Effort to Upset the Basic 'Little Steel' Formula

By LOUIS STARK

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 — The White House announced today that ...railroad emergency board, by a ... 2 to 1, had recommended ...300,000 transportation em... in train and engine service ...a wage increase of 4 cents ...hour or 32 cents a day, instead ...per cent or $3 a day as they ...manded. The recommenda... was estimated would add ...000 to the railroads' annual ...bill.

The recommendation precipitated ...diate crisis in the railroad ..., as spokesmen for the five ... affected attacked the ..., declaring that it would be ...unanimously.

...ough the three members of ...oard agreed that the em... had made out a strong case ... increase to correct ... and to aid in the ...tion of the war, ... the application of this ...ce.

...that under the wage stabiliza... program they could not grant ... than permitted under the ... formula. The dis... opposed this as a ...interpretation of the ..., saying the em... were entitled to ...increase, but should re... 7½ per cent for ...quity," or 6.75 cents an ...

...Panel's Award Rejected

General strikes of the four op... railroads will be convened within ten days if labor settles on the recommendation of a new panel to ...pose final terms, Fred M. Vinson, Economic Stabilization Director, for the de... cision.

Since Mr. Vinson had previously rejected an award of 4 cents an hour made by another emergency board for the 1,000,000 so-called non-operating employes, it was learned today that these organizations would make common cause and present a united front in an effort to upset the two rulings.

A strike threat by the country's 1,000,000 railway employes, it is believed, would force Government seizure of the railroads for the duration of the war.

One of the suggestions pronounced ...ments of the decision was made by David B. Robertson, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

"Coming on the heels of the oversubscription of the fourth war loan quota by railroad employes, the report and recommendation of the emergency board on the wage demands of the transportation employes is an insult to their intelligence," Mr. Robertson said. "I predict that it is the straw that will break the back of the unfair and inequitable wages and prices camel of the Government.

"We will arrange to convene the general chairmen of our brotherhood on all the railroads of the country to refer this unfair recommendation to them for consideration."

T. C. Cashen, president of the Switchmen's Union of North America, said the award was "an insult" and would be rejected.

H. W. Fraser, president of the Order of Railway Conductors, said that it was "unsatisfactory in every sense of the word."

Alvanley Johnston, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said:

"I am very much disappointed in the recommendation. It did not even come within the 'Little Steel' formula. The men will no doubt be very dissatisfied."

A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, declared that the emergency board "permitted itself to exercise no judgment but frankly arrived at a figure mechanically," so that the efforts and money expended by the brotherhoods to present a comprehensive view of the issue were wasted.

"The board might just as well have availed itself of easily obtainable statistics as to have gone through the farce of holding extensive public hearings," he said.

Vinson Views Cited

The majority opinion was written by Chairman Walter P. Stacy, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and Dr. I. L. Sharfman, Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan. Frank M. Swacker, New York attorney, dissented.

Since the train, engine and yard service men were awarded a 10.5 per cent wage increase on average straight time hourly earnings of 89.9 cents since Jan. 1, 1914, the majority felt they were only entitled to a further increase of 4½ per cent or 4 cents an hour.

Messrs. Stacy and Sharfman interpreted Mr. Vinson's opinions of June 30 on the non operating employes case as no longer permitting wage increases to be made for the removal of "gross inequities" and to "aid in the effective prosecution of the war."

With this view Mr. Swacker dissented. He said that the Economic Stabilization Director's policy directive of May 12, 1943, clarifying the President's "hold the line" order of April 8, 1943, did not remove "gross inequities" or "aid in the effective prosecution of the war" as reasons for granting wage increases.

President Roosevelt was reported today to have taken an active part ...

Railroad Hearings To Open Next Week

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON. — Barring mishaps, last minute White House cancellation, or a miracle of reform on the part of companies and unions, the long awaited and much juggled railroad hearings will be held in Washington next week, Sept. 15-18.

That the hearings are held at all will mark a signal victory for united and collective action by Negro groups.

The Fair Employment Practice Committee is tackling a herculean task. Like little David against Goliath, it is pitting its small powers against the strength of one of the giants of the industrial world, the railroad industry, and against the strong, vicious and closely organized railroad brotherhoods. Its only weapons are right, public opinion, and Presidential support. It is assured of the first two, but it will need all three if it is to emerge victorious.

The railroads summoned to appear at the public hearings include the Atlantic Coast Line, Atlanta Joint Terminals Baltimore and Ohio, Baltimore and Ohio Chicago Terminal, Central Railroad of Georgia, Chesapeake and Ohio, Chicago and Northwestern, Georgia Railroad, Gulf-Mobile and Ohio, Illinois Central, Jacksonville Terminal Co., Louisiana and Arkansas, Louisville and Nashville, Missouri Kansas-Texas, New York Central, Norfolk Southern, Norfolk and Western, Pennsylvania Railroad, St. Louis-San Francisco, Seaboard Airline Railroad, Southern Railroad, Union Pacific, and Virginia Railroad Co.

Summon Many Unions

The unions include the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Order of Railway Conductors, System Federation No. 105, System Federation No. 103, International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers, Sheet Metal Workers International Association, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Shop Crafts.

Charges of discrimination in employment because of race or color have been lodged against these 23 railroads and 14 labor unions. Some of the cases involve Mexican workers as well as Negroes.

FEPC investigations have resulted in a lengthy list of allegations involving agreements between railroads and unions whereby the effective utilization of qualified manpower has been hampered because of discrimination. Chief among the practices has been that of considering Negroes as "non-promotables," which allegedly has been done through agreements setting certain restrictions on the percentage of Negroes which may be employed in stipulated categories.

Non-Whites Decline

The FEPC has found through investigation that there has been a steady decline in the number of non-white railroad workers during recent years.

Among other charges to be taken up at the hearings are: that railroads have refused to hire or upgrade Negroes ignored their seniority rights deprived them of full-time employment unfairly and maintained unfair differentials in wages paid Negroes for identical work as done by whites.

It is also charged that Negroes have been consistently barred from opportunities to work on diesel-engined locomotives, and have been refused employment as apprentices to serve as locomotive engineers, firemen, [illegible] trainmen, pipefitters and helpers, crane operators, dining car stewards, clerks, road brakemen, coach painters, oilers, dining car supervisors, and car retarder operators.

Alleging collusion between railroads and unions, the FEPC charges in addition that some of the labor ...

RAILROAD HEARINGS START NEXT WEDNESDAY

FEPC MUST ACT TO SAVE FACE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9—The public hearings of the FEPC on discrimination against Negroes and Mexicans by railroad companies and 14 railroad workers' unions—which will be held September 15-18, in the Department of Labor auditorium here, are certain to mark the beginning of a battle against jim-crowism in war industry. The outcome of these hearings will be an acid test of whether the Roosevelt administration intends to carry through and enforce a policy of no-discrimination in war industry.

All other actions of either the old or new FEPC—considered against the background of the railroad hearings—have been mere skirmishes. In the railroad hearings, the "chips are down." Either collusive agreements between the railroads and the unions and jim-crow practices arising out of these agreements are knocked down by the FEPC and the administration and thousands of Negro workers are given new jobs and upgraded to higher skills and higher pay, or else [illegible] and in finding [illegible] in words certainly [illegible] will certainly lose face among [illegible] it is determined to [illegible] among [illegible] watch [illegible]

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

FEPC REOPENS NEGRO LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN'S CASES

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car [illegible] Provisional Committee to [illegible] Colored Locomotive Firemen from its national headquarters [illegible] West 138th street, announced today that plans indicating a [illegible] victory for the firemen are rapidly reaching culmination. The case involving the firemen's right to maintain their jobs on the railroads, because white railroad brotherhoods are trying to take them away, will be held in the National Capitol on September 15th.

FEPC Scuttled Because Of Case

It is to be remembered that it was the sensational findings of the FEPC investigators in preparing for the original hearings that doomed the first FEPC. The suspension of the hearings shocked and aroused liberals throughout America, and they formed a coalition of organizations to save and re-establish FEPC under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, whose March on Washington Movement had compelled President Roosevelt of the necessity of issuing Executive Order 8802. The Save FEPC Committee has been successful in getting FEPC re-established, removed from the jurisdiction of Paul McNutts Manpower Commission, and with an increased budget of $540,000.00

A significant factor to bear in mind is that despite the temporary set-back the firemen experienced, the basis of their case is no less pertinent today. Instead, it is felt in some circles, with qualified justification, that the case is more important today than ever before. This feeling is prevalent because of the greater number of facts which have been compiled, and because a victory for the firemen at this time when bias against Negroes and the general reactionary spirit is at its highest peak, would hail a smashing defeat of the biased Railroad Brotherhoods. It also might signal by a precedent, a turn toward a more liberal attitude in America.

Colored Firemen Terrorized

firemen will stop at nothing to deny them jobs—to crush them. During the past decade, eleven Negro firemen have been shot from their engine seats on southern railroads. Negroes have fired the trains of America for more than one hundred years. Firing an engine was usually a job counted beneath the white man's dignity. However, today because of the technical improvements which have made engineering more sanitary, plus better pay for firemen, have made whites desirous of these jobs they formerly scorned. Since World War I brought about improved economic conditions for firemen, the bitter secretive battle to remove Negroes from engines has continued. In fact, D. P. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive, Firemen and Enginemen said that he hoped by 1927 no colored face would remain on the left side of a railroad engine's cab.

Of the 16 unions which bar Negroes in one form or other, 8 of them are railroad brotherhoods.

These unions have fought for years to bar Negroes from the railroads. Yet it was only in 1941 that the fight crystallized into the open and the national spotlight focused upon it. In that year, it was discovered the Brotherhoods had signed a non-promotable agreement with the Interstate Commerce Commission, which specified that only employees eligible for promotion would have an opportunity to operate the diesel. The inference is that since Negroes can't be promoted to engineers, they can't be transferred to diesel engines. Th agreement further stated that upon the death of a Negro fireman, a white man must fill his place and that Negroes shall not be given new jobs or new runs. As a result of this policy, the number of Negro firemen has decreased 50 per cent to a mere 3,000.

Organizer Meets Negro Locomotive Firemen

B. F. McLaurin immediately after a meeting with Colored Locomotive Firemen of the Augusta, Ga., division of the Provisional Committee to Organize Negro Firemen.

Mr. McLaurin who is in charge of the organization of the firemen, gathered the necessary facts to substantiate and indict the biased white railroad brotherhoods.

Hundreds of firemen from all sections of the country will be in Washington, D. C., September 12 at the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church where a mass meeting will be held to inform the public concerning the FEPC hearings which will be held September 15 to 18th.

LEA[illegible] WANT MITCHELL TO BE REPLACED

Trades and Labor Congress Demands New Setup of Department at Ottawa

(By Gazette Staff Reporter.)

Quebec, August 31.—Members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, during its 59th annual convention at Chateau Frontenac demanded today unceremoniously the "replacement of the present Minister of Labor" and requested that "the Department of Labor should be solely directed by the Minister of Labor without interference from other cabinet ministers and officials." During discussions of this and 34 other resolutions charges were made that "the present government is anti-union and anti-labor" and that "the head of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board is the No. 1 Nazi in this country."

The demand for Hon. Humphrey Mitchells' resignation was part of a resolution, discussion of which in the various committees caused some bitter remarks against the Dominion Government and the Department of Labor. The complete text of the final resolution accepted today after five preliminary drafts had been rejected because the members found their language "too weak" reads as follows:

"Whereas it is desirable in the interests of harmonious industrial relations and the war effort that the working people should respect the competency, truthfulness, balanced judgment and fairness of the federal Minister of Labor, and whereas it is the opinion of organized labor that the Department of Labor should be solely directed by the Minister of Labor without the interference from other cabinet ministers and officials; therefore be it resolved that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada immediately requests from Prime Minister King and the Dominion Government the immediate divesting of full control and [illegible] to Labor legislation and [illegible] the Minister of Labor and furthermore, specifically request in the name of organized labor no interference from other cabinet ministers. Furthermore, the Trades and Labor Congress registers its strongest protest at the lack of cooperation displayed by the Department of Labor under the present administration and requests the replacement of the present head of the Department of Labor."

The usual "aye, aye" from the members and "carried" from the chairman of the meeting, acting president Percy Bengough, were practically the only words which accompanied the resolution this morning. Shortly before it was passed, another resolution calling for the "full representation of Labor on all government boards and commissions," was also accepted.

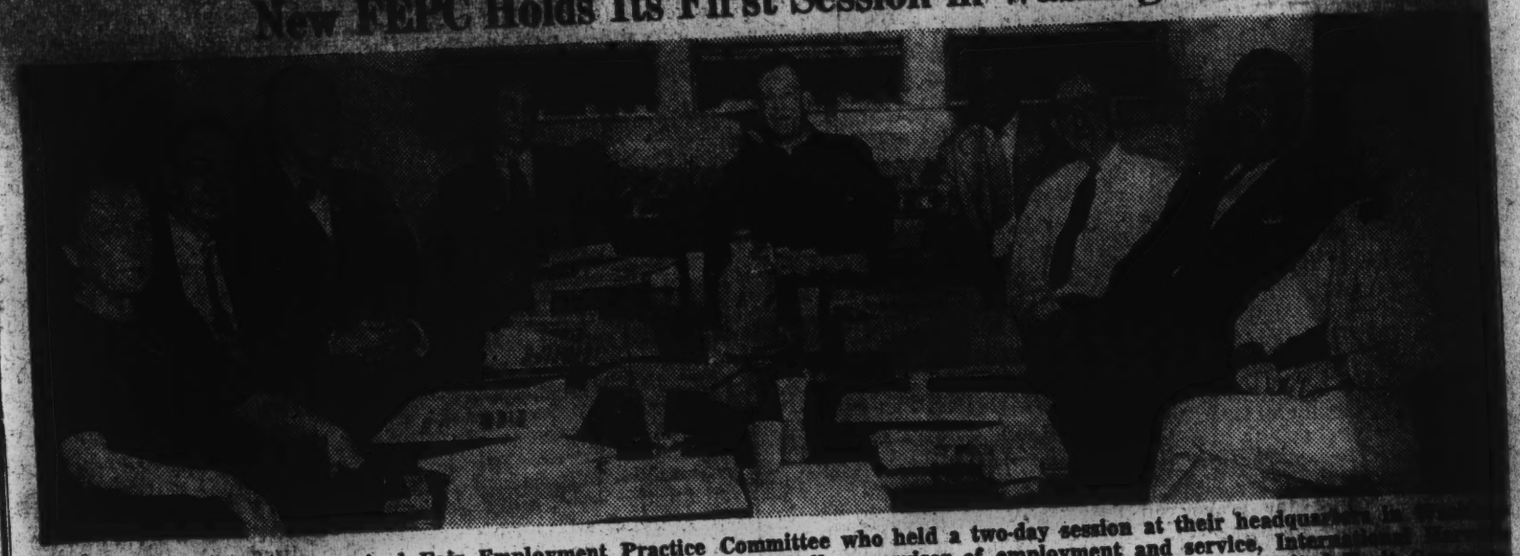
ASKS ACTION

J. W. Buckley, Toronto, in demanding from the congress a policy of action instead of "endless waiting for something which will never happen," advocated political representation of labor in all matters concerning the "working man of Canada." He stressed that "only political action on the part of labor, and a fair representation on all boards and commissions will ensure us of the benefits and consideration we deserve."

During the discussion on "full representation of labor on all boards," John L. Bruce, blamed the Minister of Labor "of lack of fortitude" for not attending the convention. He declared that the Minister of Labor "has condoned illegal strikes" and implied that he thereby committed sabotage against Canada's war effort. In protest against such action by the Minister, he recommended the withdrawal of all labor members now serving on various boards. Mr. Bruce also told the congress that

(Continued on Page [illegible])

New FEPC Holds Its First Session in Washington



Members of the recently organized Fair Employment Practice Committee who held a two-day session at their headqua[illegible] ton last week. Seated around the conference table are: Miss Sara Southall, supervisor of employment and service, Inter[illegible] er Company, Chicago; P. B. Young, Sr., publisher, Norfolk, Va. Journal and Guide; Samuel Zemurray, president, Unite[illegible] New Orleans; Rt. Rev. Monsignor Francis J. Haas, chairman; George Johnson, chief investigator; John Brophy of the Congr[illegible] Organizations; Milton P. Webster, international vice president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Chicago; and Boris Shi[illegible] Federation of Labor, Washington.

(Story on Page [illegible])

Railroad Hearing Serves As Test

The public hearings of the FEPC on discrimination against Negroes and Mexicans by 23 railroad companies and 14 railroad workers unions which began in Washington, September 15th and scheduled to last until Saturday, September 18th, will certainly mark the beginning of a battle against jim-crowism in war industry. The outcome of these hearings will serve as an acid test of whether the Roosevelt administration intends to carry through and enforce and public of no-discrimination in war industry.

In this hearing the "chips" are down. Either collusive agreements between the railroads a[illegible] the [illegible] and jim-crow p[illegible] tices arising out of these agre[illegible] ments are knocked down by the FEPC and the administration and thousands of Negro workers are given new jobs and upgraded to higher skill and higher pay, or else the hearings will end in finding and decisions —big in words and small in deeds which will certainly cause the FEPC to lose face among the minority groups it is designed to protect and among employers in other war industries watching the outcome of the railroad hearings to determine their future policy on Negro employment.

We hope that this hearing will bring out findings and decisions [illegible] deeds as well as words.

3,000 Fired from U.S. Jobs

NEWARK, N.J.—A Congressional investigation into charges of race bias and discrimination at the Office of Dependency Benefits here is being urged, following the dismissal last week of 3,000 persons, two-thirds of whom are colored.

Among the charges against ODB is that advancement of colored workers has been denied regardless of educational qualifications and seniority, while whites with less qualifications and employed for shorter periods have been advanced.

Although Congress has outlawed the photographic system in Civil Service, ODB has adopted a unique system of making two photos of colored applicants, one to go on an identification button and the other in its files, it is said.

One of the recent qualified persons dismissed was Miss Essie Hendricks, possessor of a B.S. and M.S. degree, who during a recent competitive examination was one of three persons in more than a hundred to make 100 per cent.

Veterans at Ft. Howard Need 1st and 2nd Cooks

Services at the Veterans Administration, Fort Howard, Maryland, are being impaired for lack of help, it was announced this week.

Urgently needed are first and second cooks, who should apply to the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Room 104 Equitable Building, Calvert and Fayette Streets, Baltimore.

C.P.R. Car Porters' Votes To Be Counted Tuesday

Ballots cast by Canadian Pacific Railway sleeping car porters to determine whether or not the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F. of L., will continue as the brotherhood's bargaining agent, will be counted at 11 a.m. Tuesday, Bernard Rose, K.C., industrial disputes inquiry commissioner, announced today.

The counting will be held at Mr. Rose's office, and Unemployment Insurance Commission officers will act as returning officers. The ballots were cast over a period of 30 days in order that porters, who are away from [illegible] could have [illegible] vote. [illegible]

Sleeping Car Porters Back A.F. of L. Union

Sleeping car porters of the Canadian Pacific Railway voted by an "overwhelming majority" in favor of adopting the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F.L., as their bargaining agent, Benny Smith, second vice-president of the brotherhood, announced here today after the official count of ballots in the office of Bernard Rose, K.C., industrial disputes inquiry commissioner.

Mr. Smith said that the vote was close to 100 per cent for the brotherhood.

The votes were counted this morning in the presence of Mr. Rose, Mr. Smith, C. W. Rayfield of the company, Victor L. Coward, secretary treasurer, and A. Lawrence, chairman of the executive committee, of the Montreal division of the Brotherhood. L. T. Rose, [illegible] and J. L. Ransom, of the [illegible] Unemployment Insurance Commission, [illegible] returning officers.

...P Plans Communications, Shipyard Probes-No Decision Yet On Railroads

By HARRY McALPIN
(Staff Writer, ANP)

WASHINGTON — Although no decision has yet been reached on the railroad discrimination case, the Fair Employment Practice committee announced last week that it is "losing no time" in the matter. At the committee meeting last week, the railroad case was the major consideration.

The committee also took up the status of the bargaining election at the Western Electric plant in Baltimore. In this connection, the committee adopted the following resolution as expressing its attitude:

"The discontinuance of common facilities for Negro and white employes of the Western Electric company's Point Breeze plant, and the introduction of separate facilities would be a backward step which could not but lead to discrimination in employment against Negroes."

This is in line with the committee's previously expressed attitude of refusing to approve the segregated ways provision in the agreement on the Mobile shipyard case in June. The Mobile agreement was negotiated before the full committee was named by the President.

Plan Hearings

In addition, FEPC has decided to hold public hearings in the communications industry. Hearings will be held in Pittsburgh, Pa. The date has not been finally set. The complaints cover discriminations against Negroes, particularly women, in hiring as switchboard operators, etc.

For the West Coast hearings against the boilermakers union and the shipyards, involving the question of auxiliary unions for Negroes, are scheduled for Nov. 15, 16 and 17. FEPC announced the selection of two special counsels, one white and one Negro. Atty. Marvin Harrison of Cleveland, Ohio, white; and Atty. George E. C. Hayes of Washington, D. C., have been named.

The FEPC revealed that more than 75 per cent of the complaints filed with the committee during the month of September involved alleged discrimination against Negroes in war employment.

A marked increase in the total number of complaints received during the month may be accounted for by the fact that seven regional FEPC offices have recently been

Adjustment of a number of cases during the month was also announced by FEPC. In one case a large plant in New York State producing essential war material was found to have no Negroes in its employ although qualified workers were available and a labor need existed. Upon filing a charge alleging discrimination, FEPC took up the matter with the plant management and as a result a number of Negroes have been put to work in the plant with a consequent easing of the labor shortage.

In another plant in Region III, it was charged by a complainant that Negroes applying for jobs were turned away with excuses while whites applying at the same time were granted interviews which usually led to their employment. FEPC representatives presented the facts to the plant management with the result that the practice was discontinued. Subsequently, Negroes have been hired by the company on production work.

When the personnel officer of an Eastern refrigeration company with war contracts asked the United States Employment Service (USES) for a clerical worker and stipulated that a Christian be sent, the FEPC was notified. The company management, upon committee intervention,

A [illegible] plant which practice [illegible] refused to employ Negroes [illegible] in upgrade. Negro men [illegible] tion work was adjusted [illegible] the intercession of the FEPC, the company took immediate steps to correct both practices. And in another case, an engineering company with plants in Region III which had apparently sought to discourage employment applications from non-Christians and aliens, agreed to eliminate any such practices and accept qualified workers as needed without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or alienage.

Regional offices of the committee which are now open are in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, D. C., Cleveland, Dallas and San Francisco. Two sub-regional offices, in Detroit and Los Angeles, are also open.

FEPC Set for Rail Hearing in DC Next Week

(Continued from Page 1)

are existent particularly on the Louisiana and Alabama Railway Company.

For five classes of service among firemen on the L. and A., whites get an average of $5.78 per diem, colored get $3.83. For brakemen, five services, whites get $6.44, colored, $4.09.

5-Day Rule

The five-day rule, although not listed on the colored firemen's schedules, has caused many of them on the Illinois Central system to be thrown out of work, and hence is another source of grievance.

This rule provides that when a furloughed fireman desires to retain his seniority rights, he must within five days file his address and telephone number in writing with the officer notifying him of the furlough and furnish the local chairman a copy of the notice.

No Upgrading

On three or four railroads in the north, waiters are objecting because they cannot become stewards. There are constitutional clauses where that colored men may not proceed automatically from the ranks of trainmen on some railroads into the ranks of conductors.

Colored employees are [illegible]

DC Next Week

Six Basic Complaints Against 23 Railroads and 14 Unions

PROMOTION CLAUSE MAIN GRIEVANCE

Wage Differentials, Five-Day Rule Also Cited as Unfair

WASHINGTON, — (ANP) — Charges of discrimination in employment because of race or color lodged against twenty-three railroads and fourteen labor unions, will be examined by the Fair Employment Practice Committee at public hearings to be held here September 15-[illegible].

The hearings will be held at the departmental auditorium, Department of Labor, Twelfth and Constitution Avenue, Northwest.

Promotable Clause

Chief among the practices coming under scrutiny of the committee is that of considering colored railroad workers "non-promotables." This is alleged to have been done through the negotiation of agreements between union and railroad which set certain restrictions on the percentage of colored workers which may be employed in a stipulated category.

At the same time, all wage contracts carry what is known as a "promotable clause." One [illegible] "promotable men," thus eliminating all colored workers.

Wage Differentials

Another of the six basic complaints is wage differentials which

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

FEP Reschedules Railroad Hearing For September 15

WASHINGTON — The New Fair Employment Practice Committee met last week and set the date for the long-delayed railroad hearings, whose cancellation by Paul V. McNutt last January led to dissolution of the old committee.

The hearings will be held in Washington on September 15, 16 and 17.

Dates for hearings in Detroit and on the Capital Transit company case in Washington were not set. Chairman Francis J. Haas indicated that further efforts would be made to settle these cases by negotiation.

In the case of Detroit, part of the original charges against three companies were dismissed, [illegible] grounds for including any of the "big four" companies in Detroit in the hearings. He stated that it is the policy of the committee not to name the companies prior to hearings.

It is the opinion of some observers, however, that unless the hearings include the problems of upgrading and hiring of Negro women in the larger companies like Packard, Ford, Chrysler and General Motors, it would be better not to hold any hearings in Detroit. Such omission, they point out, would not only hasten the dangers of half-way measures in a city already on edge because of such measures, but would also [illegible] sanction of the practices of the [illegible] companies.

In the Capital Transit company case, Chairman Haas declared that the committee felt the need for further information [illegible] further consideration [illegible] meeting. The committee [illegible] to [illegible] every [illegible]

Montgomery Ward Head Hits Smith-Connally Law

Avery Contests WLB Decision For Mail-Order Workers

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6.—The Smith-Connally law, conceived and sponsored by labor's bitterest foes, today was under attack from Sewell Avery, president of Montgomery Ward and Co.—one of labor's severest critics.

In a suit filed in Federal Court here attorneys for Avery's firm, contesting a recent War Labor Board decision, assailed the Smith-Connally Act as "unconstitutional." They also described it as "vague and ambiguous" and challenged its "compulsory arbitration" provision.

The suit grew out of Avery's latest crusade against the WLB. Last month the Board handed down a decision granting a maintenance-of-membership contract and a check-off clause to the United Mail Order Retail Employes Union, CIO, for 800 workers at the New York, Denver and Detroit establishments of Montgomery Ward.

Two-Edged Attack

Rejecting this verdict—as he had spurned earlier Board decisions until President Roosevelt intervened—Avery took the case to court. In attacking the decision the Montgomery Ward attorneys used a two-edged attack:

¶ They condemned the Smith-Connally law under which the WLB derives much of its present power to enforce its decisions.

¶ They contended that the WLB verdict conflicts with the Smith-Connally law because—they argue—maintenance-of-membership provisions are a violation of the Wagner Act; and the Smith-Connally measures specifically forbids any violation of the Wagner Act by the WLB.

Thus, in effect, the Montgomery Ward spokesmen invoked the Smith-Connally statute to push their war against the WLB and simultaneously denounced the law in an effort to avoid compliance with a Board decision.

Second Effort

This is the second time that Avery has gone to court to block enforcement of the Board's findings. Previously U. S. Gypsum and Co.—of which he is also chairman—requested an injunction to prevent carrying out of a similar WLB decision. That case is still pending.

When the WLB issued its opinion in the latest Montgomery Ward case last August, Wayne L. Morse, public member, issued a scathing attack on the company's labor policy and declared that its "take-it-or-leave-it attitude" had been repudiated by most American business firms. Industry members of the Board, however, dissented from the majority opinion on the maintenance-of-membership clause.

[illegible] months ago President [illegible] was compelled to order [illegible] to sign a contract with his employes after the company had conducted a sit-down strike in protest, inserting advertisements in leading newspapers to discredit the Board.

Montgomery Ward's blast against the Smith-Connally law may deprive Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.) of one of his major weapons in future forays against the WLB. It had been anticipated that Avery would be a key witness in subsequent Smith-sponsored exposures.

Negro Heads Air Unit

Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., 30, former commander of the 99th Fighter Squadron now in Italy, has assumed command of the 332d Fighter Squadron at Selfridge, Mich. Both are Negro units and Davis is the first Negro officer ever to command an Air Force combat unit.

THE NEW LEADER — Saturday, October [illegible]

[illegible] by John Chamberlain

A. P. Randolph—Negro Fighter

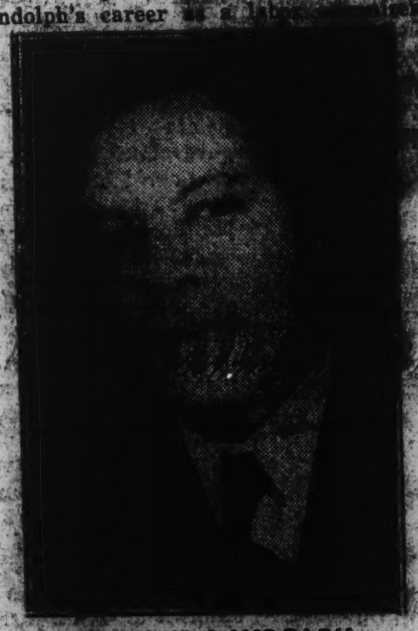
By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

ONE of the most frequently voiced reasons for not accepting Negroes in certain unions is that the Negro is an alleged "natural scab." There may have been a suggestion of truth to this complaint in times long gone by. But the United Automobile Workers Union, to pick a specific instance, is discovering these days that the Negro makes as good a union man as any.

If further proof is needed, there is always the Negroes' own Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the creation of a Negro leader A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph was the organizer of the Negro March on Washington Movement, which first dramatized the Negro's extremely realistic attitude toward a global war that is supposedly being fought against Hitler's philosophy of racism. But long before Pearl Harbor Mr. Randolph's organizing genius had resulted in ponderable social and economic gains for his people.

A. Philip Randolph was born in Florida, the son of a Methodist minister. He came North to look for an education, and he entered City College of New York, but his first real schooling in economic reality came when he was fired by the Old Dull River Line for trying to organize a protest against the living conditions of the steamship company's waiters.

[illegible] Roi Ottley, a first-rate [illegible] "all soul." Be this as it may, Randolph has an eye to quite solid [illegible] for his people, [illegible] when the iron is



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

were getting steady work and good tips, which made them relatively obstinate to the advantages of unionization. In the face of general apathy, Randolph held a meeting and set up an organizing committee. And [illegible] some three thousand New York porters had signed up.

Randolph's career as a labor [illegible] curiously similar to that of the pre-1941 John L. Lewis. In the late Twenties and early Thirties, when the United Mine Workers were publicly adhering to the slogan "No Back-

The same thing happened to [illegible] Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' 1929 strike fizzled and in the early Thirties the union was just a name.

Under NRA, however, Randolph seized the opportunity presented by Section 7A of NIRA. A membership drive soon put the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on its feet again. In 1937 the Brotherhood was certified as the porters' bargaining agent with the Pullman Company.

* * * *

RANDOLPH'S attitude toward the war is conditioned by his years of struggle for the American democracy [illegible] Four Freedoms, to [illegible] principles of racism. But [illegible] Chief [illegible] written, he has a shrewd idea that the Negro never gets anything [illegible] times of great central social [illegible] Randolph wants the Negro to fight, but he wants him to fight it on a fair quo basis. For every ounce of Negro [illegible] put into smashing the Axis, he thinks it fair to expect an equivalent amount of increased democracy on the home front.

A. Philip Randolph is not a rabble-rouser. He is straightforward, a fighter who knows what he means and then goes after his pronounced desires. He has been criticized for his criticism of certain A. F. of L. unions excluding Negroes. He wants the law to enforce the constitutional guarantee against being deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. As his friend Ottley says, "If Randolph has his way, he will continue to hammer on this [illegible]

NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1

RAIL PAY RISE BILL PUT UP TO SENATE

Committee Votes for 8 Cents, Called by Vinson a Blow to 'Little Steel' Formula

By C. P. TRUSSELL

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30—Unanimous approval of a resolution supporting a wage increase of 8 cents an hour for 1,100,000 non-operating railroad workers was voted today by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee. Action was taken despite the protests of Fred M. Vinson, the Stabilization Director. Senators Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, and Lister Hill, Democratic whip, participated in the committee decision.

Senator Harry S. Truman, who is chairman of the special committee investigating the war program and sponsor of the resolution, said he would call it up on the floor "at the first opportunity." It was predicted tonight that the measure had enough strength to assure its passage by Congress.

Fred M. Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization, told the Interstate Commerce subcommittee whose course the full committee followed this afternoon, that enactment of the resolution would mean a breaking of the "Little Steel" formula by Congress itself. The committee held that adoption of the measure would not disturb the wage formula, nor express direct or indirect Congressional disapproval of it.

Only a prompt compromise between Mr. Vinson, who last month denied the flat 8-cent increase, and the representatives of the unions would be likely to prevent the Truman measure from coming to a vote. The railroads unions involved have taken a strike vote, the result of which is expected to be announced Thursday. They have rejected a sliding scale increase of [illegible] hours [illegible] cents an hour, [illegible] made by a [illegible] that emergency board, which Mr. Vinson approved.

Mr. Vinson has resisted recent attempts, made by Senator Barkley and others, to persuade him to modify his position and has been supported by James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization.

Behind the resolution is an agreement made Aug. 7 by the railroads and the non-operating unions for the 8-cent increase. Hearings on the Truman resolution brought out that such a rise would be granted without an increase in railroad rates. The terms of this agreement, however, were not carried out because of questions as to whether it was in contravention of existing requirements of law and, if put into operation, would upset the wage-stabilization program.

The Senate committee reported out a measure which resolved that the agreement of Aug. 7 was in accord with the Railway Labor Act and all other requirements of law, "and shall be held so to be, anything in the law or laws of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1943

NOVEMBER 24, 1943

Anti-Negro Job Bias Is Charged to P. R. R.

By JOHN C. O'BRIEN

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23.—A report of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee charging discrimination against Negroes has been submitted to several railroads, including the Pennsylvania and the Southern Railroads.

The committee's report and orders to the railroads to discontinue the discrimination will be made public in a few days. The findings, however, were submitted to the railroads in advance of publication so they might take steps before orders were issued to revise their position with respect to employment.

UNIONS DENY NOTIFICATION

Representatives of railroad unions said they had not been notified of the committee's findings. Spokesmen for the operating unions said, however, that although on Southern railroads Negroes had been employed as firemen, they had never been employed as trainmen (brakemen or conductors) or as locomotive engineers.

The findings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, it is understood, criticized the railroads for barring Negroes from the higher-paid positions in the operating and non-operating branches of railroad employment. The committee intimated the railroads should take down all bars, so Negroes could qualify as conductors and engineers as well as firemen.

UNION STAND CITED

Railroad spokesmen said they have been precluded from employing Negroes in the higher-paid railroad employe classifications because of hostility of the unions.

The railroads in the South which employ Negro firemen have always denied them rights which would qualify them for the job of engineer because of insistence by the operating unions that the Negroes should be given a special and limited classification.

[illegible] MAN TO SEE FACTS

[illegible] Philadelphia, a spokesman for the Pennsylvania Railroad said one [illegible] cepted an invitation from the chairman of the President's Committee to meet with him in Washington at 4 P. M. Thursday to discuss the charges.

"We do not feel it would be properly respectful to the committee to give out any statement regarding our position until after the interview and the committee's report have been made public," the spokesman said.

P.R.T. UNION TO ASK HEARING ON NEGROES

A public hearing on the recent order of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices that the P. T. C. emplby Negroes as vehicle operators and conductors will be requeste by the P. R. T. Employes Union, it was announced last night.

"After meetings with two of its groups of delegates—transportation and general office—the executive board of the P. R. T. Employes Union proposes to request a hearing before the President's Committee," said a statement issued by Frank P. Carney, president of the union.

"This request is, in compliance with the Committee's directive of Nov. 17, which ordered the union to act in a manner which the union considers contrary to the [illegible] which it now has with the [illegible]

The request for a hearing [illegible] possible the date on which [illegible] receive was to have been [illegible] Nov. 27, indefinitely [illegible] statement [illegible] right of [illegible] office [illegible]

Moves to Examine Membership Lists

Resolution Foreshadows Debate on Convention Floor Next Week

By Arnold Beichman
Staff Correspondent

[illegible] 6.—Daniel J. To[illegible] of the International [illegible] of Teamsters, has [illegible] a resolution into the [illegible] American Federation [illegible] convention which fore[illegible] heavy debate when it [illegible] for consideration next [illegible]

[illegible] is an amendment to [illegible] constitution which, if [illegible] would empower the Fed[illegible] president or secretary-[illegible] to examine books of af[illegible] "whenever in the [illegible] of the executive council [illegible] necessary." Its purpose, as [illegible] determine whether or [illegible] is paying sufficient dues [illegible] body on the basis of [illegible] membership.

[illegible] as it may seem, it is [illegible] "wheels within wheels" [illegible] involving William Hut[illegible] Carpenters' Union, John [illegible] whose application to re[illegible] AFL is still pending, and [illegible] unions which may some [illegible] to the AFL.

Present System

[illegible] present time, the AFL has [illegible] of determining what [illegible] membership of an affiliated [illegible] is, other than by [illegible] statement of a union [illegible]

tion. For years, Tobin's Teamsters' have far exceeded any other AFL affiliate in enrollment and today it boasts 602,900 teamsters.

Another increase questioned by Tobin adherents is in the Hodcarriers and Common Laborers which went up from 288,700 to 420,300, a sizeable increase. Sources close to Tobin belittle both these reported memberships. Instead, they ask whether the sudden membership spurts do not represent an attempt to strengthen pro-Lewis forces at the convention, spearheaded by Hutcheson, so as to increase any vote which may be taken at the AFL conclave on UMW's re-affiliation application.

FDR Message

Overshadowing what may appear to be technicalities is the reluctance by several AFL union leaders to permit any "outsiders"—including the Executive Council—to peer into the book of their organizations.

President Roosevelt's message to the convention, now in the third day of its 10-day meeting, promised the 600 delegates that "we anticipate a good deal of success in the roll-back of prices which will stabilize and reduce the cost of living in essentials."

TUESDAY, OCT. 19, 1943.

Chicago Daily Tribune

[illegible] RAILROADS ON NEGRO JOB BAN

Committee on Fair Employment Practice Directs Lines and Unions to End Curbs

30 DAYS FOR COMPLIANCE

Ruling Stresses Southeastern Agreement and Charts Drop in Jobs for the Race

By LOUIS STARK

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30—The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has notified [illegible] railroads and seven unions that in thirty days they must cease all discriminatory practices which result in unfair treatment of workers and job applicants because of race, creed, color or national origin.

If the roads and unions refuse to comply, the cases will be turned over to President Roosevelt for enforcement of the committee's orders.

William H. Ross, chairman of the committee, made public today the committee's conclusions, based on testimony which showed a sharp decline in the number of Negroes employed in all but the lowest categories during the last twenty years.

Of the twenty railroads cited, ten were directed to set aside the Southeastern Agreement between them and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. This agreement, effective on Feb. 25, 1941, according to Mr. Ross, is a violation of Executive Order No. 8248 because it was designed to cut down the employment of Negroes as firemen and to increase the hiring of white persons in these positions.

The agreement sought to accomplish this purpose, said Mr. Ross, through setting definite percentages for white and Negro firemen; through limiting firemen's jobs to "promotable" men and then by excluding all Negro workers from promotion.

Railroads in the Agreement

Roads involved in the Southeastern agreement are the Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company, Atlanta Joint Terminals, Central of Georgia Railway Company, Georgia Railroad, Jacksonville Terminal Company, Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, Norfolk Southern Railroad Company, St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company, Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company and the Southern Railway Company.

The other railroads involved in [illegible] discriminatory practices [illegible] the Southeastern agreement are the Baltimore & Ohio, Baltimore & Ohio Chicago Terminal, Chesapeake & Ohio, Chicago & Northwestern; Gulf, Mobile & Ohio, Illinois Central, Louisiana-Arkansas, Missouri-Kansas-Texas, Texas & Pacific and Union Pacific.

Charges filed against the Virginian Railroad were settled prior to the hearings and were withdrawn.

Final action in cases involving the Pennsylvania Railroad and New York Central have been held in abeyance pending discussions looking toward adjustment of the complaints.

Union Named by Committee

Unions cited by the committee in its findings included The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Order of Railway Conductors; Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers of America.

None of these unions appeared at the hearings held in Washington from Sept. 15 to 18, and made no official reply to the complaints lodged against them.

In citing as "unfair" the policies of these unions, the committee declared that the labor organizations were maintaining a policy which "discriminates against Negroes, because of race, in regard to membership, thus rendering it impossible (for said Negro workers) to have any adequate voice or representation with respect to grievances and the negotiation of agreements affecting working conditions, employment policy, practices and opportunities."

In each such instance, the union was notified that it must "cease and desist" from "discriminatory practices affecting the employment of Negroes."

During the hearings, the Union Pacific Railroad, accused of discrimination against Mexicans, persons of Mexican descent, and Negroes, because of race and national origin, announced its willingness to conform to the principles of the executive orders and declared that immediate steps were being taken to investigate the specific accusations against the company. The committee has taken cognizance of this announcement and has revealed that several of the individual cases have been reported adjusted.

Testimony before the committee was that on certain roads, firing forces, which, before the last war, were 80 to 90 per cent Negro, had been reduced, by 1929, to 50 per cent or less. These reductions were accomplished, the committee declared, by continuing alteration of contracts between the unions and the roads, with each new change reducing further both the percentage of Negro workers and the [illegible] service and the territory in which Negroes could be employed.

NEGRO ASSAILS HARLEM SCHOOL BACKED BY REDS

People's Institute Called Propaganda Weapon.

New York, Nov. 16 [Special].—A new "people's institute," named the George Washington Carver school, has been organized in Harlem with strong Communist backing in what was termed a propaganda bid for interest among Negroes.

One of its directors and chief backers is Benjamin J. Davis Jr., who was elected to the city council in the recent election on the Communist party ticket.

Frank Crosswaith, Negro member of the New York City housing authority, today attacked the project as an attempt to utilize the name of the eminent Negro scientist "in order to exploit the Negro and try again to hitch him to the tail of the Communists' kite."

Hailed by Red Paper.

Crosswaith, who is also chairman of the Negro labor committee and general organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers union, called the institute "a Harlem branch of the school for democracy." The latter was started by teachers dismissed by the city school system because of their Communist activities.

The opening of the institute was hailed recently by the Daily Worker, Communist party organ, as a major event in Harlem. Its head is Dr. Max Yergan, one of the country's foremost Negro leaders of Communist causes and president of the National Negro congress, which the department of justice has declared to be a Communist front.

Includes Non-Communists.

The new school's board of directors includes some prominent non-Communists, such as Dean E. George Payne of the N. Y. U. school of education; Leonard Covello, principal of Benjamin Franklin High school; Domestic Relations Justice Hubert T. Delaney, and Alice Keliher, associate professor of education at N. Y. U. and child service director of the CDVO.

It also includes such Communist party members or backers as Paul Robeson, Canada Lee, and Ferdinand C. Smith, secretary of the National Maritime union.

NEGRO EXCLUSION FROM TRADE UNIONS.

The resolutions committee at the American Federation of Labor convention has recommended that the various unions continue their efforts to eliminate discriminations against Negroes. With this as his text, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, spokesman for the sleeping car porters, took the platform to criticize some twenty unions that he said refused membership to Negro workmen. He laid particular emphasis upon the racial policies of the boilermakers, machinists, blacksmiths, and railway clerks. Representatives of a number of these organizations were present to offer replies when the meeting was adjourned.

Perhaps the federation will find a solution to this problem but there is ample ground for skepticism. The abuses complained of are old ones and progress toward correcting them has been slow. We believe that unions which exclude Negroes are as benighted as employers who refuse to hire them, but the prejudices that inspire conduct of this sort are deep seated and cannot easily be eliminated. Many workmen feel that in a free country they have the right to admit or exclude from their unions anybody for any reason. These opinions may not be defensible morally or legally, but they exist and must be reckoned with.

Perhaps the remedy lies in appropriate amendments of the Wagner act, the anti-trust acts, and of state labor laws. They might well forbid closed shop agreements with unions which refuse membership to Negroes, because such contracts automatically deprive Negro citizens of an opportunity to earn a living at certain trades. Further than that, the Wagner act might contain a provision refusing recognition as a bargaining agency to a union which excludes Negroes. Corresponding provisions might be written into the laws giving trade unions certain exemptions from anti-trust prosecution. As matters stand, federal law can be said to sanction discrimination, and in so far as it does so the Negroes have every justification for complaint.

There is scarcely a human being alive who does not harbor a prejudice of some sort. Practically speaking, it is impossible to eliminate prejudice by law, but it should be possible to keep the law from itself becoming an engine of prejudice. Unions which are guilty of discrimination against Negroes, in violation of the spirit and perhaps also the letter of the Constitution, should be denied the special privileges which unions enjoy under the statutes.

THE CHICAGO SUN

SUNDAY, DEC. 26, 1943.

Democracy in Unions

The New York extortion trial, revealing how the International Alliance of Stagehands was perverted into a gigantic racket, underscores the importance of a recent pamphlet issued by the American Civil Liberties Union recommending the enactment of laws to guarantee democracy in trade unions. Enlightened labor leaders could perform no greater service than to take the initiative in supporting these proposals.

One suggestion is passage of state and federal laws giving to any union member the right of appeal to the courts against unfair "discipline," expulsion or other oppressive practices. The potential value of such laws is shown by the fact that racketeer control of the disciplinary machinery was a major factor in corruption of the International Alliance. Decent members who challenged the intruding crooks could be—and were—suspended, expelled and robbed of their livelihood.

A second statute suggested by the Civil Liberties Union is a law forbidding discrimination in union membership on grounds of race, sex or religion. This could be enforced by the federal government by amending the Wagner Act to provide that unions practicing discrimination should be denied work on government contracts or recognition as a legitimate union before government agencies.

Labor has historically opposed government interference with its internal affairs, but proposals such as these cannot justly be attacked as an improper exercise of government power. They are moderate proposals, the adoption of which would be in the best interests of decent working people.

Unions today are not purely private associations. When 10,000,000 citizens are union members, the structure of collective bargaining intimately touches the public interest. It is as reasonable to prohibit antidemocratic practices in unions as to prohibit corporations from using their wealth to corrupt elections.

Labor has paid a high price because it did not protect the International Alliance from Willie Bioff and his fellow racketeers. So long as it gives no adequate protection against racketeers in a few other unions, and allows gross racial discrimination in still others, it is open to criticism—not just the hackneyed snarlings of the Peglers, but the legitimate criticism of citizens who recognize the social value of strong and independent unions. It would be a good day for labor if William Green and Phillip Murray should appear before Congress to give their endorsement to the proposals of the Civil Liberties Union.

PM'S DAILY
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1943

On Jim Crowism

Sidesteps Resolution Calling for Abolition of Auxiliary Unions

By Arnold Beichman
Staff Correspondent

BOSTON, Oct. 13.—The big guns of the American Federation of Labor, headed by William Green, in a two-hour debate at the 63d annual convention, yesterday blasted critics of its admitted anti-Negro discrimination policy.

It followed a 45-minute address on Monday by A. Philip Randolph, Negro president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who called for abolition of the color bar and Jim Crow auxiliary unions within the AFL.

Randolph's speech evoked a bitter, angry outburst from the AFL executives, each one of whom made it clear that there would be no retreat from the previously held position that AFL unions are autonomous and nobody can order them to do anything.

Randolph Attacked

Chief target of the debate was Randolph who despite a week of unrelenting pressure from the AFL's "diplomatic corps" to reach "an understanding" on the issue, battled, unsuccessfully, a Resolutions Committee report which ignored Jim Crow auxiliary locals and existing color restrictions within the AFL.

Randolph was personally castigated as "an agitator" and "a professional Negro" by AFL speakers. His speech was characterized by John P. Frey, president of the AFL Metal Trades Council as "a moral crime" and "the most unfortunate, most dangerous statement ever made in a convention."

The gang-up on Randolph was foreshadowed Monday night when a top AFL official grimly said to me:

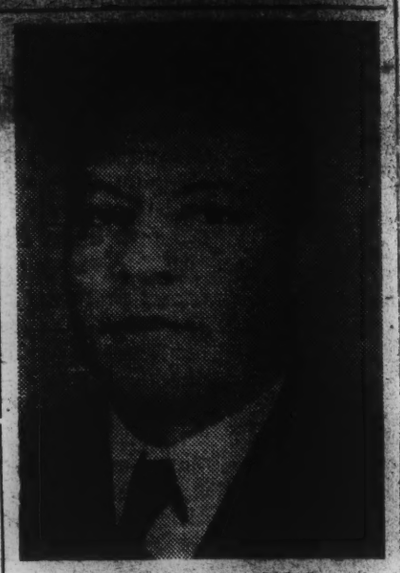
"Well, Randolph asked for it and he's going to get it."

Randolph did get it and when the debate subsided and the official resolution was passed unanimously, it was noted that not a single white delegate had risen from the floor in support of Randolph.

Others Singled Out

However, Randolph was not the only one to be singled out for attack. Green, speaking for his "official and personal point of view," lashed out at the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, Paul Robeson, and "colored preachers" who, he had charged, had discouraged Negroes from joining AFL unions.

"In every unit where we seek to organize," Green shouted indignantly, "prominent Negro representatives of prominent Negro organizations in the United States appear on the scene and appeal to Negro workers to boycott the AFL and to unite with a dual, rival union."



A. Philip Randolph

This was a reference to the CIO. He continued:

"If I had my way regarding auxiliary unions, we'd have it the other way. But I don't have my way in a lot of things. But that's a small percentage of our organization. I'm not defending this action on their part.

Strike-Breakers

The ancient charge that Negroes have acted as strikebreakers was raked up by Frey, who declared:

"I do understand prejudices in some shipyards along the Pacific Coast."

He referred to a shipyard strike after World War I in Portland, Ore., which he said was broken by the importation of Negro strikebreakers.

In his rebuttal, Randolph hammered away at the auxiliary locals and challenged his opponents to defend them.

"Is anybody here taking the position," asked Randolph, "that racial auxiliary unions are justified? No one will contend that Jewish or Catholic unions should be organized. A racial auxiliary union is either right or wrong. If it is right, it ought to be justified. If not, it ought to be condemned and exterminated.

"If you were in the Negro's place and were put into auxiliary unions without rights and had to pay dues and you were not permitted to exercise your skill and you were not permitted to rise, what would you do?

"We contend that the AFL itself is not secure so long as the Negro is denied the same rights as white workers. Nothing has been said here to cause me to retreat from the position I've taken."

The AFL resolution which sidestepped the major Negro problems:

¶ Calls for education against race prejudice in the trade union movement.

¶ Endorses the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

¶ Cites appointment of a subcommittee to study minority questions.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1943

Southern Railroads Defy F. D. R., Won't Give Better Jobs to Negroes

Washington, Dec. 13 (AP)—Southern railways today told the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, in effect, that the agency is wasting official breath ordering the railways to cease discriminating against Negro employees.

The 16 carriers declared they would not obey the FEPC directive of Nov. 24 forbidding racial and religious discrimination. The FEPC, the railroads said in a letter, "is wholly without constitutional and legal jurisdiction and power to issue the directive and for this reason the said directives are without legal effect."

The action of the railroads openly challenges executive order No. 9,346 issued by President Roosevelt, which forbids any contrator doing business with the Federal government to discriminate against employees or job applicants for racial or religious reasons.

The railroads charged that the FEPC was "utterly unrealistic" in attempting to solve delicate problems of inter-racial relations in the Southern states "by fiat."

"It is wholly impracticable, and indeed impossible, for these railroads to put into effect your committee's directives ... issued against them," the letter declares.

"Any attempt, for instance, to promote Negroes to locomotive engineers or train conductors would inevitably disrupt their present peaceful and co-operative relations with their employees, would antagonize the traveling and shipping public served by them, would substitute conditions of chaos for the present conditions of harmony, would result in stoppages of transportation, and would most gravely and irreparably impair the whole war effort of the country. These railroads cannot assume the responsibility of precipitating such disastrous results."

The railroads asserted that railway labor relations are exclusively controlled by the Railway Labor Act, and changes in contractual relations between the carriers and railway labor unions can only be accomplished under the act.

—

Action Up to President

It is expected that the FEPC will turn the case over to the President for enforcement of the committee's orders. The committee itself has no police powers, but the President can take away war contracts of companies which refuse to obey orders to cease discrimination.

Malcolm Ross, FEPC chairman, said he would make a statement

Hats Off!

A. Philip Randolph

PM takes its hat off to A. Philip Randolph for his courage in stepping up before the lily-whites of the AFL every year to fight for the rights of the oppressed, Jim-Crowed minority. He does it, knowing that his only response will be personal vituperation and abuse from the enemies of the Negro. But his tenacity and his willingness to undergo personal humiliation to advance the cause he fights for serve as an inspiration for those who believe that all Americans are equal. This paper has expressed its reservations about [illegible] Randolph's ideas, but our reservations on his sincerity or the justice of his cause, on the contrary, for straight talk on the Negro question.

A. F. L. BAN ON REDS BACKED BY GREEN

Sept 16,

Before Pullman Porters He Denounces 'Foolish Men' Who Favor Russian Way

SEES RACE BIAS WANED

Newbold Morris Endorses Fight on Communists, but Pleads for Free Speech

The movement to exclude Communists from membership in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was endorsed yesterday by William Green, president of the federation.

Addressing the opening session of the fifteenth anniversary convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Harlem, Mr. Green denounced Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler as enemies of democracy and free trade unionism.

"There are no bona fide unions in Russia, Italy or Germany," the A. F. of L.; deplored racial prejudice and intolerance and accused men, even in the trade unions, who preach the destruction of our democracy and the bringing to America of a government similar to that of Russia. That is why so many unions are taking the position that Communists cannot be members of the American Federation of Labor."

Porters' Resolution Bars Reds

A resolution to prohibit Communists from holding office in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been adopted by the union's international executive board and will be acted upon by the convention delegates today or tomorrow.

The resolution was praised at the opening session by Newbold Morris, President of the City Council, who said subversive elements should be "abolished" from the labor movement but should not be deprived of the right of free expression.

In his address at the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, 129th Street and Seventh Avenue, Mr. Green hailed the record of the brotherhood, the first Negro union in the A. F. of L.; deplored racial prejudice and intolerance and accused John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of responsibility for the continued split in the ranks of American labor.

"We have been waiting like a bride at the church door for the leader of the rebel group to resume conferences with our committee," the A. F. of L. chief declared. "We have told President Roosevelt that we are ready to meet any place, any time, in an effort to achieve peace, but the head of the C. I. O. says no. It seems the only word he knows is no."

Mr. Green assured the 3,500 delegates and visitors at the opening session that there was no institution in the United States that was "doing more to break down race prejudice and race hate than the American Federation of Labor."

On the legislative front, the A. F. of L. is endeavoring to protect the rights of Negroes, Mr. Green declared, by fighting for passage of laws outlawing poll taxes in the South and making lynching a Federal offense.

Morris Urges Fair Play

Mr. Morris predicted that "Jim Crowism" would disappear from American life within a generation. While denouncing Communists and other "preachers of subversive doctrines," he stressed the importance of protecting the civil liberties of these and all other groups.

Milton P. Webster of Chicago, first vice president of the Pullman porters, told of the union's growth from an infant organization of six members in 1925 to 7,200 today. He said it would attempt to provide organization for 100,000 Negro workers on the railroads, including switchmen, firemen and all other classes of employes.

Mr. Webster agreed with Mr. Green that the question of amicable race relations was being more successfully worked out in the A. F. of L. than in other American institutions.

Other speakers included A. Philip Randolph, president of the brotherhood, and Ashley L. Totten, its secretary-treasurer, who presided. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia are scheduled to speak at a convention dinner this evening at Mecca Temple, 135 West Fifty-

COMMUNISM HELD PERIL TO NEGROES

Times Sept 17

Pullman Porters Are Warned It Offers No Solution for Their Race's Problems

LEADER PRAISES NEW DEAL

Hails Its Social and Labor Gains—Calls for Union of A. F. L. and C. I. O.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L., the only Negro international union in the United States, was warned at the first business session of its fifteenth anniversary convention in Harlem yesterday that communism was no solution for the problems of the Negro. Among many resolutions drafted for consideration by the convention was one proposing to bar Communists from holding office or committee membership in the brotherhood.

A warning against the false promises of Communists was first sounded by A. Philip Randolph, president of the brotherhood, who resigned last April as president of the National Negro Congress on the ground that it was controlled by Communists. Addressing the brotherhood at the Harlem branch of the Y. M. C. A., 180 West 135th Street, Mr. Randolph praised the social and labor gains made under the New Deal.

Asks Stand for Democracy

"With the march of dictatorships, we must reaffirm our faith and devotion to the cause of democracy and liberty," he declared. "To that end, we reject the Communist program as a solution of the problems of the Negro, because it is the negation of democracy.

"We condemn all Communist front and transmission belt organizations as a peril to the constructive and sound program of the Negro people, since they seek only to serve the cause of the Communist party, which is only concerned about the success of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia.

"We hail the social and labor gains of the workers and people under the New Deal. We demand that they be preserved and not sacrificed under the pretext of national defense.

"We stand solid for adequate and complete national defense. We call for labor unity by C. I. O. unions returning to the home of labor—the A. F. of L.—and the preservation of the achievements of industrial organization made by the C. I. O.

"We call for the abolition of the poll tax and white primaries and the passing of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

"We are opposed to America entering the war, but we advocate all aid to Great Britain."

Speech Reflects Resolutions

The Presidential or keynote speech was in large measure a summary of the resolutions that are scheduled for submission to the convention.

One proposed resolution, while advocating adequate national defense, voices opposition to conscription and demands "that organized labor and the Negro be given adequate and fair representation on the draft boards." Still another resolution "warns the Negroes against the evil propaganda of Nazis in the Negro communities against the Jewish people."

Resolution No. 36 would support the proposed revision of the agreement to be submitted to the management of the Pullman Company reducing from 240 to 210 the number of hours worked monthly.

The convention will continue at 11 o'clock this morning, when Governor Lehman is scheduled to address the delegates.

Green Attacks Lewis Before Train Porters

A.F.L. Leader Tells Harlem Convention C. I. O. Head Furthers Labor Schism

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, denounced John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, yesterday as being responsible for the "division which exists within the ranks of labor."

Taking his rival to task before 3,500 persons attending the preliminary session of the fifteenth anniversary convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Mr. Green also assured his audience: "So long as I can express myself, I shall fight against racial intolerance and hatred in America." The assurance came after Milton P. Webster, first international vice-president of the union, charged that the A. F. of L. was not excluded from organizations harboring racial prejudices.

Mr. Green told his listeners, assembled in the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, 129th Street and Seventh Avenue, that "we have appealed and appealed and appealed" to the C. I. O. to meet with the A. F. of L. to seek a reconciliation.

The leader of the "rebel force," however, knows only one word, Mr. Green charged: "The only word he knows is 'No.' Why don't they tell the people who is to blame? We can't get together while the leader of the C. I. O. says 'No.'"

Mr. Green declared that "the whole philosophy of the American Federation of Labor is that we must unite." He charged that C. I. O. leaders who withdrew from the A. F. of L. to form their own labor organization had not recognized the democratic majority of the Federation.

The president of the A. F. of L. broached the subject of the feud with the C. I. O. by declaring that "the need for unity was never more apparent in the history of this country. . . . We must put that above and beyond every other consideration. . . . We will be invincible once we have established the solidarity of labor."

Loud applause greeted Mr. Green's condemnation of racial discrimination. Presided over by Ashley L. Totten, international secretary-treasurer of the union, the meeting included 100 delegates to the convention from the United States, Canada and Mexico and fifty women delegates to the convention of the International Ladies' Auxiliary of the brotherhood, which will be held simultaneously.

A colorful parade in Harlem preceded the meeting. Witnessed by thousands lining the route, about 2,000 members of ten Negro youth, labor and war veterans' organizations marched with half a dozen bands. Their uniforms ranged from those of the sleeping car porters themselves to purple and golden garbs.

Mr. Green told the meeting: "I bring in an official capacity the assurance of the complete service of the working men and women of the American Federation of Labor. Your union occupies the same relationship in the A. F. of L. as the 105 other affiliates." Recounting his share in the organization of the brotherhood, he said: "It was not a matter of creed, race or nationality. It was a question of men." A leading Negro trade union, the brotherhood received its charter in 1928, and has a membership of 7,200. The auxiliary comprises 1,600 members.

The A. F. of L. leader laid the cause of the European war to racial hatred and said that similar prejudices still existed here. "But I think it is becoming less and less," he added, asserting that his organization was leading the way.

Mr. Green reported that the A. F. of L. now had 5,000,000 members, the largest number in its history. Stressing the important part it played in national life, he said that the organization was working for the repeal of the "notorious and indefensible poll-tax plan now in effect in eight states of the Union" and of the "inhuman and unsocial policy of lynching in the South." Charging that Senate filibustering had blocked passage of such repeals, he challenged that body to put them to the vote.

At the same time, he recorded the A. F. of L.'s readiness to co-operate

with the government in its defense program and while opposing "the participation of our nation in a European conflict upon the battlefields of Europe," urged the dispatch to Great Britain of all military aid short of war.

Repeated illustrations of racial discrimination were given by Mr. Webster in his speech. "Whenever we have an institution with a predominance of white people there is prejudice in it," he charged.

After describing the rise of the brotherhood, he announced that the union was setting out to organize 100,000 Negro railroad workers. Only dining car and Pullman groups were organized, he said, urging "that we work to bring about a better relationship between white peoples and black peoples in this country's labor movement."

The convention begins its business today in the Little Theater of the 135th Street Y. M. C. A. and continues to next Friday. Mayor F. H. LaGuardia and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt are expected to attend the convention dinner tonight at the Mecca Temple, 135 West Fifty-fifth Street.

A. F. L. TO COOPERATE IN DRAFT, SAYS GREEN

Opposition to the Bill Ended—'Times Call for Giving'

Passage of the Burke-Wadsworth bill ends the American Federation of Labor's drive against compulsory military service, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., declared here yesterday. He pledged the full cooperation of the federation's 5,000,000 members in carrying out the provisions of the Draft Bill.

While the measure was under consideration in Congress, the federation took the view that selective service should not be instituted unless the voluntary system of enlistment proved inadequate to meet the nation's defense requirements.

Interviewed as he prepared to leave for Washington after addressing the fifteenth anniversary convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Harlem, Mr. Green summed up the present attitude of his organization in these words:

"The bill is not as we would like to have seen it, but Congress has decided that it is to be the law of the land, and the American Federation of Labor will, of course, cooperate in carrying out that decision. These are times that call for giving, and we will give."

In his address before the Pullman porters at the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, 129th Street and Seventh Avenue, Mr. Green declared that A. F. of L. members would give "service of the highest order" in war industries and that the only thing the federation sought in return was maintenance of labor's social and economic gains.

He reaffirmed the organization's support of President Roosevelt's defense program, backed the exchange of fifty United States destroyers for British naval and air bases in this hemisphere and urged all aid short of war for Great Britain.

Green Asks Negro Porters To 'Sacrifice'

Wash Sept 16

Vague on Jim Crow in Ranks of AFL; Makes War-Mongering Plea

William Green, AFL president and principal guest speaker before the opening session of the Fifteenth Anniversary Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters here yesterday performed a masterpiece of evasion in a lengthy speech that completely ducked an issue raised by a previous speaker—the need for organization of unorganized Negro workers.

Over a thousand Negroes, more than a hundred of them delegates crowded every available seat in the Salem M.E. Church at 129th St. and Seventh Ave. as the anniversary convention opened under the chairmanship of Ashley L. Totten, international secretary-treasurer of the brotherhood, an organization of more than 7,000 members.

Green's speech was one of the most rabid warmongering effusions ever delivered by a so-called labor leader before a gathering of workers. The AFL president did everything but declare war, and when touching upon President Roosevelt's recent dictatorial action of giving the British government 50 destroyers without securing sanction of either the American people or its Congress, he said he "heartily approved" of the transaction.

He went on to plead, in Churchillian style, for American labor to "give all its brains, all its brawn and muscle, and all its services" to the pro-war government's armaments program.

Green polished off his speech by indulging in a fuming attack upon the Soviet trade unions, and the Soviet government's peace policy which was none too enthusiastically received by the delegates and audience.

It was M. P. Webster, international first vice-president of the brotherhood, preceding Green on the rostrum, who posed a series of sharp issues which Green, in his subsequent speech carefully skirted. Webster tackled the burning question of the widespread race discrimination which the Negroes of this nation suffer under, and said that the prejudice extends into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. He said, despite criticism of many Negro leaders of the Brotherhood's affiliation with the AFL, that it is the duty of the brotherhood to remain in the AFL "and in the labor movement and fight prejudice where it is."

"You can't fight it from the outside," he declared emphatically.

Webster assailed the press for its constant distortion of the Negro people, and singled out the reactionary Saturday Evening Post for publishing stories "which attempt to ridicule the Pullman porter," stories, which he said "are written in a dialect one can hardly understand."

The Negro union leader said that despite the splendid record of organization made by the brotherhood, that out of the 100,000 Negro workers in the railroad industry, the vast majority remain unorganized and neglected by most of the union officials.

[Full details of the convention proceedings will be continued in the

PARADE WILL OPEN PORTERS' CONCLAVE

Fifteenth Convention of A. F. L. Brotherhood to Start in Harlem Next Sunday

MRS. ROOSEVELT TO SPEAK

Also to Address Negro Union Are Mayor, Governor, Green, Mead and Miss Perkins

The fifteenth anniversary convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, will begin here next Sunday afternoon with a parade through the streets of Harlem and a mass meeting at which Mayor La Guardia, Senator James M. Mead and William Green, president of the A. F. of L., will speak.

Others who will address the convention of this pioneer Negro labor union before it adjourns Sept. 20 will include Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Governor Lehman, Otto S. Beyer, chairman of the National Mediation Board, and Murray W. Latimer, chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board. A. Philip Ranlolph, president of the brotherhood since it was organized Aug. 25, 1925, will preside at the sessions.

Negotiations for revision of the collective agreement between the union and the Pullman Company are to begin Sept. 23, and the convention will give much of its attention to the program to be presented at these conferences. Mr. Randolph said the organization's base objective would be a reduction in monthly working hours from 240 to 210, with no cut in existing pay. Wages under the current contract ranged from $67.50 to $100.80 a month.

Reviewing the union's progress since 1925, Mr. Randolph listed its achievevements under the following main headings:

"Organizing Pullman porters into a bona fide labor union and holding it intact in the face of the opposition of the Pullman Company with its vast resources and during a depression such as we are now passing through.

"Gaining an international charter with the American Federation of Labor.

"Achieving the status of railroad men for the porters and waiters, giving them the benefit of any other railroad men under the Amended Railroad Labor Act.

"Aiding, through persistent agitation, in outlawing the reprehensibel company union plan among railroad men.

"Obtaining in 1937 the first agreement with the Pullman Company, in the face of the company's statement that it would never recognize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

PM, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1940

LABOR

Mrs. FDR Warns Pullman Porters They Need Courage and Wisdom

Gets Ovation at Union's Convention in Harlem . . . Negro Delegates Fight Jim Crow Laws in Army and Labor Groups

To a $2.50-a-plate convention dinner of the only Negro international union in the world last night Mrs. Roosevelt paid many pretty compliments and prescribed "great courage, wisdom and patience" because "you're going to need them."

The prescription was not only for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, whose 15th-anniversary convention is now under way in Harlem; it was also for the whole Negro people, for whom the union in many ways serves as important spokesman. Mrs. Roosevelt said the brotherhood had "shown great courage" in its fight to make a Pullman porter's job a decent one.

"During the last few years we have come a long way" toward racial tolerance, she said. Nevertheless, she warned, "great changes don't come overnight."

Business sessions of the convention are concerned with changes—great ones, to the Negro people—which they seek and have been seeking much longer than overnight. Resolutions which have been prepared for submission, and which undoubtedly will be passed, call for a federal anti-lynching bill, repeal of the poll tax, the end of Jim Crow laws in the Army and in trade unions, and federal investigation of the Klan.

The convention also will have before it resolutions denouncing Communism, Nazism and Fascism, urging assistance to British workers in their fight against Germany, and expressing support to FDR's preparedness program.

A. Philip Randolph, the eloquent Oxford-accented president of the brotherhood, strongly denounced Communists and Communism in his opening speech to the convention yesterday.

Mrs. Roosevelt received an ardent ovation at the dinner. She devoted much of her short address to reiterating her approval of conscription. Afterward, the union's international secretary-treasurer, Ashley Totten, called forth a tremendous burst of cheering with a reference to "Mrs. Roosevelt's husband."

Mayor LaGuardia, who also spoke, predicted "a campaign of smiles and frowns—the smiles of New Dealers and the frowns of the disgruntled."

Call on Porters To Back New Deal

The campaign is going to be an unusual one: A campaign of the smiles of the New Deal versus the frowns of the disgruntled, Mayor La Guardia predicted last night as he made a bid for the Negro vote for President Roosevelt. The Mayor spoke before 2000 Negro delegates and guests of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at the union's 15th anniversary convention dinner at Mecca Temple, 135 W. 45th St.

Earlier, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt praised the union and paid tribute to the Negro race as being one of the nation's minorities making growing contributions to the country's culture and economy.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the brotherhood, praised the social and labor gains of the New Deal, and condemned "Communist groups as a peril to the constructive and sound program of the Negro people."

Lehman Calls on Labor to 'Pitch In'

Labor must assume its full share of responsibility in defending American democracy against dictator attacks, Governor Lehman yesterday told the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' annual convention.

"In this hour of peril, we must be determined to do our full duty, we must be prepared to make every sacrifice for our beloved country. The present crisis is a challenge to the nation. All must join up for their nation's service when danger is near."

Sept 17, 1940 - Sun

TALKS TO PORTERS

Gov. Lehman Stresses Sacrifice for Freedom.

The freedom and liberties of America deserve every sacrifice which individuals in any walk of life may be called upon to make in this time of crisis, Gov. Lehman declared last night in an address at the annual convention here of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. L.

Mayor LaGuardia was cheered last night when he gave praise to the New Deal and urged Roosevelt's re-election. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who shared honors on the program, told the delegates that the conscription law is "the only way by which we can make the United States safe."

A resolution which would bar communists from holding office in the union has been prepared for presentation to the convention.

LaGuardia Bids For Negro Vote For Roosevelt

Tells Porters Issue Is Smile Vs. Frown; President's Wife Hits Anti-Draft Stand

Mayor F. H. LaGuardia made a bid to win the Negro vote for President Roosevelt last night when he spoke before 750 members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and their families at the union's fifteenth anniversary convention dinner at Mecca Temple, 135 West Fifty-fifth Street.

Discarding vehemence and following a facetious approach, Mr. LaGuardia told his audience: "This is going to be an unusual campaign. This is going to be a campaign of the smiles versus the frowns: the smiles of the New Deal and the frowns of the disgruntled."

"We who have appreciated the great progress of the last seven years are going to join the great army of the smiles," he added.

The Mayor rose to speak after Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, another speaker at the dinner, had expressed disapproval of a resolution adopted by the union's executive board last Saturday declaring its opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth bill. She said safety."

"We are not going to trust to last-minute measures in order to save us from war," she added. "The best equipment in the world is not enough."

"I'd like to pledge tonight my cooperation to make this a better country not for you alone but for all of us to live in," Mrs. Roosevelt said at another point. "We'll make this country a safer country to live in if we make it a better one."

Mrs. Roosevelt's remarks prompted Ashley L. Totten, international secretary-treasurer of the union, who presided, to reassure her that the brotherhood was not a political organization.

"It is a labor organization," he said. "However, I reserve the right to say that President Franklin D. Roosevelt is without a doubt the greatest man who has ever stepped into the White House."

Mayor LaGuardia, picking up where Mr. Totten left off, said: "Now that the chairman has made it clear that this is an absolutely non-partisan meeting, I think that I shall speak with perfect ease.

"Any gathering of men and women in this country who toil for their living and who have witnessed the progress made in the last seven years and have seen the interest of their own government in their own homes, would naturally be just non-partisan as we all are and vote for President Roosevelt."

Negotiations between sleeping-car porters and the Pullman Company for reduction of working hours from 240 to 210 a month will begin next Monday, A. Philip Randolph, president of the brotherhood, announced earlier in the day at the [illegible] business session of the convention.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1943

...Employment Record Lags;
...d in 4 Jobless Persons Is Colored

By DOROTHY NORMAN

"The employment situation of the Negro in New York State and in the nation is still extremely bitter. In New York City, where Negroes form approximately 6.1 per cent of the population, they comprise 26 per cent of all unemployed persons," according to a report just issued by the New York State War Council Committee on Discrimination in Employment.

The Social Security Bulletin for June, 1942, reported that "in the northern and highly industrialized states the bulk of non-white placements by the United States Employment Service went to women and were chiefly in service jobs, while in the South more colored men were placed than colored women."

This is the situation in this state despite the findings of the National Urban League whose questionnaires given to white workers in a typical American city showed that 78.1 per cent had no objection to working with Negroes, that 18.1 per cent were willing to leave it to the employer and that only 3.1 per cent preferred not to work with Negroes.

FEPC Lacks Funds

To date there has been educational work concerning discrimination against Negroes, aliens, Jews, and other minority groups carried on by the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the War Manpower Commission, the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Employment, the U. S. Employment Service and other agencies. The problems involved are admittedly complex. However, although cease and desist orders have been issued to a number of companies, no contracts have been canceled because of discrimination and no prosecutions have been started.

Nor have adequate funds been appropriated to the FEPC so that it can deal with the situation as it was intended that it should.

Virtually every expert in the field has stated repeatedly that a judicial body such as the FEPC should not be under an administrative organ of the government such as the War Manpower Commission, to which the FEPC was transferred last July, despite widespread protests.

Since it was the function of the FEPC, according to President Roosevelt's executive order which set up the FEPC originally as a separate committee (responsible to the President), "to take appropriate steps to redress grievances" in the field of discrimination, it is questionable whether the FEPC can properly carry out its original assignment under the War Manpower Commission, whose duty it is simply to see that the war program is carried out in the shortest possible time.

Got Only $80,000

On Dec. 2, The Post learned that the FEPC, after having operated on an allotment of $80,000 for its entire national program during its first year, upon being transferred to the WMC, presented a new and increased budget. The requested budget was not made available.

Before the FEPC was taken over by the WMC, the total number of persons on the staff of the FEPC for the entire country was approximately 25. Since the transfer to the WMC, not more than 50 workers have been functioning throughout the entire country on the FEPC's program.

Despite the fact that in the regional office in New York, it was felt that five additional persons were needed in order to carry out the work for this region effectively, no additions to the New Yok staff have been made, because the present budget has not permitted it.

Aliens Face Difficulties

The employment of aliens is still retarded because procedures for pre-clearance of an alien's loyalty have not yet been established on a national basis. As the matter stands now an alien must go to the U. S. Employment Service to apply for clearance of loyalty after he has an offer of a specific job in any confidential, secret, restricted or aeronautical work.

After the alien has filled out a form at the USES the employer must then fill out its reverse side and send it to Washington. Often it takes several months for clearance to be obtained.

So far as The Post can learn there is no indication that there will be added funds or added personnel for the FEPC. In this area there have been no hearings since last February concerning companies accused of discrimination. No prosecutions have been carried through by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Employment despite the fact that this is the one committee in the area that has punitive powers.

The FEPC continues to function under the War Manpower Commission rather than as the separate committee that it was originally set up to be.

Grease makes gunpowder! Save waste kitchen fats. Take them to your Meat Dealer.

Randolph Urges Negroes Back FDR War Plans

Worker Sept 17

President of Sleeping Car Porters Skirts Issue of Conscription in Red-Baiting Speech— Pays Tribute to Strong Organization

The second day's session of the convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, yesterday heard A. Phillip Randolph, its president, urge the Negro people to support the war policies of the Roosevelt Administration.

At the opening business session of the convention, held in the 180 West 135th St. Y.M.C.A., Randolph utilized his main address to the one hundred delegates attending, as a plea to the Negro people of this country to support the warmongering administration.

Randolph, an adherent of the Hillman-Dubinsky school in the trade union movement, did the Negro people a distinct disservice in his speech when he resorted to outright red-baiting. It was evident from the tone of the speech that Randolph is well aware that the Negro people are highly sceptical, many of them flatly opposed to the war character of the Roosevelt administration, and he aimed his address at overcoming such existing hostility.

His main barb was leveled against the Soviet Union's peace policy, and he attempted to slander the Soviet leaders, by linking them with the fascist dictators. He completely exonerated the vicious scheming of Baron Mannerheim against the security of the Soviet Union, and claimed that Finland was the "victim" of an "unprovoked attack."

Randolph joined the Dies-Hoover witchhunt camp in his speech when he called for the expulsion of Communists from the trade union movement.

DODGES DRAFT ISSUE

Main tenor of his address was directed at winning the Negro members of the brotherhood and the Negro people generally to the Roosevelt "defense" program. He skirted completely the issue of peace-time conscription.

Randolph paid tribute to the leaders and membership of the Sleeping Car Porters Union for their excellent accomplishment in building a powerful and still growing union. He singled out for special tribute such officials of the union as Ashley L. Totten, international secretary-treasurer, M. P. Webster, international first vice-president and others for their loyalty, devotion and sacrifice so that the union could be established.

He also reviewed the negotiating activities of the union with the railroads, and announced that the union will conduct negotiations with the Pullman Company in Chicago on Sept. 13 where it will ask a reduction of monthly working hours from 240 to 210 hours in order to increase employment.

Other speakers during the morning and afternoon sessions of the convention were Dr. Willard Uphouse, director of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, Spencer Miller, director of the Workers Educational Bureau of America, and Dr. J. Burton of Chicago.

At today's sessions, a series of resolutions will be introduced to the delegates, several of them typical red-baiting affairs in line with the hysterical war campaign of the Roosevelt government.

Other resolutions to be considered deal with labor unity, the need for preserving labor's gains under the defense program, support of the anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills, and one condemning the "color bar in the trade unions."

PORTERS VOTE CURB ON REDS IN UNION

Sleeping Car Brotherhood Acts to Bar Communists From Offices

DENOUNCES SOVIET ALSO

La Guardia and Green to Speak Today—Mrs. Roosevelt Will Address Group Tomorrow

Resolutions excluding Communists from offices or committee posts in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, denouncing Soviet Russia as a dictatorship and supporting the British trade union movement in its struggle to preserve "civilization as we know it" were adopted yesterday by the international executive board of the brotherhood, an A. F. of L. affiliate. The resolutions will be submitted to the union's bi-ennial convention, opening this afternoon at Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue, for approval.

A parade through the streets of Harlem will precede today's meeting, at which Mayor La Guardia and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, are scheduled to speak. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt will address the convention delegates tomorrow evening at a dinner at Mecca Temple, 135 West Fifty-fifth Street. Governor Lehman, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and Senator James M. Mead will also speak before the pioneer Negro union ends its sessions next Friday.

Meeting at the brotherhood offices, 217 West 125th Street, the executive board drafted a series of thirty-nine resolutions for presentation to the convention. The board called for unity in the ranks of American labor, backed President Roosevelt's national defense program, opposed the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill and urged that all union officials guilty of racketeering be driven from the labor movement.

Serves Warning on Nation

Under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, president of the porters, who quit the presidency of the National Negro Congress recently because of his belief that it should not accept financial aid from the Communist party, the executive board devoted much of its attention to warning Negro and labor organizations and the nation generally to guard against "the rule-or-ruin policy of the Communists for the benefit of Soviet Russia."

"It is a general and iron-clad religious habit and policy of Communists to follow the dictates and line of the Communist party, which requires them to subordinate and sacrifice the interests of the trade union or any organization, regardless of what it is, to the interest of the Communist party, which is only and solely interested in and concerned with the strengthening and consolidation of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia," one of the resolutions adopted by the board declared.

Another resolution urged that there be no discrimination against Negroes in the Army, Navy or Air Corps. It pointed out that members of the Negro race had shed their blood for the United States in every war since the Revolution and had exemplified "matchless courage, heroism and valor."

Action on Other Issues

The executive board asked Congress to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill, denounced poll taxes and "white primaries" in the South, urged the elimination of racial bars by all trade unions, endorsed the thirty-hour week as a means of alleviating unemployment, advocated larger Federal relief and public works appropriations, demanded equal job opportunities for Negroes and excoriated the Ku Klux Klan, anti-alien propaganda and anti-semitism.

Today's parade will get under way at 1 P. M. at 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. With porters, maids and dining car cooks and waiters in uniforms and members of the ladies' auxiliary in white dresses, the parade will march south along Seventh Avenue to 125th Street, east to Lenox Avenue, north to 144th Street, west to Seventh and south to the meeting place.

7200 Porters Are Led by a Militant Intellectual

By James A. Wechsler

One drizzly day in 1925 fifty Negroes met in a Harlem hall. They were all Pullman porters except a Shakespeare-reading, lecture-going magazine editor named A. Philip Randolph who talked in suave, unproletarian syllables.

The keynote of the caucus was thumped by A. Philip Randolph. The resolutions were introduced by A. Philip Randolph. Then he seconded them, staged a one-man symposium and cast all the ballots.

How It Began

Mr. Randolph did all the talking because the room was sprinkled with Pullman Company "observers," and union-talk was costly for employes. But out of the meeting came what the porters called a crusade to organize Pullman porters. It took twelve years, $750,000, countless firings and an act of Congress to get the Pullman Co. to deal with the upstart. Victory came in 1937 when recognition was won.

Today A. Philip Randolph, 51-year-old son of a Methodist minister, starts his sixteenth year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which now has 7200 members and holds an international charter from the AFL—the only Negro union to have one. He was editing a Negro magazine called *The Messenger* in 1925 when he was asked to help unionize the porters. Last night 100 delegates to the Brotherhood's convention re-elected him president.

Ex-operator of a magazine and an elevator, ex-salesman of newspapers and groceries, but never a Pullman porter, Randolph is now paid $3600 yearly (low for union bigwigs) by the Brotherhood.

In his unfrilled Harlem office—only the Venetian blinds suggest success—he said these things today in fluent succession:

"We cannot ignore the world crisis. It has already produced conscription in our own country. While I still hope that labor and social gains won't be lost, conscription can be used to cripple the leadership of unions by draining off young and aggressive leaders.

Union Bans

"I am opposed to our entry into the war because it would be the graveyard of our civil liberties. Nevertheless we ought to do everything short of war to help Britain.

"The Negro people have always been distrustful of trade unions because of the bans on Negroes that exist in some unions. Some Negro leaders have encouraged this distrust. The Brotherhood's campaign against discrimination has exerted great moral influence.

"I left the National Negro Congress because of the progressive ascendancy of Communists into control. They overwhelm innocent people with paper organizations.

"The Army bans on Negroes in certain divisions must be lifted. They exist because Southern Army and Navy officers are dominant.

"I am still a Socialist and I vote that way. The Brotherhood will take no official stand on the election. It never has. The issue won't even be raised. I'm not an orthodox Marxian. I have reservations on many points.

"But I have read every word [illegible] Marx. I've also read every word of Shakespeare and George Bernard Shaw."

"The Brotherhood's biggest problem is firings due to faster trains. The railroads have been speeding up work; the only solution now is shorter hours. We have reduced hours for porters from 360 a month to 240. They must go lower."

Next week A. Philip Randolph and his aids will resume negotiations with the Pullman Co. for hour-cuts. He wrote the Pullman Co. letters for nine years without any reply; now it responds regularly. Mr. Randolph who is now trying to write two books in spare time—one on social history, another autobiographical—this newly-acquired dignity is the basic measure of progress.

"Porters were looked upon as clowns. Now they must be taken seriously."

Outside his office a dozen well-dressed, solemn delegates talked business, ate frankfurters at an improvised lunch bar, and weighed heavy issues, as if to underline the president's point.

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SERVICE DATED
SEPTEMBER 14, 1940

Sleeping Car Porters' Head Outlines Record of Steady Union Progress Since Formation 15 Years Ago

NEW YORK CITY (ILNS).—A record of steady progress by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, pioneer Negro union, was outlined by President A. Philip Randolph, preliminary to opening the organization's fifteenth anniversary convention here. Randolph has been president since the union was organized August 25, 1925.

Speakers scheduled for the convention, beginning September 15, include William Green, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Senator James M. Mead, Mayor La Guardia and Otto S. Beyer, chairman of the National Mediation Board.

Negotiations for revision of a collective bargaining agreement between the union and the Pullman Company are set for Sept. 23. The union is asking reduction on monthly working hours from 240 to 210, with no reduction in pay.

Pullman Opposition Overcome

President Randolph summarized the union's achievements under the following main headings:

"Organizing Pullman porters into a bona fide labor union and holding it intact in the face of the opposition of the Pullman Company with its vast resources and during a depression such as we are now passing through.

"Gaining an international charter with the American Federation of Labor.

"Achieving the status of railroad men for the porters and waiters, giving them the benefit of any other railroad men under the Amended Railroad Labor Act.

Way For Negroes Opened

"Aiding, through persistent agitation, in outlawing the reprehensible company union plan among railroad men.

"Obtaining in 1937 the first agreement with the Pullman Company, in the face of the company's statement that it would never recognize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

"Opening a way for other groups of Negroes to organize in labor unions and earning an honored place in the labor movement of this country and wherever the work of the union is known."

afl weekly News Service Sept 17, 1940

Green Addresses Two Conventions

Denounces Racial Intolerance At Porters' Meeting.

New York, N. Y.—Pledging himself to fight against racial intolerance and hatred in America, President William Green told the convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that the American Federation stands fully behind their efforts to improve conditions of Negro workers.

Loud applause greeted Mr. Green's denunciation of racial prejudices and his declaration that organized labor is doing its utmost to wipe such prejudices out.

Mr. Green renewed his pleas for labor peace and told the convention only the recalcitrant attitude of the leader of the CIO prevents the resumption of peace negotiations.

He expressed the readiness of organized labor to cooperate with the Government in the defense program and urged the despatch to Great Britain of all aid short of war. All forms of dictatorship, whether Communist, Nazi or Fascist, were denounced by the A. F. of L. President.

A colorful parade in Harlem preceded the meeting, witnessed by thousands lining the route. About 10,000 union members, Negro war veterans and youth organizations marched with a half dozen bands.

My Day

By Eleanor Roosevelt

I paid a visit Monday morning to the Democratic National Headquarters, and to my delight found my old and dear friend Miss Molly Dewson back to help in the campaign.

Mrs. Dorothy McAllister, who is in charge of the women's division, told me with great joy of her arrival, and I went at once in search of her, and found her looking up all her old friends.

She was chatting in Mrs. Charles Michelson's office, and we visited several other people together. We wanted to see Mr. Farley and Mr. Flynn, but both were out. I imagine Molly went back. Later I succeeded in seeing Mr. Flynn for a few minutes, but unfortunately was unable to be there when Mr. Farley was in his office.

I had not seen Miss Dewson for some time, but I felt as everyone else does—enthusiastic over her return.

* * *

I always like to go to see Mrs. McAllister and all the others who are working so hard at the National Headquarters, but I shall enjoy it doubly now that Molly's dry humor will be there to light up every incident.

Monday night I dined with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A. F. of L.). It was the [illegible] anniversary of their biennial convention. These men have made life comfortable and pleasant for me on many long journeys, and I know that they had a long, hard fight before they gained recognition of their union.

I did not know until Mayor La Guardia spoke that he had been one of the people at their first organization meetings. I am constantly finding where there has been a struggle for the rights of labor and for the recognition of human values, regardless of race, creed or color, that the Mayor of New York City has been in it from the start.

* * *

If satisfaction has finally come in the gains of freedom and justice meted out to any groups of human beings, he can take pride in their achievement, because he has carried his share of the fight.

It was quite a lengthy party, and the breakfast hour this morning arrived all too soon. I had to hurry to be ready when my doorbell rang to announce Franklin, Jr., and Mr. Lanthier were on hand to take me to the steamer to meet Mr. Leopold Stokowski and the National Youth Symphony Orchestra, which has been touring South America. They were very good before they left, but I am sure from all the accounts which I have heard that they are even better now.

I am told that their performances have made a vast difference in the way that people feel about the United States in many South American countries. The 16 girls in the orchestra have created so much comment that they say the position of women in orchestras will be changed for all time in consequence.

Why Porters Support Britain

Randolph Sees Negroes' Interest at Stake

By TED POSTON

Tall, deep-voiced A. Philip Randolph, head of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was explaining in his offices at 217 W. 125th St. why his union of 7,200 persons will declare itself in favor of giving more aid—even battleships—to aid the British.

The union is scheduled to do that in a six-day convention starting here Sunday.

"It's a matter of enlightened self-interest," the Harvard-accented labor leader, a mild-mannered Socialist, said. "Negroes don't want Britain to win merely because they love her, but because they love themselves—because they love the democratic way of life and the status of human beings."

"Most Dangerous"

Randolph, target in his day for some vigorous name-calling, went placidly on. The old Lusk Committee, of pre-Dies days, once called him "the most dangerous Negro in America" and later railroad executives characterized him as "a wild-eyed radical uppity Negro hustler who has never made a Pullman berth in his life." Since he resigned as president of the National Negro Congress, charging Communist domination, the Communists have been attacking him.

"If England loses this war," he said, brushing all that aside, "the United States is sure to be militarized, civil liberties will almost certainly be suppressed or destroyed. The American Negro can only hope to win his rights under a democratic system, with a free press, free assembly and the power of protest."

With almost a shudder, he added: "In 'Mein Kampf,' Hitler openly alludes to the Negro as 'half-ape,' and says he is subhuman. If he wins, Negroes can only expect re-enslavement and the status of chattel property.

"We are not forgetting Britain's attitude toward Negroes in particular and darker races in general; they have been deceived, betrayed and oppressed, but they are regarded as human beings.

Making Some Progress

"In the British colonies Negroes are making some progress—slow but sure. It is to the interest of the Negro to support the cause of Great Britain because only in a democratic system can he hope for the ultimate status of free men."

In 1917, when he was a young follower of Eugene V. Debs, Randolph opposed actual entrance into war and still does. During the final days of the World War, he founded the leftist Messenger magazine which became the spearhead of his drive to organize Pullman porters. Eventually he signed on the porters' behalf a contract guaranteeing wages of $89.50 to $100.50 for 240 hours' work.

Negotiations now in progress would reduce the hours to 210. A report on progress of the negotiations will be offered at the convention, which will be addressed by Mayor LaGuardia, Gov. Lehman, Eleanor Roosevelt and others.

Roosevelt

Show Enthusiasm Though Officially Non-Partisan

By TED POSTON

The campaign workers on the Willkie Special faced a new task today. If they hope to put their man in the White House, they'd better get busy and talk to the Pullman porters.

That is, if the hundred or more delegates qualified to speak for the 7,200 members of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, holding its fifteenth anniversary convention here.

For, although Brotherhood spokesmen have made it perfectly clear that theirs is a non-partisan, non-political organization, the delegates and some 1,000 dinner guests practically tore the roof off Mecca Temple last night at every mention of President Roosevelt.

Politics Denied

The demonstration began a few minutes after Ashley Totten, international secretary-treasurer, vehemently denied that the presence of Eleanor Roosevelt, Mayor LaGuardia, Lieut. Gov. Poletti, NYA Administrator Aubrey Williams and others had any political significance.

"We are not a political organization," he said, "We are strictly a labor organization. But I reserve the right to say that I think President Roosevelt is without doubt the greatest man that has ever slept in the White House."

As the waiters gravely regarded the jumping crockery on the pounding tables and cast apprehensive glances at the shimmering chandeliers, Mayor La Guardia stampeded the dinner with probably the shortest speech of the Presidential campaign.

Mayor Praises F. D. R.

"The chairman is perfectly right," he said, "Any gathering of men and women who toil for a living, who have witnessed the progress of the last seven years, and who have seen the interest of their government in their welfare, would naturally be wholly non-partisan—and wholly for Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

The completely non-partisan position of the Brotherhood was sealed a few minutes later when the ladies of the Brotherhood's auxiliary placed two large trays of Roosevelt buttons on the tables in the rear of the dining room. Three isolated requests for Willkie kits were met with icy stares, and at least one applicant hastened to assure the ladies that he was only joking.

Mrs. Roosevelt Speaks

Mrs. Roosevelt lauded the porters for their progress, but chided them slightly on their opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill.

"I believe," she said, "although you disagree, that the draft act is the thing for our safety. The knowledge that we are willing to submit ourselves for training, that we are not afraid of what our government may do with this measure is our greatest protection of the democracy we are fighting to create."

Program Notes on Air Events To Be Heard Here This Week

"Can Germany Conquer Latin America?" will be the subject discussed on the University of Chicago Round Table on WEAF today at 2:30 p. m. Speakers will be Irving Pflaum, foreign editor of "The Chicago Daily Times"; J. Fred Rippy, professor of American history, and Walter Laves, associate professor of political science, both of the university.

Richard Llewellyn, author of the novel "How Green Was My Valley," will be heard from London today at 2:45 p. m. over WABC in conjunction with the broadcast of the American Welsh Festival at the World's Fair. Mr. Llewellyn is chief transport officer of the Entertainment National Services Association, supervising the travels of 500 parties entertaining Allied troops.

Postmaster Albert Goldman, of New York, will speak over WMCA tomorrow at 9 p. m. on the progress being made here in the registration of aliens. On Tuesday at 10:15 p. m. on WABC, Thomas Mann, German author, will speak on alien registration.

Mrs. Henry M. Roberts jr., president general of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, will speak on "Constitution Day" over WJZ on Tuesday at 2 p. m. during Alma Kitchell's program. Robert P. Patterson, Assistant Secretary of War, will be heard over WOR at 11:15 p. m. in a Constitution Day address from Rochester, N. Y.

Paul Van Zeeland, former Belgian Premier, who conducted a world economic survey for the British and French governments in 1938, and Baroness Susanne Silvercruys, Belgian-American sculptress, who is executive chairman of the American Women's Division of the Belgian Relief Fund, will speak over WNYC on Tuesday at 9:30 p. m. in the fourth of a series of programs called "It Happened There."

Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, will speak at the fifteenth annual convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at the World's Fair on Thursday at 3 p. m., being introduced by A. Philip Randolph, president of the union. The talk, "The Role of Government in Maintaining Full Collective Bargaining," will be heard over WNYC.

Details of the administration of selective military service here will be outlined by Col. Arthur V. Mc-[illegible] at the New York Ci-

Porters Hear Lehman

Governor Appeals for Aid to Britain

By TED POSTON

A defense of conscription and a strong plea for every aid to Britain short of war were made today by Gov. Lehman in an address to the 15th annual convention of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

"Great Britain is the last bulwark of democracy in Europe," the governor told the brotherhood, meeting at the Harlem YWCA, 142 W. 138th St. "She is carrying on a wonderfully courageous fight, not only in defence of democracy there, but in behalf of our own safety and in defense of democracy wherever liberty-loving people live.

The brotherhood had gone on record as opposing the conscription bill. While not mentioning this the governor said:

"The belief that millions of men will spring to arms overnight to defend the United States in an hour of danger is absurd and misleading. To defeat an enemy from without we must possess, in addition to a unified people, strong armies of well trained men equipped with the most modern weapons and a navy unsurpassed by that of any other country."

'Arms Must Back Courage', Lehman

The oft-spoken belief that millions of men will spring to arms overnight to defend the United States in an hour of danger is "absurd and misleading," Gov. Lehman declared yesterday in urging preparedness.

"Courage and patriotism must be backed by adequate, disciplined and determined manpower with trained leadership and modern equipment," Lehman said. He was addressing delegates to the 15th Anniversary Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, AFL, in the Y. W. C. A. at 144 W. 138th St.

"If England should be beaten and democracy destroyed, we could not hope to keep the war from our shores," the Governor said.

CALL FOR SACRIFICE MADE BY LEHMAN

Times Sept 18, 1940

If England Were Defeated, He Warns, We Could Not Hope to Evade Conflict

STRONG DEFENSE URGED

Governor Tells Sleeping Car Porters War Is Threat to Our Democracy

If England should be defeated and her democracy destroyed, we can hardly hope to keep war from our own shores, Governor Lehman warned yesterday in an address before the fifteenth anniversary convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the Y. W. C. A. Auditorium at 144 West 138th Street.

The Governor departed from the text of his prepared speech to sound this note of caution and to urge that the United States supply to Great Britain all the weapons of war that can be spared without weakening our own defense. At the same time he called for the strengthening of our defenses.

"We must be so strong that no aggressor or group of aggressors could attack us with any hope of success," he said. "That is the best insurance toward lasting peace."

Governor Lehman warned the delegates that "it is not improbable that we will be called upon to make many sacrifices during the months and years that lie ahead of us."

"This peace-loving nation realizes today that might has become the master of right in many parts of the world," he continued. "Our national outlook has changed. We cannot avoid reality. The belief that millions of men will spring to arms overnight to defend the United States in an hour of danger is absurd and misleading.

"Courage and patriotism, so necessary to the success of any cause, must be backed by adequate, disciplined and determined man power, with trained leadership and modern equipment. And for those who face the foes on the field or on the high seas, there must be another army—an army of those who work in factory, on the farm, on the great transportation systems, and in every industry of this country."

Pointing to nations that he said "ignored or underestimated the approaching storm," Governor Lehman said that they, too, wanted peace, but that they had neglected the one thing that could have been effective in preserving it for them—military preparedness. He pleaded for Americans to learn from their mistake.

"The freedom we prize and the liberties we enjoy in America deserve every sacrifice on the part of every one of us," he continued. "Nowhere in the world have a people had such liberties at any time in the world's history. Today the United States is virtually the only great country where there is such freedom. We have a grave responsibility to maintain and defend the heritage which has come to us.

"And labor has a particularly large stake in defending democracy against the ruthless attacks of dictatorship. Dictatorships, whatever they are labeled—Communist, Nazi or Fascist—are always the enemies of free labor. Where tyranny prevails, freedom for the wage earner dies."

Total warfare is no respecter of class or caste, of race or religion, the Governor declared. He said that "in this hour of peril" every American must be prepared "to make every sacrifice for our beloved country."

Joseph L. Burke of the Railroad Retirement Board, speaking in place of its chairman, Murray W. Latimer, who was unable to be present, addressed the delegates yesterday afternoon on what the retirement act means to them. He estimated that 178,000 railroad workers were receiving payments under the act.

A series of resolutions ratified by the executive board of the union last Saturday will come before the convention today at a business session at the Harlem Y. M. C. A., 180 West 135th Street. They include a condemnation of all dictatorships; the exclusion of Communists from office or committee membership in the brotherhood; keeping America out of war and support for national defense.

MAYOR SAYS LABOR BACKS ROOSEVELT

Times Sept 17, 1940

Tells Pullman Porters All the Toilers 'Would Naturally' Be for the President

2,000 NEGROES CHEER HIM

First Lady Also Addresses the Convention, Praising Their Race's Contributions

Mayor La Guardia told 2,000 Negro delegates and guests of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters last night that the men and women "who toil for their living in this country" and who have seen "the interest of their own government in their own families" in the last seven years "would naturally" support Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Mayor's remarks brought a noisy ovation from the delegates, who had just heard Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt praise their brotherhood and pay tribtue to the Negro race as one of the nation's "minorities" that are making growing contributions to the coun y's culture and economy.

The occasion was the organization's Labor Dinner at Mecco Temple. The brotherhood, an A. F. of L. affiliate and the only Negro international union in the United States, began yesterday the first of a series of business sessions and social events to be held during its fifteenth anniversary convention which ends on Friday.

Group Called Non-Partisan

The Mayor was introduced by Ashley L. Totten, international secretary-treasurer of the brotherhood, who insisted that, despite accusations to the contrary, the organization was strictly non-partisan, but that he "reserved the right to say that President Roosevelt is without doubt the greatest man who ever stepped into the White House." This brought thunderous applause from the delegates. Then the Mayor rose to speak.

"Now that the chairman made it perfectly clear that this is an absolutely non-partisan organization, I think I can speak with perfect ease," he said, smiling. "The strange part of it is that the chairman is perfectly correct—any gathering of men and women in this country who toil for their living and who have witnessed the progress of the last seven years and seen the interest of their own government in their own families would naturally be just as non-partisan and, as we all are, for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"Somebody said that this is going to be a campaign of buttons. I don't think so. It's going to be a campaign of smiles and frowns; the smiles of the New Deal and the frowns of the disgruntled.

"We who are appreciative of the great progress made during the past seven years are going to join the great army of smiles."

The Mayor praised as the brotherhood's greatest contribution "the giving of self-respect to every Pullman porter employed by a railroad."

Mrs. Roosevelt Speaks

Mrs. Roosevelt, taking cognizance of the union's support of defense measures of the Administration, said the obligation to improve democracy was one that devolved on all citizens of the country.

"I believe that the draft act is a thing that we need for our safety," she said. "I think that it is better for our young people to have training in modern warfare and I think that the knowledge that we are willing to submit ourselves to training, and the knowledge that we are not going to trust to last-minute means, may save us from war."

Mrs. Roosevelt said there was a growing realization in the country of the contributions to the common welfare by various minority groups.

"People are beginning to realize," she added, "that we can't let any one group suffer, because it then becomes a menace to the whole group. You know that we have many difficulties still to overcome, I happen to be tremendously interested in the young people of your race and I know their difficulties."

A resolution proposing to bar Communists from holding office in the union was one of many drafted at the business session held at the Harlem branch of the Y. M. C. A., 180 West 135th Street. A. Philip Randolph, president of the brotherhood, praised the social and labor gains of the New Deal, and condemned "all Communist front and transmission belt organizations as a peril to the constructive and sound program of the N[illegible] people."

He took a stand for [illegible]quate and complete national defense, labor unity, abolition of the poll tax and white primaries, and enactment of the anti-lynching bill. He opposed American entry into the war but advocated all aid to Great Britain. The convention will convene at 11 o'clock this morning at the Harlem branch, Y. M. C. A.

PM Jan. 11, 1943 (First story on Case)

McNutt Squelches FEPC Railroad Expose

Anti-Negro Bias in Railroad Industry Too Full of Dynamite for Manpower Commissioner; Major Blow-up Threatened

By James A. Wechsler
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11. — Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt has intervened to suppress the Fair Employment Practice Committee's dynamite-packed exposure of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry, it was learned today.

Under pressure from McNutt, the FEPC, a unit of the Manpower Commission, has been forced to "postpone"—indefinitely—public hearings at which it was prepared to shoot the works against railroad management and unions for defying President Roosevelt's anti-discrimination order.

McNutt's move appeared certain to create a major blow-up on the discrimination issue and may lead to sudden collapse of the FEPC, spearhead of the drive for equal rights in war work. With Negro groups expected to interpret McNutt's action as a "death sentence" for the FEPC, key members of the Committee already were reported on the verge of resignation.

Who'll Take Rap?

Official announcement of the "postponement" of the hearings, scheduled to begin here next Monday, may come at McNutt's weekly press conference today. Members of the FEPC are understood to have flatly rejected McNutt's request that the Committee issue the announcement on its own. They told him bluntly that, if he insisted on abandonment of the hearings, he would have to "take the rap" himself.

It is understood that McNutt's final decision to block the hearings was communicated to Lawrence W. Cramer, executive secretary of the FEPC, on Saturday. Cramer conferred with other members of the Committee, then informed the manpower chief that he would have to make an announcement under his own name.

The gravity of the case is underlined by the fact that the projected railroad hearings have been heralded as a key test of the FEPC's prestige and power. Heretofore, most FEPC probes have been confined to single war plants or localities rather than to an entire industry. Moreover, the railroads long have been a target of sharp attack among Negroes because of widespread and flagrant discriminatory practices.

Indicating the importance attached to this

case, the FEPC decided at the outset not to rely exclusively on its own staff and called on Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York State, to conduct the hearings. Epstein has been working with a group of aides for many weeks and was ready to open the hearings on schedule. Railroad management and labor organizations already had received "bills of particulars" from the FEPC, summarizing the major findings of the investigation.

What reasons McNutt offered for sidestepping the hearings could not be ascertained. Representatives of the railroad magnates and of the railroad brotherhoods have been carrying on a behind-the-scenes campaign to force abandonment of the inquiry, on the ground that it would create "friction" among railroad workers.

Some sources suggested that members of the Railway Mediation Board may have used their weight to scuttle the probe. The Board, it is understood, also was slated for sharp attack at the hearings for approving one of the "Jim Crow" contracts which the FEPC was expected to condemn.

Jim Crow Agreement

A major part of the indictment against the railroad groups is understood to rest on a "non-promotable" agreement between the all-white Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen with the Southeastern Carriers Conference, representing 25 Southern railroads.

This agreement, it is charged, provides, in effect for elimination of all Negro firemen on the roads as fast as Diesel or stokerized engines replace the hand-fired coal engines. (The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that these replacements mus. occur by July 1, 1943.) No Negroes are admitted to the Brotherhood, but that organization is permitted to act as "sole bargaining agent" for them.

Commenting on this agreement, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said recently:

"If the FEPC cannot prevent the unfair and illegal elimination of Negro workers from jobs in which they have been established for nearly a century, its ability to open new opportunities for Negroes will be hopelessly impaired."

In the same statement, issued a few days before McNutt's intervention to block the hearings, Randolph declared that the FEPC's railroad investigation is "a showdown for executive order No. 8802 and for the Committee itself."

"If we can stop this vicious 'non-promotable' offensive by the brotherhood-carrier coalition, then the way is opened for more upgrading of Negro workers, not merely on the railroads, but throughout industry."

"If the FEPC permits defiance or evasion of the President's order by the powerful all-white railroad brotherhoods, we'll sooner or later face a relapse into Jim Crowism by other unions which only recently have begun to see the light."

Randolph's views reflected the feeling throughout Negro circles and among anti-discrimination groups generally.

The railroad hearings originally were scheduled to begin last December, but were postponed until January 25, to permit completion of the investigation. Plans for the hearings were announced as far back as last October and have been widely publicized, especially among Negro organizations, in the ensuing months.

Members of the FEPC include Mark Ethridge, liberal Southern publisher, Boris Shishkin of the AFL, John Brophy of the CIO and Milton Webster of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Dr. Malcolm MacLean is chairman. David Sarnoff is understood to have submitted his resignation recently, but whether his move was linked to the collapse of the railroad case is not known.

A mass meeting had been planned here for January 24—eve of the railroad hearings. Labor and Negro leaders were to deliver speeches celebrating the launching of the attack on Jim Crow on the railroads.

That meeting probably will be converted into a protest demonstration.

PM Jan. 12, 1943

An Open Letter to Paul V. McNutt:

Yesterday you intervened with the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to suppress plans for hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry—hearings that held promise of opening railroad employment to all Americans on an equal footing in this time of vital need.

If you stand by your decision, this is tragedy. But it isn't too late to change your mind. Respectfully, and with some knowledge of the considerations on both sides of the case, we ask that you reverse your decision. Keep the door open for whatever small measure of advance the proceeding may offer to 13 millions of our people.

Exactly what considerations are in your mind, of course, we don't know. But there are some obvious, and serious, ones that may have influenced your decision.

One, of course, are the political facts. You know, as well as you do, that your Commanding officer—the Commander-in-Chief of all of us in this war—is faced with an almost intolerable political situation in this present Congress. Hostile Republicans, some of them men who put their hatred of the President and their desire for a return to reaction above every other consideration, are within a hair's breadth of control.

In this situation, the President, faced with constant political sniping and hamstringing legislative action, wants the support of the Southern Democratic bloc.

Now, as we all know, the Southern bloc, by and large, is composed of men loyal to the war effort in its international aspects. Because they come from the cotton and tobacco states, which must export or starve, they know how closely the peace and welfare of our own country are tied up with the rest of the world. But, also because they are from the cotton states—where the poll tax makes most of them the representatives not of the people, but of the privileged minority at the top—they are inclined to be reactionary on domestic issues.

The people who elect them—again by virtue of the poll tax—are people who are best served by cheap labor markets. By the tradition of the South, too, they are largely exponents of the idea of white supremacy. They say, of course, that they are the Negro's best friends—and they think they mean it—but most of them mean that what they want to do is to *improve* the Negro's condition but *keep him in his place.*

In substance, many of them are on the democratic side on the military front and against democracy on the home front.

The President is faced constantly with the threat of losing the support of the Southern bloc on the war front unless he appeases it by sabotaging democracy on the home front.

Realizing the difficulties of running a war with that kind of a Congressional setup, it is the natural and understandable inclination of the President's friends to try to play politics with the Southern bloc and help him keep it in line. This can be done by trading off things like the poll tax or parts of the campaign against racial discrimination. The Jim Crow man will go a long way with anyone who will let him alone in his eternal fight to *keep the Negro in his place.*

Add to this political situation all the old arguments stemming from the whites of the South that this isn't the time to rock the boat by fighting out the Negro question democratically at home while we're fighting abroad, and the arguments of some employers and some workers that taking Negroes into jobs heretofore closed to them might cause friction, and it isn't hard to understand the difficulty of the decision that faced you.

Take a minute before we pass that last point. Since the war started, Negroes *have* been taken into many jobs heretofore closed to them. In most cases, there has been little or no friction as a result. In some cases, there has been friction, and it has been eliminated by the kind of understanding between people that can only be achieved by association. In some cases there still is some friction, but it will be removed by the same process of growing understanding. I know of no single instance where friction has developed that cannot be smoothed out amicably if wise counsel like that heretofore given by the FEPC is allowed to prevail.

But grant that there are tough arguments against giving the Negro a democratic break. There's another side, and it's tougher yet.

We are at war with Fascism—and racism is one of the foundation stones of Fascism. If we make this a white man's war, and, it follows, not a war for democracy—if we insist that one American shall be privileged above another because of his race or his color—we will have lost the essential of our own democracy, no matter how we come out in the field. As a by-product, we will be kissing off as allies on the military front the millions of people in the East.

We are at war, and every one of us is faced with the loss of our lives or everything that we hold dear, if we lose. In a time like this, when every hour of work that every man can give is needed, we cannot afford to close the door on 13 millions of our people who are ready and willing to work. If the white man does not allow the Negro his right to equality of opportunity to work, the white man stands to lose more than the Negro, for the colored man has less to begin with.

We are at war, and our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of every believer in democracy in our country, if he is to be effective. He needs this whole united democratic support more than he needs the support of any factions in Congress. President Roosevelt has done more to bring democracy to all our people, white and colored alike, than any President since Abraham Lincoln. Are we now to destroy the faith of our people—again it is whites and colored alike—in the kind of democracy he has been fighting for?

There isn't room, or need, to go into all of the arguments for the Negro's side of the case—all the arguments for the democratic side. You know them as well as we do.

But cut back to the political question. If we fear that the Southern Negro-haters are going to obstruct the President and the war effort because we won't trade off discrimination for votes, isn't it time we faced the reality:

They can't do as much harm to the President, to the war effort or to the democratic cause by voting openly in Congress against the Administration, as will be done if we sacrifice our democratic principles in an effort to keep them in line by appeasement. In Congress they can only hamper and obstruct the President, just as the isolationist Republicans are out to do. In private deals, which trade away the democratic rights of our Negro people, they can destroy our democracy, turn our war aims to ashes.

If any part of the Southern Congressional bloc is going to join the isolationist Republicans and doublecross our wartime Commander-in-Chief because an American who happens to be colored is given the same fair shake at a job as an American who happens to be white, we can't help the situation by surrendering. What good can come of dealing with a man who has betrayal in his heart; and if his heart is clean, what need is there for a deal?

Any—if there are any—who would betray their leader and their country because they can't stand democracy at home, might as well be found out now.

To repeat: our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of the men and women in this country who believe in democracy, more than he needs the support of the Negro-haters in Congress. Don't close the door on this kind of support in the Fair Employment Practice Committee. We can't afford to lose our democracy by appeasement.—JOHN P. LEWIS.

McNutt May Force FEPC to Fold

Members Seen Quitting Because He Balked Jim Crow Expose

By James A. Wechsler
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—A showdown over the future of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) appeared imminent today as Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt officially announced that the Committee's hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry had been "indefinitely postponed." (*See Page 22 for editorial.*)

With its most important exposure sidetracked by McNutt's last-minute intervention, the FEPC was reported headed for oblivion and the whole drive against Jim Crow in war industry reached a sudden crisis.

While members of the FEPC refused to discuss the issue publicly, pending a formal meeting, they were understood to be virtually unanimous in regarding McNutt's move as a challenge to the Committee's existence. Efforts to arrange a session of the FEPC to weigh joint steps were being made. At least one member said privately that he favored a direct appeal to President Roosevelt, while others talked of prompt resignations unless the order was rescinded.

Vague on Reasons

McNutt confirmed PM's disclosure, that the hearings had been called off, at his press conference yesterday. Asked whether it was true that the projected attack on the "lily white" union-management coalition on the railroads had been called off, he picked up a prepared statement and read it off. The statement said:

"The Manpower Commission felt that postponement of these hearings would permit more intensive activity by the Commission to insure full utilization of manpower on the railroads."

A reporter asked whether McNutt could explain the reasons for the sudden pigeonholing of the Committee's findings. He replied:

"We felt that if we could take care of the situation this way it would be better. If we can accomplish our purpose in other ways, that's better than by force."

Pressed to explain what "other ways" were being contemplated, the Manpower Chief declined to elaborate. He conceded that the FEPC had not "recommended" abandonment of the hearings, but denied that members of the Committee had opposed the move. A Committee member said later this was technically accurate, because the FEPC had not been given a formal chance to vote on the "postponement."

Action Ends Case

Reached by telephone in Chicago, Milton P. Webster, Negro member of the FEPC and official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared:

"Mr. McNutt's statement that no members of the Committee protested his decision is true—because we never were informed that the action was being taken.

"At the last meeting of the FEPC, final plans for conducting the hearings were made and there was no indication of any opposition."

After McNutt had emphasized the Manpower Commission's belief that railroad discrimination could be dealt with through other methods, a reporter suggested that the same argument could be used to cancel all FEPC investigations. McNutt said:

"Not necessarily."

When another correspondent pointed out that the Commission's action was "belated" in view of the fact that the railroad case had been fully documented and witnesses prepared, McNutt said he didn't think so.

McNutt's comments shattered any doubt that the "postponement" was—in effect—the end of the case which Negro groups and other anti-discrimination organizations had hailed as the "key test" of the FEPC's power. The FEPC is a unit of the War Manpower Commission.

The hearings were slated to get under way on Jan. 26, with Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York State, presiding. Jubilant over the impending drive against one of the major citadels of Jim Crow in American industry, liberal and Negro groups had arranged a mass meeting here for Jan. 24 to mark the event.

Elections Responsible

With the railroad exposure—which would have hit both management and unions in the industry—out of the way, there were other indications that the Administration was reconciled to the collapse of the FEPC and was studying different methods for combating racial discrimination.

It was learned that FEPC also had been "asked" to abandon hearings on discrimination in Detroit, advertised to begin early next month.

Some observers suggested that the outcome of the recent Congressional elections had paved the way for the FEPC's decline.

What men or measures could take its place is not immediately apparent. In his budget message yesterday, President Roosevelt reiterated his demand for "elimination of restrictions based on sex, creed, or race." The FEPC has carried almost the whole load of the anti-discrimination fight since Pearl Harbor, with limited authority and less money.

Strong protests from organizations committed to the battle for equal rights in war work are anticipated here. Fear is being widely expressed that the scuttling of the railroad hearings will create a wave of resentment among Negroes. If any steps are contemplated to ease this unrest, they are not evident so far.

THE NATION

Negro and Labor Groups Rap McNutt Action on Discrimination

Negro and labor spokesmen in New York City today assailed Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's action in postponing indefinitely public hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry. The hearings were to have been held before the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) in late January.

Calling McNutt's action "a profound disappointment to every believer in democracy," Lester Grainger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, said:

"On the face of it, McNutt's action seems to be nothing more than a cowardly yielding to the pressure of reactionary forces, and it bodes ill for the kind of leadership that we can expect in the future conduct of the war."

Simultaneously, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wired President Roosevelt:

"If McNutt's orders to the FEPC to cancel hearings on discrimination by railroad management and unions stand, it will reduce that Committee of its last vestige of justification for its existence and will open the floodgates of discrimination against racial, religious and other minorities, which will not only reverse the happy trend against discrimination, but will directly and dangerously affect the successful prosecution of the war."

After consultation with Wendell Willkie yesterday morning, a committee composed of Ferdinand Smith, of the National Maritime Union; Dr. Max Yergan of the Council of African Affairs; Dr. Warren Banner of the National Urban League; Edward Lewis of the N. Y. Urban League; Joseph Ford of the Peoples Committee; and Rev. Adam Clayton Powell of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, an ALP City Councilman, issued a statement which said in part:

"The cancellation not only is an irreparable blow to the Negro people, but does the utmost damage to the whole prosecution of the war.

"This is another victory for the Axis, either willingly or unwillingly."

B. F. McLaurin, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said:

"We feel that the dropping of the hearings at this time is an attempt to scuttle the FEPC as an effective agent. The fact that there has been postponement of other hearings dealing with basic problems of discrimination leads us to feel that the President has accepted the appeasement policy of permitting the reactionary forces of the country to make the FEPC ineffective in any future activity."

CIO Opens Fight for More FEPC Funds

Committee Seeks to Extend Ban on Racial Discrimination

A fight for more funds and authority for the Fair Employment Practice Committee was begun today by CIO Committee on Racial Discrimination.

Committee members are CIO Secretary James Carey, chairman; Williard Townsend, president of the nited Transport Service Employees; James J. Leary, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Ferdinand Smith, National Maritime Union; Boyd L. Wilson, of the United Steel Workers.

"The CIO, in setting up its Committee at its November convention, moved to implement in industry and government the policy it has always held to in its own ranks—of absolute opposition to discrimination in any form, and of complete equality of opportunity for all," a committee statement said.

The FEPC lacks funds and personnel to do the necessary following up on each of its orders. Trained, paid investigators are needed to patrol every section of industry where discrimination is suspected or found. More co-operation from other government egencies responsible for war production is needed."

* * *

As part of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) campaign to bring its wage increase demands for 32,000 transit workers to the public, union officials today planned a mass demonstration in Madison Square Garden, for Feb. 9. It was expected that Wendell Willkie would be invited to speak; Philip Murray, CIO president, has agreed to talk.

Members of the Mayor's committee on labor relations on the city's transit lines have heard nothing from the Mayor or Dean Ignatius Wilkinson, committee chairman.

McNutt Defies Own Committee On Inquiry Into Negro Job Bias

By DOROTHY NORMAN

Manpower Commissioner McNutt did not have the approval of a majority of the Fair Employment Practice Committee in postponing indefinitely the scheduled hearings of that committee on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

EXCLUSIVE

This charge was made today to The Post by the Citizens Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen Jobs, 112 E. 19th St., as a result of a telephone poll of FEPC members. Other groups protested to Washington, declaring that the McNutt action would precipitate a showdown on the whole question of racial equality.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, appealed directly to President Roosevelt to overrule McNutt's decision lest it "directly and dangerously affect successful prosecution of the war."

"Opens the Floodgates"

"If the McNutt order to the FEPC to cancel the hearings stands it will rob that committee of the last vestige of justification of its existence and will open the floodgates of discrimination against racial, religious and other minorities," said White.

"We ask immediate and unequivocal action before the dam-

New York Post, Jan. 13, 1943 (Wednesday)

Mass Meeting Called On Negro Job Bias

By DOROTHY NORMAN

Negro and labor groups today devised a protest substitute for the cancelled hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee on the subject of discrimination in the railroad industry.

Scheduled for Jan. 25-27 in Washington, the official hearings were postponed indefinitely two days ago by Manpower Commissioner McNutt without securing the consent of his own FEPC members.

As a result, at least one of those members will help convert a mass meeting at the Vermont Av. Baptist Church in Washington, Jan. 24, into pseudo-hearings, including testimony by 30 representatives of some 2,400 Negro locomotive firemen whose jobs are threatened.

8 Months Research

FEPC member Milton Webster will describe the effect of eight months of research performed in preparation for the hearings.

Speakers will include A. Philip Randolph, head of the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen and James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO; and Dr. Lawrence Ervin, chairman of the New York March-on-Washington Committee.

Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York, yesterday resigned as counsel of the FEPC in charge of the hearings, as a protest over the postponement.

"The evidence at hand presents a picture of grievous discriminatory practices against Negro citizens in the railroad industry that cries out for public attention," he said in a letter to FEPC Chairman MacLean.

Double Redress

"Without such public hearing I seriously question whether any appropriate redress will ever be made possible.

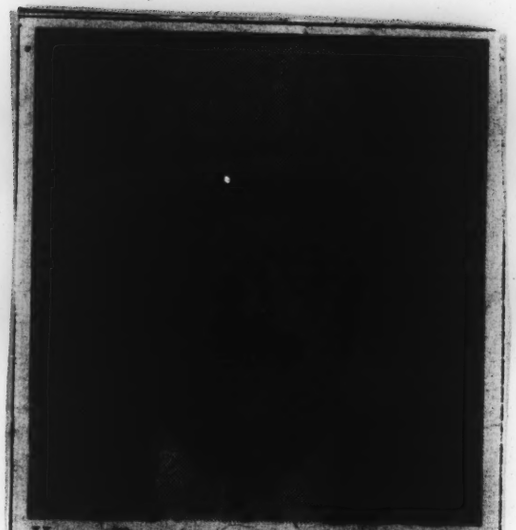
"McNutt's rather cryptic statement that 'postponement of the hearings would permit more intensive activity by the Commission to insure full utilization of manpower on the railroads' is, to say the least, unsatisfactory.

"The complete liquidation of all Negro employment on the railroads might be possible under the cover of such words."

The Citizens Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen's Jobs points out that an agreement between the Southeastern Carriers Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen prevents Negro firemen now working on steam engines from being switched to diesel engines, which must be put in use by July 1.

As a result of cancellation of Washington and Detroit hearings, with the possibility that various regional FEPC meetings may also be cancelled, the Citizens Committee declared that the FEPC could no longer be counted upon to "serve as a safety valve or as a practical means of ending discrimination in industry or in the union."

Joining in protests today over the McNutt action were the American Civil Liberties Union and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary professor and head of the Union for Democratic Action.



Henry Epstein, who resigned as FEPC special counsel in protest against Paul McNutt's squelching of discrimination hearings.

Epstein, FEPC Counsel, Quits

Henry Epstein, New York lawyer, resigned today as special counsel to the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC), vigorously protesting Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's suppression of the Committee's hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

Epstein, who had been retained at a nominal fee to handle the cancelled hearings, addressed a letter to Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean in which he said:

"The sudden cancellation of the hearings without warning or opportunity for discussion by the President's Committee is, in my judgment, an irreparable blow to your Committee's prestige and must result in loss of public confidence in its effectiveness. . . ."

Epstein disputed McNutt's explanation that postponement of the hearings "would permit more intensive activity by the Commission to insure full utilization of manpower on the railroads."

"The evidence at hand," he said, "presents a picture of grievous discriminatory practices against Negro citizens in the railroad industry that cries out for public attention. Without such public hearing I seriously question whether any appropriate redress

CIO Assails McNutt For Gagging FEPC

AFL Joins in Protesting Suppression of Hearings on Jim Crowism in Railroad Industry

By James A. Wechsler
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13.—Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt today faced mounting protest over his ban on the Fair Employment Practice Committee's long-prepared exposure of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

In a sharp attack on McNutt's action, CIO Secretary James B. Carey charged that postponement of the railroad hearings "is a serious blow to the war morale of 10,000,000 Negro citizens and to all white persons who know that racial discrimination is a Hitlerite weapon."

Acting as head of the CIO's anti-discrimination committee, Carey appealed directly to McNutt to "correct this grievous error before we lose the faith of millions of people, at home and abroad." He said that McNutt's announcement calling off the railroad exposure "constitutes a setback of the first magnitude on the home front."

Simultaneously, an AFL spokesman disclosed that President William Green had instructed Boris Shishkin, Federation representative on the Fair Employment Practice Committee, to ask for an immediate meeting of the FEPC and to register AFL's opposition to McNutt's stand. Green was represented as feeling strongly that the railroad hearings should go on as scheduled.

Committee May Dissolve

With John Brophy, CIO representative on the FEPC, and Shishkin expected to join in demanding that McNutt back down, it appeared that the Committee would make a strong fight for survival before any resignations take place. If McNutt refuses to yield, the FEPC—a unit of the War Manpower Commission—is believed almost certain to go out of business.

Henry Epstein's withdrawal as chief counsel to the FEPC in the railroad case, announced in New York yesterday, also was expected to help crystallize the revolt stirred by McNutt's action. Epstein, former Solicitor General of New York State, had spent many weeks directing the FEPC probe. (*Story in Column* 3.)

Some sources close to the Manpower Commission expressed belief that anti-discrimination groups still had a fighting chance to force reversal of McNutt's decision. It was said that protests from labor, liberal and Negro groups had started coming in almost as soon as the news broke.

The projected railroad hearings were slated to expose the "lily-white" coalition of management and unions in the railroad industry designed to keep Negroes from gaining advancement and to reduce the number employed on the roads.

Decision 'Disappoints' CIO

With the hearings scheduled to start on Jan. 25, McNutt last week end informed Lawrence Cramer, executive director of the FEPC, that the show wouldn't go on. On Monday McNutt told a press conference that the Manpower Commission would use "other ways" to combat discrimination on the railroads. He didn't say what they would be.

In protesting McNutt's move, CIO Secretary Carey said:

"Mr. McNutt's announcement constitutes a setback of the first magnitude on the home front of this Nation's war effort. Unless speedily corrected, it well may develop into an equally serious obstacle to achieving full unity among all the peoples of the United Nations, regardless of color or creed, in their global war against the Axis.

"The home front is linked indissolubly with our battlefronts. And the time has come for Mr. McNutt to show the same courage and valor at home as our fighting service men, regardless of color or creed, are displaying in their daily engagements with the enemy. . . ."

Paul Robeson, addressing a banquet in honor of the Negro Merchant Marine skipper, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, at the Hotel Commodore in New York last night said:

"We must see that the words of McNutt do not stand. We must call on the President for an investigation."

CIO Secretary James B. Carey said yesterday Manpower Commissioner McNutt's gag on FEPC is a serious blow to morale.

HOW PREJUDICE AS USUAL HAS BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY

By Albert Hamilton
Washington CALL Bureau

This is the third installment of the vital series on the Negro and the government in the present crisis written by Albert Hamilton, head of the Washington CALL Bureau and noted publicist and fighter for the rights of the common man. The first article, headed "A Democracy Tainted by Racial Savagery Is Challenged by the War-Time Crisis," appeared on Page One of THE CALL Jan. 1. The second installment, headed "Economic Equality for Negroes Tied Up With Social Rights," was in last week's issue.

(Continued from last week)

III

UNDER the reorganization of the war Manpower Commission, the United States Employment Service (USES) will not become the central hiring agency for U. S. employers. It is to be fervently hoped that the future of Negro employment through the USES will not follow the pattern of its previous activities. For instance, placements during 1941 increased nearly 300 per cent for whites and only 80 per cent for Negroes.

This, of course, reflects discriminatory requests of employers, with the USES complying with these requests. In the week ending October 24, 1942, the USES received 203 discriminatory requests, of which 87 per cent were from the Great Lakes region. In the week ending September 26, 1942, the USES received 64 such requests, with 81 per cent coming from the Great Lakes region.

It is reported that the USES in January, 1942, queried hundreds of industrialists with large contracts as to whether they would employ Negroes. Fifty-one per cent said they did not and would not. Only half of the remaining 49 per cent stated that they would without any ifs, ands, and buts. Not only were Neegroes discriminated aaginst in skilled jobs, but 35,000 out of the 83,000 available unskilled jobs were closed to Negroes also.

In the months ahead the USES is bound to be one of the focal points for the attention of those who want to end unfair hiring practices.

In the months since the Executive Order No. 8802, sentiment in Negro America has been rising. The March on Washington Movement held in the summer and fall of 1942 four gigantic mass meetings in New York, Chicago, St. Louis and Los Angeles. On Oct. 17, 1942, the **Pittsburgh Courier** announced the results of a poll on the question, "Do you believe that a march on Washington with Congress in session would accomplish any material good?" A headline summed up the results: "Clergy, Professionals, White Collar Workers Vote 'No'—Social Workers, College Students, Labor Organizers Vote 'Yes.'" The total vote was 53.1 per cent "No," 41.8 per cent "Yes," 5.1 per cent "Uncertain." The communities where the story of negotiations with the administration had been told showed: Chicago, 58 per cent "Yes" and 41 per cent "No." New York, 51 per cent "Yes" and 46 per cent "No." St. Louis, 65 per cent "Yes" and 28 per cent "No." Los Angeles, 54 per cent "Yes" and 44 per cent "No."

The future of the March on Washington Movement as an organization in the Negro community is still a question mark. Its all-Negro character is at odds with the traditions of the old-line agencies such as the NAACP and the Urban League. While it has without question attracted the emotional support of a vast section of Negro life, it has not demonstrated its organizational ability to follow through. It has, in fact, injected notes of division into the solution of a problem which is really that of America as a whole. But it has challenged white America to action.

Negro hopes rose high at the beginning of the war. Many felt that talk about freedom and democracy for all men would apply to Negro America. This hope was what helped release the Negro community and give it an additional push toward its group goals. However, "prejudice as usual" has remained the order of the day. In December, the Pittsburgh Courier which has carried on a "double victory" campaign—victory for democracy abroad and at home—queried the Negro community on the subject, *"Have you been convinced that the statements made by our national leaders about freedom for all peoples in*

of their polls the answer certainly indicated the main belief among Negroes. A vote of 81.2 per cent said "No"; 17.1 per cent said "Yes," and 1.7 per cent were uncertain. The "No" vote among southern Negroes was 83.5 per cent and "Yes" only 15 per cent.

Active In Labor

Many commenting on the change in spirit and leadership in the Negro community point out that this has accompanied the increase in the organization of Negro labor. Despite widespread discrimination in the labor movement, organized Negro workers are becoming the most articulate section of the national Negro community and are fast moving up in positions of leadership. Perhaps the most graphic example of this development is in the Negro community in Detroit, Mich.

In Detroit, the major union in the city, the United Automobile Workers, has given Negro workers a position of equality in the union and has succeeded in making the union a genuine part of the life of the Negro community. This has been done against great odds—prejudices on the part of white workers imported from the south and the original loyalty of thousands of Negro workers to Henry Ford. Detroit has practically the only chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a mass membership. It numbers some 12,000 people.

Out of a population of 13 million Negroes, six million are wage earners and salaried employes. Of this figure, 3½ million are in agriculture and domestic service. This leaves a little over two million in trade and industry where union activity is the greatest. Ernest Calloway, educational director of the United Transport Service Employes Union, wrote in the October issue of **Baga and Baggage**, the union monthly, that "of these two million in industry and trade, less than 90,000 were organized ten years ago. Today over 500,000 Negroes are estimated to be members of labor organizations. This great increase in union membership is due largely to the organizational campaign of the CIO in steel, coal, auto and other mass production industries."

Must Take Leadership

Mr. Calloway also comments that "ten years ago it would have been difficult to name four Negro labor personalities who occupied positions of national influence and power in the organized labor movement. Today you can name easily 20 or more." There is Walter Hardin, international representative of the United Automobile Workers Union; Willard S. Townsend, international president of the United Transport Service Employes Union; A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; John L. Yauncey, international secretary-treasurer of the Transport Employes Union; Milton P. Webster, international vice president of the Porters Brotherhood, and many others who hold national, and local and sectional positions. The relationship of these men to the Negro community as a whole as envisioned by many Negro labor leaders is best expressed by Calloway: *"Negro unionists must assume greater leadership in Negro communities instead of permitting individuals who represent none but themselves to monopolize group leadership. This is a day of representative leadership with rank and file democratic controls!"*

On the national scene, the newly created anti-discrimination committee of the CIO has not yet really been heard from. Its chairman is James Carey, secretary of the CIO, and its secretary is Willard Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employes, an almost all-Negro union. This committee has not as yet organized itself to make the weight of the CIO felt in Washington on the multitude of racial problems which have to be fought on a day-to-day and week-to-week basis with government policy of

able one. Their loyalties, their tempers, their consciences are sorely tried. They privately plead for pressure but are supposed to act as a shield to keep that pressure from being effective. They

Continued on Page Five

White Hits FDR's Secretary In the Squelching of FEPC

By James A. Wechsler
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14.—Walter White, chairman of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, charged today that White House Secretary Marvin McIntyre was partly responsible for suppression of the Fair Employment Practices Committee's (FEPC) long-planned exposure of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

Asserting that Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's ban on the FEPC railroad hearings must have been first considered at the White House, White accused McIntyre of "making decisions for the administration on the Negro issues" while "President Roosevelt is occupied with military problems."

"McIntyre is insufficiently informing the President of the real status of the discrimination problem," White said, "and is making decisions with his own particular slant on the race issue. In effect, McIntyre of Kentucky is setting himself up as self-appointed President of the Negroes."

Basis for Charge

White said his charge was partly based on the fact that all recent replies to communications to the White House on Negro issues had been signed by McIntyre. He said he doubted that the President had been given full appraisal of the situations discussed in the letters. White also said the President subsequently had admitted that he was not aware of all details of the executive order transferring the FEPC to the WMC at the time the order was signed.

McIntyre refused to comment on White's statements. However, a White House source said that the fact that letters were signed by McIntyre did not mean that the President was uninformed of the exchange. It also was pointed out that a large part of White House mail was signed by the secretaries. The same source declared that White's letters always had received the President's attention.

While White's charges sharpened the conflict created by the ban on the railroad exposure, these other developments were taking place in the anti-discrimination row:

¶ A delegation of 14 Detroit Negroes, led by the Rev. Charles Hill, chairman of the Detroit Citizens Committee for Jobs in War Industry, conferred with Lawrence W. Cramer, executive secretary of the FEPC, to protest the curtailment of the railroad hearings and to oppose threatened scrapping of similar hearings in Detroit.

Bard Changes View

¶ Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph Bard is understood to have informed Manpower Commissioner McNutt that the Navy was not opposed to discrimination hearings in Detroit if McNutt believed they would be helpful. Previously, Bard was reported as taking the stand that the hearings would hamper Army-Navy morale plans.

¶ Cramer revealed that a meeting of the

Marvin McIntyre

FEPC had been scheduled for a week from tomorrow, at which a showdown on the Committee's future is expected. While some members of the Committee are pressing for an earlier date, efforts to arrange an immediate session have been unavailing so far.

The battle began last Saturday, when McNutt informed Cramer that the projected railroad hearings, originally announced last October, would have to be called off. When members of the FEPC balked at issuing the announcement in the Committee's name, McNutt officially broke the news on Monday. Both the railroad unions and railway management were slated to face sharp attack at the public sessions, which were to begin on Jan. 25.

McNutt Gets NMU Protest on FEPC

The National Martime Union has protested to Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt against suppression of the FEPC hearing on racial discrimination in the railroad industry.

Ferdinand C. Smith, national secretary, sent this telegram to McNutt:

"The National Maritime Union protests the calling off of the proposed hearing on railroad discrimination before the FEPC. Such action is a blow to the war effort and tends to demoralize not only the Negro Americans who are anxious to serve their country in this crisis, but also the people of the United Nations who see this struggle as one against Hitlerism and all it stands for.

"Railroad transport is a key industry today. Failure to adjust grievances arising out of vicious discriminatory practices in the industry will interfere with and probably cause severe injury to the National war effort.

"We urge you to rescind the order postponing the hearing and make arrangements for its opening as scheduled."

Detroit Unions, Negro Groups Fight Hitch in FEPC Hearings

By Tom Dombrowski
(Special to the Daily Worker)

DETROIT, Jan. 15.—The report of cancellation of [pro]posed hearings on discrimination by the Fair Employ[ment] Practices Committee here has evoked quick response [from] labor, civic and Negro organizations.

Following an emergency meeting Wednesday ev[ening] a delegation left yesterday for Washington to see Paul V. McNutt to protest any attempt to forestall or call off the hearings in Detroit. It includes representatives from United Auto Workers locals, the Urban League, Citizens' Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Council of Churches, Civil Rights Federation, the Interracial Committee of the UAW-CIO and other organizations.

Shelton Tappes, secretary of the Ford Local 600 and chairman of the emergency meeting, told the Daily Worker that "if the hearing would be called off it would be a serious blow to the entire war effort and would affect the morale of [hun]dreds of thousands of Detroit citizens. To call off the hearing would be tantamount to toleration of the rank discrimination rampant in this critical war area and would imply that the influence of the poll taxers in Congress was growing stronger."

When asked by the Daily Worker whether the hearing has been called off, G. James Fleming, examiner in charge of the hearings, declared: "It is no more than a rumor although a very strong one. I have received no official word about it. Whatever action is taken is done on the Washington level. I will continue my work on the assumption that the hearing will go through."

BARD BACKS HEARING

Chances for survival of the FEPC were brightened Jan. 13 when Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph Bard made it clear that the Navy's position was not opposed to the proposed Detroit hearings on racial discrimination.

Only because of the mass pressure was a hearing scheduled for the latter part of February in Detroit. Way back in November, when the situation was considerably sharpened by the failure to hire thousands of Negro women willing and able to work, many with training, R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, sent a sharp wire to Washington urging that the "government move effectively at once" and "hold public hearings not later than Dec. 3," if the morale of the Negro people were not to be lowered even more.

Actually, up to November less than 100 Negro women were hired in the 125 war plants in the city. Following the pressure for the open hearing of the FEPC, several major corporations hired Negro women so that by January there were slightly over 1,000 employed. It is felt that the recent increased hiring is but token compliance with the Presidential order aimed at avoiding the need of a hearing. One hundred of the 125 plants do not hire any Negroes whatsoever.

The Citizens Committee for War Jobs for Negroes, the Urban League, the Jewish Community Council, the UAW-CIO Interracial Committee and many union locals have compiled a long list of discriminatory practices and cases. One of the most frequent is the question of upgrading Negroes according to seniority. This problem is raised by virtually every local in the city.

One of the most flagrant cases raised deals with the Michigan [Bell] Telephone Com[pany] con[cern]

The Daily Worker Jan. 15, 1943

right the cause of equal rights by keeping a vigilant eye on administrative acts. They use the threat of public resignations sparingly but they use it. They know that government policy on the treatment of minorities is first made through the goodness in the hearts of any administrator. Whether in the executive offices of the federal government, or in the governorship of a state, assert the conscience of a majority of white America so that they will not be captives, but public servants of a whole people.

On Labor's Post War Plan Committee

Milton P. Webster, first international vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the Federal Committee on Fair Employment Practice, who also heads the subcommittee for the investigation of racial discriminations on the railroads, has been appointed a member of the AFL Post-War Planning Committee by President William Green. Composed of nine members, the committee will begin work immediately on the following subjects: (1) A plan for labor representation on the peace conference which will follow victory. (2) Specific proposals which the labor representatives should seek to have incorporated into the peace treaty. (3) A broad program of post-war reconstruction to prevent a disasterous depression. (4) Expansion of social, political and economic security for America and the people of all lands.

Other members of the committee are Matthew Woll, chairman of the committee and one of the vice presidents of the American Federation of Labor; David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Miss Agnes Nestor, director of Research and Education of the International Glove Workers Union; Dr. John Childs of Columbia University, representing the American Federation of Teachers; Harvey Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists; George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Richard Gray, secretary of the International Union of [illegible]

PM Jan. 15, 1943

McNutt Hears FEPC Appeals; President Is Asked to Step In

Lawyers' Guild Charges Another Inquiry Was Squelched By State Dept.

The National Lawyers Guild has called on President Roosevelt to re-create the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) as an independent agency with complete autonomy to investigate discrimination as its members see fit.

In a letter signed by Martin Popper, national executive secretary, the Guild submitted a double-barreled complaint to the White House to back up its plea for executive action

¶ It protested against Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's action suppressing the FEPC's probe of anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry, and asked FDR to countermand McNutt's order.

¶ It charged that on a previous occasion, when the FEPC was eager to investigate segregation and mistreatment of Mexican workers in the Southwest, "certain persons" in the State Dept. intervened and got the probe suppressed.

Guild Proposed Inquiry

The letter disclosed that the Guild proposed the Mexican inquiry "to combat Fascist propaganda in the Southwest" and that the FEPC was ready to go ahead, when word came from the State Dept. that the Mexican government was opposed to the investigation.

To refute this, the Guild sent FDR a copy of a letter from Ignacio Garcia Telles, Mexico's Secretary of Labor, expressing pleasure that the hearing was contemplated and pledging full co-operation.

"We immediately forwarded a copy of this communication to the State Dept., the FEPC, and the Co-Ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, believing this would dissipate any misunderstanding as to the position of the Mexican government," said the Guild.

Bad Situation Unchanged

"Nevertheless, these hearings never have been held and the situation in the Southwest remains as serious as it ever was.

"We believe the pressures which were responsible for cancelling these hearings came from the same basic sources as those responsible for the present ruling to cancel the hearings in the railroad industry."

Attempting to identify "the basic sources of pressure," the Guild asserted:

"They are the advocates of the American version of Hitler's Aryan philosophy—the doctrine of 'white supremacy.' They are a few industrialists who care more about maintaining their profits under the system of discrimination than they do about a people's victory.

"They are the political representatives whose power is based upon the continuation of poll taxes, white primaries, lynch terror, and discrimination. They are the Dixons (Governor Dixon of Alabama) who refuse to produce for war rather than permit Negro citizens to participate in our war effort.

"They are the Martin Dies, the Eugene Coxes, and the filibustering Sen. Connallys who sabotage the will of the people. They are the representatives of these forces in the executive agencies of government who are stymying our production program and encouraging discrimination in the armed forces."

Groups Opposing WMC Ban on Railroad Probe Descend on Washington

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15. – Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt has agreed to meet today with representatives of groups opposing his ban on the Fair Employment Practices Committee's (FEPC) exposure of anti-Negro discrimination on the railroads.

Delegations were en route to this city from Detroit and New York to participate in the session with McNutt and to appeal for reconsideration of his action. The Manpower Commissioner's willingness to confer with these spokesmen stirred hopes in some quarters that he might be persuaded to reverse his decision.

McNutt has been under sharp fire from Negro, labor, and liberal groups throughout the week for ordering the FEPC to "postpone indefinitely" its hearings on Jim Crow in the railroad industry, as practiced by both railroad management and rail labor unions.

A new attack on McNutt's stand was issued last night by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and nationally known Negro leader.

In his first public declaration since the hearings suddenly were "postponed," Randolph called McNutt's move "the greatest blow to Negro morale that could be delivered at this time."

Randolph declared:

"It is a threat to democracy and plays directly into the hands of the Axis powers. The Negro people will insist that there is no substitute that the White House or McNutt can think of that will take the place of these public hearings and the continued existence of the FEPC."

Randolph is the head of the March on Washington movement, an organization set up by anti-discrimination groups which intermittently have threatened to stage a protest procession to the Capitol.

Labor resentment over scuttling of the railroad probe was reiterated yesterday by Walter P. Reuther, vice president of the United Auto Workers, CIO, in a sharply worded telegram to McNutt, demanding that the hearings be allowed to take place.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who launched a new attack on Paul V. McNutt.

People's Voice
Jan. 16, 1943

Daily Worker - Jan. 16, 1943

McNutt's Halting of FEPC Probe Endangers Nation's War Effort

By James W. Ford

James W. Ford

The cancellation of the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee) hearing on Negro discrimination in the railroad industry by Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the Manpower Commission, is a blow not only to winning the war, but to the very principles for which we are fighting.

Why is it that we seem to have the illusion of capitulating to reactionaries, appeasers and all even more apologists of the war effort. The cancellation of the FEPC hearing is capitulation to the big railroad magnates and employers. It is giving in to the Southern bourbons, poll-tax appeasers, disrupters of the war effort and national unity—to those who would flout the principles of the Atlantic Charter and insist on the keynote of our struggle "white supremacy" as opposed to freedom and liberty. It is also capitulation to those conservative, prejudiced union leaders in the Railroad Brotherhoods, who continue to hold to their Jim Crow policies.

This is no way to win the war. It is therefore necessary to speak plainly.

*

It is necessary to do away with discrimination as a war measure. Hundreds of cases have piled up in Washington. A new date for the hearing must be set. Members of the FEPC have shown their indignation at this high-handed action of Paul V. McNutt. One can understand the full justification of Mr. Ickes in submitting his resignation from the committee.

On December 5, we wrote in the columns of this paper that the workers will fall in the urgent necessity of supplying our armed forces with munitions, planes and tanks, in democratically distributing to the workers and civilians goods and commodities necessary for the war effort, and in raising the morale of the people, must set aside the discriminatory practices of Negro labor power.

We pointed, in reference to the railroad industry that discrimination is going at the heart of available Negro labor supply; it is hobbling back the war effort; it violates the elementary rights of Negro citizens; it is causing Negroes to ask: "What is my job, what is my share in the war?"

Further we stated that heavy pressure was being brought to bear against the railroad hearing and that some of the Negro people were connected with the Administration, thinking that the President is not doing enough to win jobs for Negroes.

We finally declared that: "Here is a chance for the government and the Administration itself to grab only this link (the railroad hearing) and dramatize more than ever before what can be done in a big way in integrating Negro labor supply behind the war effort. The same questions have been raised by the entire Negro press, by organizations of the Negro people, by labor organizations and win-the-war forces generally.

*

But despite all this no steps were taken in response to these clearly justified demands of Negro workers and their friends. On the contrary McNutt cancelled the hearings and practically abolished the FEPC. McNutt had no right to cancel these hearings unless some better methods for solving discrimination were already in operation.

The FEPC is the corrective of Executive Order 8802 on which basic policy against discrimination was established. If the government intends to pursue a course consistent with this policy it must go ahead with the hearing. To allow the McNutt action to stand will cause more confusion and demoralization among the colored citizens and will have reverberations among millions of peoples throughout the world who are engaged with us in this people's war of national liberation, and help play into the hands of our nation's enemies.

It so happens that such stupidities are causing great harm in the Negro people's movement. It plays into the hands of those who use the just demands of the Negro people for unity and support the reactionary forces in their drive. The "March on Washington Movement," headed by A. Philip Randolph, for example, is pressing a Civil Disobedience campaign against Jim Crow practices. This campaign, based on Gandhi's disobedience movement, has of course caused much harm to the national independence movement in India and the war effort of the United Nations. The same time it helps to organize and unite the Negroes under different circumstances. But such movements and moods can only make headway because of the opposition of the just demands of the Negro people.

This dangerous and erroneous conception "nationalist movement" of Randolph bears no relation to the genuine people's movement. This disobedience campaign projects a racial struggle, and the Negro and white unity to win the war becomes the axis which aims to divide both, black and white. The underlying idea behind Randolph's move is this: "The Negro is unwilling to participate in a war which is not his war, but by and for the white race." McNutt's edict is grist to Randolph's mill.

There are many sincere, honest and influential people among the Negroes who to a certain extent follow the Gandhi idea. It arises in the midst of the ebb and flow of events in the struggle to win this war. If to this are coupled the stupidities committed by government spokesmen, one can understand how many people are unable to keep a clear perspective.

Still another example is that of George Schuyler. He writes: "I am enjoying the embittered and disillusioned yammering of the liberal intellectuals like Pearl Buck who are just now discovering that this war has 'ceased to be a fight for freedom.'" Schuyler concludes: "This war has ceased to be a fight for freedom, because it never was such a fight."

This explains Schuyler's position all along. He overlooks the liberating character of this war. McNutt's edict is grist to Schuyler's mill.

Responsible Negro leaders, citizens and friends must [illegible] administration in the [illegible] movement to [illegible]

We must demand that the [illegible] go on, that the government abolish [illegible] Negro and white in the [illegible]

The Dail

[illegible] Delay

By Adam Lapin

[illegible] Delay.

[illegible] Commissioner [illegible] declared that [illegible] and that "every time [illegible] orders it is sticking [illegible] out and running the risk [illegible] mortal wound."

He said that the chances were 99 out of a hundred that the railroad industry would defy any order by FEPC to cease discrimination, and that such a defiance would prove "fatal."

Harper urged that the problem of discrimination be solved by "the long but safe route."

HITS APPEASEMENT POLICY

Ferdinand Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union, asked Harper:

"Do you mean to imply these southern railroads are more powerful than the government of the United States?"

"It seems to the mentality in Washington to take round-about route," Smith said. "What are you doing, you're appeasing. You're appeasing."

Shelton Tappes, Secretary of the powerful Ford Auto Local in Detroit, pointed out that the President has executive authority in time of war with which to enforce FEPC decisions.

At the start of the hearing, CIO Secretary James Carey voiced the protest of the CIO.

"Labor wants to know where we're going, whether FEPC will have authority to do anything," Carey said.

McNutt was non-committal for the most part, when he finally met with the delegation two hours after the appointed time.

Rev. Horace White of the Plymouth Church in Detroit protested that the delegates were being "treated like children."

Chairman of the delegation was Rev. Charles Hill, who represented all the Protestant churches of De[illegible]

Negro Rail Firemen Might Have Gained

WASHINGTON – The planned FEPC hearings on discriminatory policies of Southern railroads against Negro firemen which were postponed indefinitely Monday might well have struck at the roots of the discrimination in employment problem in the US. Negro firemen had for years enjoyed prosperity in employment. No Southern railroad would have anything but Negro firemen.

After World War I, however, the ascendancy of labor and consequent increase in wages brought the Negro fireman top money. The invention of the automatic stoker, making the work easier, followed. This was too much for the white Southerners.

The advent of the Diesel engine

Labor Committee Contacts McNutt

Report of the indefinite postponement of the planned FEPC hearings on Southern railroads discrimination against Negro firemen brought sharp protest from NYC's Negro Labor Victory Committee (NLVC) Tuesday. In a letter to Manpower Chairman Paul McNutt, who announced postponement, the NLVC said in part:

"If this reported action is true a great blow has been dealt to our efforts for complete national unity and winning the war."

Coincidentally, President Irving Abramson, NJ State CIO Council, in a letter to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in Washington, cited the complete absence of Negroes as field examiners or regional attorneys in NY as a serious fault with the NLRB setup.

Wrote Abramson: "I am sure that you recognize organized labor would welcome the appointment of one or more Negroes in any of these capacities and would receive notice of such employment with a feeling that another notch had been

On FEPC, McNutt and Retreats from Democracy

The abrupt "postponement" of the Fair Employment Practice Committee's hearings on discrimination in the Railroads is the latest of a series of *Retreats From Democracy*. Events of recent days indicate the rapidly growing strength of American Fascists and their willing or unwilling allies:—

- *The Readers Digest* article by a Negro Quisling;
- The approval of that article by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt;
- The statement of Rex Stout, chairman of the Writers' War Board: "We are not fighting this war to help Negroes, bowlegged women or men with whiskers";
- The world premiere of *Tennessee Johnson*, glorifying on the screen with many lies one of the worst aspects of the post-Civil War south, and now
- The "postponement" of the FEPC hearings!

The movement to keep the Negro in his place is rapidly gaining headway. The south is dominating the picture with its most vicious elements in the saddle. The administration fears that unless it plays to the south there will be an alignment of reactionary Republicans and Bourbon crackers which will form a Fascist majority in both the Senate and Congress. It is to be regretted that liberals and pseudo-liberals are giving hostages to the common enemy—FASCISM!

The Fair Employment Practice Committee was not created in good faith. It has been sabotaged from the very beginning. Included in its membership were individuals who were never completely sold on full Democracy. Placing a body of its type under the War Manpower Commission completely emasculated it. The resignation of David Sarnoff from that body this past week was probably a straw in the wind that he had recognized its futility.

THE FEPC IS COMPLETELY FINISHED. It can be saved only by the labor representatives and the two Negro members coming forward with a vigorous denunciation and a publicly stated determination to run the FEPC without bowing their knees to southern Fascism.

It is to be regretted that Paul McNutt allowed himself to be maneuvered into the position that he is now in. The announcement that the "postponement" met with the approval of all the members of the FEPC was not true. This has been vigorously and emphatically denied by Earl Dickerson.

If McNutt has presidential ambitions he may have gained the vote of the solid south but he has lost the Negro balance of power in the five largest states of the Electoral College. It is not too late for him to save his day. An immediate about face, a confession of error, a forthright and sincere statement, and a resumption of the hearings will turn the trick.

Not only has the fight for black railroad men been jeopardized, but a serious blow has been dealt the hopes of the first column of democracy.—*The Negro People*.

If the retreat from democracy continues, then the embryonic idealism of this war will be completely aborted.

EDITORIAL

Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt told a press conference Monday that the administration is considering a new approach to the problem of discrimination against Negroes and minorities in war plants and industry in general. Thus he attempted to explain the indefinite postponement of the FEPC hearing on Southern railroads' discriminating against Negro firemen. Here's what McNutt did not say:

That the new approach has been decided upon by the administration in fear of a coalition between the native fascist Southern bloc and the strengthened Republican minority in congress;

That the general policies of the new approach will therefore reflect most sharply the desires of that Southern bloc which is riding high and is determined to enforce its bigoted, race-hating will on the government of the na-

Storm Brews As FEPC Nips Probe On Southern Railroad Work Bias

Postponement of the hearings on discriminatory practices of Southern railroads against Negro firemen, first reported to *PV* last Saturday by its Washington correspondent and confirmed Monday by official announcement from Manpower Czar Paul McNutt in a press conference, has stirred up a tempest which may rock the entire nation. Immediate result of the action is blocking of what was expected to be a major blow at the prejudice in employment problems of the country.

The hearings were set for January 25-27 in Washington. Attorney Henry Epstein, former NYState solicitor general, had been retained by the FEPC as counsel for the body against the Southern railroads. Had the companies involved been found guilty, repercussions would have been far-reaching.

PV contacted Atty. Epstein Monday. He said he could make no comment. Tuesday he announced his resignation as FEPC counsel.

Monday, McNutt told his Washington press conference, to whom he had promised an official statement, that the decision to postpone (he insisted they had not been cancelled outright) the hearings was unanimously approved by members of the FEPC.

CONFIRM OR DENY STATEMENT

PV immediately wired each of the seven FEPC, Dr. Malcolm MacLean, William Green, Milton C. Webster, Earl Dickerson. Philip Murray, Mark Etheridge and David Sarnoff (Sarnoff is understood to have resigned but no official announcement has yet been made) asking each to confirm or deny McNutt's statement.

Dr. MacLean and Dickerson had replied up to Tuesday evening. MacLean wired: "I approved postponement railway hearing."

Dickerson telegraphed: "I have not approved postponement of railway hearings. If the hearings have been definitely postponed. the act of postponement was done by Chairman McNutt. The committee has not acted formally or otherwise on the question based upon facts available to me at the moment. As one individual member of the committee, I am opposed to the postponement."

Federated Press (FP), the labor news service, reported Tuesday that FEPC members had indicated determination to seek a showdown with McNutt. A meeting before Jan. 25 will be urged, FP reported, by committeemen who view McNutt's action as a challenge to FEPC's power. Failure to effect clearing up of the matter, it was hinted, may bring resignation of the group as a body.

MEADE TO MAKE INQUIRY

Senator James Meade of NY, contacted in Washington by phone, said Tuesday he would see McNutt, find out who called the postponement and why. Meade also said he would contact his NY colleague, Senator Robert Wagner, to work out what further action could be taken.

From other, unofficial, sources in the capital, it was pointed out that McNutt's action was a reversal of former statements from both himself and the White House. In correspondence McNutt has said he could not order hearings, that the Committee itself ordered them when the need was discovered.

At the time the FEPC was placed under the War Manpower Commission (WMC) a statemen; from the White House declared that FEPC would be more powerful than ever, that under WMC it could function more freely than before.

Capital rumors about conferences and congressional influences rampant in Washington and the White House itself were many over the weekend. By Monday, when McNutt made his announcement officially, many quarters, recalling McNutt's frequent press declarations that he was responsible to his "Boss" (meaning the President) promptly assumed the cancellation order had its origin directly from the executive mansion.

SECOND HEARING CANCELLED

This is the second important hearing cancelled with no reason being given. The first was in El Paso, Tex., believed to have been killed by the state department.

Although no official confirmation could be obtained, it was reported Tuesday that hearings planned for February in Detroit have also been cancelled. Ralph Bard, assistant secretary of the navy, has written to McNutt, asking that the Detroit hearings be put off on the grounds that the proceedings would interfere with the navy's program of having Negroes hired.

In NYC, report of the cancellation resulted in a meeting early Monday of Warren Banner, National Urban League research director; Edward Lewis, NYUrban League executive secretary; Max Yergan, National Negro Congress head; Ferdinand Smith, National Maritime Union secretary; Joe Ford, People's Committee executive secretary, and *PV* Editor A. Clayton Powell jr. with Wendell Willkie. Plans were discussed at this meeting, it was admitted, but details were withheld temporarily.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

No sooner does the welkin cease to ring with the strident denunciation of Warren Brown's apostasy than a new indignant clamor arises over the torpedoing of the FEPC. Judge Hastie resigns after discovering that like the bear "he ain't nowhere" and Dr. MacLean, having alone approved the McNutt move, goes over to the Navy reportedly to advise them how to handle Negroes.

These are days of disillusion for the Sons of Ham. It is the "morning after" ten years of wishful thinking intoxication. The painters of roseate dreams who trooped around the country at government expense proclaiming the imminence of Utopia because "liberal" New Dealers shook hands, clinked glasses and attended conferences with them, have now become bitter and vituperative.

* * *

It seems to be definitely the end of the long honeymoon between the New Deal and the Negro. I can sympathize with the understandably gullible Senegambians who saw the interracial Paradise "just around the corner." It did look to the superficially-minded as if the marriage of convenience would be one of permanence, what with the plethora of jim crow officers in Washington and the provinces under the Black Cabineteers and their subalterns.

From time to time in this place I have sought to indicate the baser metal underneath the film of gold by pointing to the disgraceful discrimination against the Negro at Boulder Dam, in the NRA, WPA, TVA, ROTC and Citizens' Training Camps, to name just a few. But doles and desk jobs blinded many to the truth. The stage was then being set for the streamlined, ruthless segregated set-up from which we are vainly attempting to escape today.

* * *

It was clear as soon as selective service became effective that the Administration was set on a strictly jim crow army with more "efficient" discrimination than embittered us during the last crusade for democracy. Remember, there was no organized demand from whites Americans *against* mixed units, so if the Administration had had the intention, vision and courage to establish a democratic army to fight for democracy, there would be a different situation in every direction, in and out of the Services. What has happened was not unplanned. Jim Crowism has been a consistent New Deal policy. And it is important to note that it has been the policy of all Administrations from 1776 to the present. Unless I am historically uninformed, jim crowism is the oldest American tradition. If the Republicans had been in office, they would have handled the Negro in the same way. Judge Hastie was doomed to fail.

* * *

The New Deal, so "friendly" to the Negro, had sufficient votes in the last Congress to pass a law punishing war contractors who discriminated against Negro workers. Mr. Roosevelt could have made one of his eloquent speeches urging passage of the measure as a war necessity. Instead, he issued an Executive Order which was never more than a moral directive, so the FEPC was doomed to failure before it started. Its ineffectiveness was demonstrated as soon as it tried to do something important and significant. Mr. Randolph, who lauded the Executive Order as just what he ordered, was soon criticizing his own set-up as toothless and ineffective, and talking about "another" March on Washington, which took place about as much as the first one did.

* * *

With reaction more firmly in the saddle in industry and the war machine, jim crowism is more bold and adamant. It rules the roost from Coast to Coast, and has followed the Army and the Navy wherever they have carried the gospel of our way of life. It is not only the rule in stations of all Services in sections where there are State jim crow laws but also in States where there are none. It forces colored officers to sit in jim crow sections away from other officers and amongst colored enlisted men. It prevents fraternity between colored and white officers, and between colored and white enlisted men, barring Negroes wherever possible and using terror to "keep them in line."

Faced with this menacing situation in the armed forces, in war industry, in the maritime service and elsewhere, those so-called Negro leaders are more confused than ever. The white "friends" upon whom they counted to run interference for them have lamentably failed or been shoved aside by the Kluxers. Their only tactic so far is to beseige the authors of jim crowism with telegrams protesting against jim crowism, or to threaten the launching of a suicidal civil disobedience campaign.

With a war to fight and win, the government will not countenance any interference with war effort and will crush such interference promptly, especially if it is colored, and use it as an excuse to kill forever the Negro's dream of equal citizenship rights, duties and privileges. So what's the next step?

New York Post
Jan. 20, 1943

McNutt Bars Door to Delegation Protesting Negro Job Prejudice

By JOHN BEECHER
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Jan. 20—War Manpower Commissioner McNutt still isn't talking about why he stopped the public hearing on railroad discrimination scheduled here for Jan. 25-27 by the President's Fair Employment Practice committee.

McNutt yesterday refused to see a protesting delegation of 52 representatives of 27 national religious, labor and Negro organizations.

Arriving at the Social Security Building to keep an appointment arranged days ago with McNutt, the delegation was told that only four persons would be admitted to McNutt's office. While the delegation considered this, they were faced by a cordon of police.

Note Is Sent Up

Alexander Meiklejohn, representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, got the police to let the group into the auditorium a few steps further inside the building, but only for five minutes.

The delegation then sent up a note to McNutt "respectfully insisting" on the interview, saying that many important organizations were represented and that many of the delegates had come a long way at their own expense. It was agreed that four persons would be selected to do the talking—Rev. James Myers, industrial secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; George K. Hunton, secretary, Catholic Inter-racial Council; Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, Central Council of American Rabbis, and A. Philip Randolph, chairman, Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen.

The Answer Is "No"

McNutt said "no" through a secretary. He said his secretary had told somebody yesterday that he would see a delegation of only four people. It was also said that those downstairs were mostly the same people who called on him last Friday about the same matter. This was challenged, since only three of the 52 had been in Friday. The Secretary refused to check the names against the Friday list because "it had gone to the file."

Rev. Myers commented that "McNutt's action speaks for itself" and the delegation left the auditorium after a bawling out from the girl in charge for having overstayed their alloted five minutes. Later the shocked and outraged delegates drafted a telegram of protest to President Roosevelt and arranged a New York protest meeting.

Meankhile, the FEPC, leaderless since the resignation of its chairman, Malcolm S. Maclean, suffered the loss of its only Southern member. Mark Ethridge, Louisville editor and first chairman of the committee, has sent his resignation to the President, it was learned.

Of the four remaining members, the three representing the CIO, AFL and Negro labor—John Brophy, Boris Shiskin and Milton Webster, respectively—have agreed upon "concerted action." It is believed that all three will resign unless McNutt reverses himself.

Pittsburgh Courier
Jan. 16, 1943

RAIL HEARING KILLED

McNUTT ADMITS HE CALLED OFF PROBE; NO RESIGNATIONS

BULLETIN! WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 14—At his press conference Monday afternoon, Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, told reporters he assumed full responsibility for the postponement of the Railroad hearings, scheduled this month by the Fair Employment Practices Committee. He said the postponement was decided upon to iron out differences with Southern railroads. Mr. McNutt also denied that any of the colored members of FEPC had threatened to resign.

By ROGER DIDIER
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14—Ordered last Friday to call off its scheduled hearings into employment discrimination on United States railroads, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices now has an opportunity to learn whether it can challenge job discrimination in the face wherever it finds it or must await the word of higher-ups to know just where and when it can act.

The railroad hearing, originally scheduled for November, had been postponed until January 18.

McNUTT ISSUED ORDERS TO FEPC

The order to the Committee to hold the hearing for common carriers was issued by Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

McNutt is said to have been ordered to act to call off the hearing by the White House.

His action spells out the answer to one question, "Is the Committee independent and free to act in accord with its own policy and decisions?" It is not.

Elaborate preparations for the hearing had been made by the Committee. Henry Epstein, former solicitor general for the State of New York, had been hired as special counsel to "ready" the case

special counsel, had been retained as Epstein's aide.

WOULD EXPOSE COLOR POLICY

The hearings would have exposed the iron-clad exclusion policy, based on color, of the Big Four railroad brotherhoods, conductors, trainmen, brakemen and engineers. It would also have turned the spotlight on the union of railway clerks.

National attention would have been focused on the killing of Negro workers on railroads in the South.

The obvious job discrimination on common carriers, however, was discounted, however, in the light of protests against the hearings which are said to have issued from the Army and Navy.

Those in the know can's discard the feeling that the hearings were killed because of the nature of the issue, race and color, involved. But they also recognize that the action taken, if the order did come from the White House, is in line with action taken in other cases involving prosecutions within war essential industries.

RIDDLE FORCED TO HALT SUITS

The office of the attorney general of the United States has run into the same obstacle encountered by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, that is, the unwillingness of the Army and Navy to permit prosecution of firms which are doing big jobs for the services.

The attorney general has had to pigeon-hole several anti-trust suits built up by Thurman Arnold because the Army and Navy have objected and the President has agreed to withhold prosecution until after the war.

Firms against which these suits were directed have protested to the Army and Navy that they would lose so much time defending themselves that they would not be able to perform their tasks for the Army and Navy.

"Why retard us with these court actions when we are trying to help you win a war?" these firms have asked in substance.

FDR CONSULTED

The Army and Navy have taken the question to the President and it has been agreed that the suits should be postponed.

Thus it is within reason to assume that the railroads have made a similar plea and have won the Army, Navy and President to their side.

This in spite of the fact that many persons believe that the plea of the firms under indictment is phony. These people maintain that industrial management [illegible] little to do with court action, that these matters are handled by high-priced attorneys [illegible] of production [illegible] not [illegible]

PM Jan. 20, 1943

McNutt Closes Door To Protests on FEPC

Refuses to See Delegation Representing 28 Organizations

By Gordon H. Cole
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—A delegation of 40 leaders of church, labor, and liberal organizations was turned away by Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt yesterday when they came to protest his order postponing hearings into charges of racial discrimination on Southern railroads.

The delegation was stopped by uniformed guards at the entrance to the new Social Security Building, which houses the War Manpower Commission and other Government agencies.

McNutt sent down word that he would see no more than four of the group. The delegation was herded into a vacant auditorium near the building entrance and there the leaders drafted a note to McNutt, stating:

"Downstairs are representatives of 28 national labor, religious, and civic organizations for the appointment regarding your order to postpone the Fair Employment Practice Committee hearings on railway discrimination.

Suggest Compromise

"We have come at our own expense. Now we are told you will see only four persons. We respectfully insist that the full delegation be permitted to attend, with the understanding that not more than four persons shall speak.

"Otherwise, we feel we must return, respectfully declining the interview."

The spokesmen were to have been picked from these five: Rev. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; George K. Hunton, secretary of the Catholic Inter-Racial Council; Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, and Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The petition, signed by all 40, failed to win the group access to Manpower Commissioner McNutt's office.

Commission officials explained that the Chairman's refusal to see the big delegation

stemmed from a meeting with another large group on the same subject last Friday. At that time, it was said, McNutt decided that nothing could be accomplished with big conferences.

Having been turned down, the delegation returned to the offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, where a telegram reporting McNutt's conduct was drafted and sent to the White House for the President's attention.

Action Deplored

One of the leaders, Rev. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, later issued a statement, publicly deploring as "most regrettable" McNutt's action in postponing indefinitely hearings which had been scheduled by the FEPC on discrimination against Negroes working as firemen and on other jobs on Southern railroads.

Myers contended that the incident raises "the whole question of the status and future usefulness of the FEPC, which has been like a beacon of hope in a heretofore dark picture of race discrimination and lack of democracy in employment practices in many industries."

Plans for the attempted conference with McNutt were organized by the Citizens' Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen's Jobs. Mayor La Guardia is chairman of that committee and Eleanor Roosevelt honorary chairman.

THE NATION

FEPC Head Resigns; Agency Seen Doomed

If you disapprove of things like this happening, write your Congressman and Paul V. McNutt.

By Gordon H. Cole
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19.—The U. S. Government appeared to be faltering today in two of its major efforts to make democracy mean something to Negro as well as white Americans.

Malcolm MacLean, chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), has quit to take a job as adviser on Negro affairs for the Navy Dept., it was learned.

At the same time, Judge William H. Hastie, civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson and adviser on Negro problems, announced his resignation.

Negro circles in Washington read into MacLean's move from FEPC to the Navy Dept. the beginning of the end of that Committee and its attempt to enforce the President's policy forbidding racial discrimination in the employment of workers in war plants.

Sided With McNutt

Some Negro leaders predict that no successor to MacLean would be appointed by the President and that the Committee would be allowed to die.

MacLean, president of Hampton Institute, a Negro College at Hampton, Va., it was pointed out, is the only member of the FEPC who has sided with Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission (WMC), in the latter's suppression of the FEPC's attempt to hear charges of discrimination against the railroad unions.

That he, the most conservative member, should be going, it is felt, means that the more liberal members would certainly have no chance of survival.

The remaining Committee members will meet Friday of this week for the first time since McNutt intervened to cancel the railroad hearings.

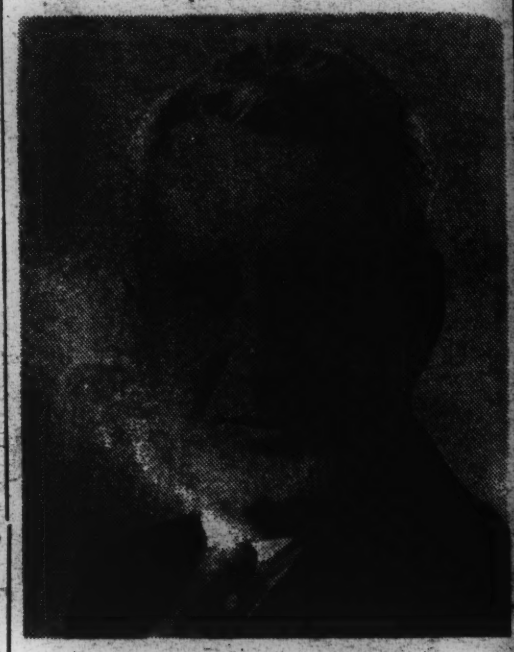
The Committee has on its immediate agenda a series of hearings to investigate charges of discrimination lodged against war contractors in the Detroit area.

These hearings have been scheduled for later this month, or early in February. Fear that McNutt also might prevent the Committee from conducting these hearings was dispelled partially yesterday, when McNutt told a press conference that there was no question of postponement of the hearings and that there would be no attempt to block them.

Judge Hastie's Resignation

Judge Hastie's resignation from the War Dept. ended a 2½-year struggle to end discrimination in the Army.

Hastie, first Negro to be appointed to a Federal judgeship, was made special assistant to the Secretary of War in October, 1940—a few days before the last national election.



Malcolm S. MacLean

Since he went to work, the War Dept. has hired many Negroes for white collar positions (4000 were taken on in six months last year), a Negro tank battalion has been formed, and there has been no segregation at officers' training schools.

But Judge Hastie was unable to persuade the Army to expand aviation opportunities for Negro pilots. At the present the only aviation training open to Negroes is limited to the school at Tuskegee, Ala., which turns out 33 pursuit pilots a year.

Hastie also was turned down in his attempt to have the War Dept. issue a pamphlet instructing all troops about respect for Negro soldiers, just as it issued pamphlets instructing the troops on the proper conduct and attitudes toward the English, the North Africans, Australians, etc.

Assemblyman Wants FDR to Act on FEPC

Staff Correspondence

ALBANY, an. 19.—War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt was attacked last night in the New York State Assembly for suspending hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) on charges of discrimination against Negro railroad workers.

A resolution introduced by Assemblyman Andrews (D., Manhattan) called for the State Legislature to request President Roosevelt to order resumption of the hearings. Andrews declared that when the FEPC was transferred from an independent body to an appendage of the War Manpower Commission, "many thoughtful persons feared that politics and other influences would stultify and render the FEPC ineffective." He added:

"The order of Commissioner McNutt, suspending indefinitely the hearings, seems to lend substance to those fears."

McNutt Consents to Meet FEPC Members Tomorrow On Negro Discrimination...

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21.—Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission (WMC), will meet with members of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) tomorrow in an attempt to quiet the storm raised by his action in indefinitely postponing the Committee's public hearings into racial discrimination on Southern railroads.

The meeting will be the first held since the railroad hearings were called off indefinitely, and the first since Malcolm S. MacLean resigned as Committee chairman. MacLean, it was learned, also has resigned as president of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., to become the Navy's adviser on Negro problems.

With some of the members known to be threatening to resign in protest against what they feel is McNutt's interference with efforts to enforce the national policy prohibiting racial discrimination on all war contracts a stormy session is expected.

Whether McNutt's action in calling off the public hearings under what obviously must have been strong pressure from Southerners in Congress and in the Democratic party is the forerunner of an attempt to kill the Committee entirely is doubted by Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of FEPC.

"I have not yet seen an indication that the chairman of the War Manpower Commission is attempting to put a straight-jacket on the Committee," Cramer told PM.

Meantime, two groups have scheduled public demonstrations protesting McNutt's postponement of the railroad hearings. One on Sunday, by the Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen, will hear James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL. The other, on Monday, will present Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, and Willard Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employes, CIO.

With McNutt on the dais at the June conference sat the Rev. Clayton Powell, Jr., City Councilman and Harlem leader. *PM Photos by Irving Haberman*

. . . Sweet-Talk Manpower Boss Has Mismated Words, Actions

Most reliable of old sayings is the one about judging a man by his deeds, not his words.

Applying that yardstick to Manpower Boss Paul V. McNutt, he is no friend of Negro labor, despite a lot of sweet talk he poured on Negroes in New York last Summer.

Listen to this—from the man who has torpedoed the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee:

"Discrimination—based on anything but a man's sheer worth—must go. Discrimination against every race must go."

Listen to this—from the man who just has closed his door in the face of a delegation which wanted to see him in Washington to stop racial discrimination by Southern railroads:

"We are not using Negroes enough. . . . There are still too many employers who stipulate on their hiring schedules that certain jobs are barred to Negroes."

That's McNutt sweet talk, and it doesn't jibe with his actions—it's not even close. There are hundreds of words like it. They were delivered, with all the panoply of his position as War Manpower Director, to a heavily attended Negro Labor Victory Conference at the Golden Gate Casino, in Harlem, last June 28.

"Man's inhumanity to man has been laid heavily upon you," McNutt told the Negroes. "You have suffered grievous discrimination. And when you demand a redefinition of fundamental American rights, your claims are just and sound."

(This excerpt would have gone very well if it had been delivered to the delegation that waited upon him in Washington.)

"Today, America is making up for lost time," McNutt said—then. "From the great reservoir of more than 5,000,000 Negro workers, needed men will be found for the production lines at home. . . . It is unthinkable that our sacrifices shall be in vain."

(When—if—the delegation ever views the blinding radiance of the Great White Manpower boss, it might aptly quote those words back to him. They're good words.)

"We fight today two battles," McNutt said last June. "We fight a battle for the world, a battle for the victory of free men everywhere. And we fight at home the battle of our souls. In every act, in every decision, in every word, our democracy and its ideals hang in the balance."

Sweet talk.

Sweet Talk McNutt greeted mother of Dorie Miller, heroic Negro sailor, at June meeting. Photo at top of page shows him on platform.

Paid Board Planned To Replace FEPC

By JOHN BEECHER
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Jan. 21—White House advisors are at work trying to fill the void left by the premature collapse of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, it was learned today. The FEPC collapsed when Manpower Commissioner McNutt called off scheduled public hearings here on discrimination in the railroad industry.

Now plans are on foot to devise a new FEPC which will offer some hope to Negroes and other minorities while conducting itself so adroitly as to offend nobody, not even the Talmadges, Dixons and Rankins, in the process of liquidating discriminatory employment practices.

The New Proposition

The new plan, it was learned, calls for a paid board of three to five members—an independent group, or in the President's executive office—to replace the old committee of seven members serving voluntarily. Questions as to who would make up such a board, where the money would come from to pay the salaries of board members and their investigative staff, still have not been answered.

Spokesmen of minority and labor groups who have been putting up an unyielding fight for the salvaging of the President's anti-discrimination order from the wreckage of the FEPC, approve the mechanics of the proposed plan. Everything depends, they say, on the personnel of the new board, on the specific powers and defenses granted it to conduct discriminations, on whether it will have the right to conduct public hearings and issue compliance orders, and finally on whether it will be given enough money to do its job.

Broken Promise Charged

Ernest Angell, of the Council for Democracy Inc., 11 W. 42 St., in a letter to Manpower Chief McNutt, charged today that the postponement of the scheduled FEPC hearings "comes as a surprise since it appears to be a contradiction to your promise to strengthen the committee."

Mr. Angell said that he had been given the assurances of both the President and McNutt that the transfer of the FEPC to the War Manpower Commission "would augment the committee's power and would not subordinate it to another government agency."

THE CALL
Jan. 22, 1943

PROTEST AGAINST 'POSTPONEMENT' OF DISCRIMINATION HEARINGS MOUNTING

A. Philip Randolph will lead a delegation of Negro, labor, church and civic leaders to Washington Monday, Jan. 18, to see Paul McNutt to protest cancellation of the FEPC railroad hearings. The group will leave Pennsylvania Station in New York on the 8:30 a. m. train, arriving in Washington 12:25 p. m.

THAT the American people generally want to put an end to the "racism" that has disgraced us, and is resentful of the Manpower Commissioner McNutt's sudden "indefinite postponement" of the Fair Employment Practices Committee hearings on job discrimination in the railroad industry, is indicated by the storm of protests reaching Washington.

The Socialist Party called upon McNutt to rescind his action, which was "an invitation to discrimination by all the recationary forces in our society."

The Socialist spokesmen pointed out that their previous fears, expressed in a letter of Aug. 28, 1942, to the President and the manpower czar, that transfer of the FEPC to the War Manpower Commission would hamstring it, were now proved justified.

CIO Secretary James B. Carey, head of the CIO anti-discrimination committee, appealed to McNutt to "correct this grievous error, before we lose the faith of millions of people, at home and abroad." AFL President William Green has instructed Boris Shishkin, his representative on the FEPC, to insist on an immediate meeting of the committee, and to express vigorously AFL's protest against the postponement.

Rev. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and Dr. George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary of the Race Relations Department, issued a statement deploring the postponement of the hearings. They said that "moral and religious issues of justice and brotherhood are involved which can no longer be evaded."

Workers Defense League Chairman Laurence T. Hosie, minister of Presbyterian Labor Temple, wired both the President and McNutt, asking reconsideration of the postponement, which he termed a move tending to "destroy confidence in the integrity of America's war effort." The full text of his wire to the President follows:

"Our board learned of indefinite postponement of FEPC railroad hearings with amazement. What other interpretation is possible than that the administraion is unable or unwilling to oppose mounting racism with all its inevitable frightfulness? Loyal American workers have a right to these hearings. It is not too late to turn back. Mr. President, give us some assurance that racism, the cornerstone of Nazism, is rejected by America's builders."

A protest by A. Philip Randolph, national director of the Negro March on Washington Movement, charged the postponement was "a slap in the face and an insult" to Negro America.

An appeal from Manpower Commissioner McNutt to the court of public opinion is planned by the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, which was prevented from airing its grievances before the Fair Employment Practice Committee when Mr. McNutt abruptly called off the Washington hearings scheduled for Jan. 25-27 without consulting the members of the Committee.

Witnesses who were to have testified before the FEPC will appear instead at a mass meeting to be held Sunday, Jan. 24, 2:30 p. m. in the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, Washington, D. C. Representatives of the railroads and of the all-white railroad unions will also be asked to attend. The meeting will be addressed by A. Philip Randolph, Milton K. Webster, member of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, James B. Carey, secretary, CIO, Dr. Lawrence W. Ervin, chairman N. Y. March-on-Washington unit, Thurman Dodson, and Paul Scharrenburg, legislative representative of the AFL. The chairman of the meeting will be B. F. McLaurin, national organizer of the

Protest Against 'Postponement' Of Discrimination Hearings Is Steadily Mounting

Continued from Page One

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A. F. of L.).

In a letter to the Citizen's Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen's Jobs, Mr. McLaurin declared that "the withdrawal of this crucial issue from the salutary light of public discussion to backoffice realms of intrigue and pressure politics may well be considered ominous by liberals of all colors and all creeds. If the record of what the carrier-white brotherhood coalition has been doing to drive Negroes out of their jobs on the railroads is too black to be exposed in public hearings, the same thing will shortly be said of the grievances of other racial minorities."

The text of the Socialist Party's letter addressed to Mr. McNutt by Harry Fleischman, the party's national secretary, and Travers Clement, chairman of the National action committee, follows:

"The Socialist Party, U.S.A., wishes to protest vigorously against your cancellation of the hearings of the Fair Employment Practices Committee on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry.

"On August 28, 1942, we wrote you protesting against the transfer of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission because of our fears of the effect of the transfer upon the work of the committee.

"In your reply to our letter dated September 9, 1942, you wrote 'You may be sure that the work of the committee will continue and that I shall give every assistance to it.'

"Unfortunately, it now appears that our fears were justified. Your cancellation of the hearings is a shattering blow to the prestige and work of the committee and may result in the complete liquidation of all Negro employment on the railroads in the South. It will certainly be an invitation to discrimination by all the reactionary forces in our society.

"We urge you to rescind your 'postponement' of the long-scheduled hearings of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and attempt to repair the damage you have already wreaked upon the movement against discrimination in America."

Washington, D. C.—Horace Sheffield, international representative of the United Auto Workers, CIO, who visited Lawrence Cramer, FEPC secretary, with a delegation of 12 from Detroit on Jan. 13, declared after the meeting that "Mr. Cramer is laying the basis for any future development which might lead to the liquidation of the FEPC." He revealed that a huge delegation of labor, Negro, church and civic leaders from Detroit is coming to Washington very soon to protest the cancellation of the railroad hearings to McNutt. Similar delegations are expected from other cities.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Mr. Cramer told the group that:

1. The FEPC had not voted on postponement of the railroad hearings. McNutt ordered them.

2. "Certain people in high places in government consider that certain Negro leaders are harming rather than helping the Negro. Some of these people think that about Walter White and A. Philip Randolph."

3. "Certain people in government who are against discrimination feel that there are other ways in which the problem of discrimination could be handled than through Executive Order 8802 and the FEPC."

Frank P. Graham May Head New 'FEPC'

Board Would Have Broad Powers Under Anti-Bias Order

By JOHN RIECHER
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Jan. 22—Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Labor Board, is being considered for head of a new federal anti-discrimination agency to supplant the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, it was learned today.

The gravity of the situation created by the FEPC's collapse, after War Manpower Commissioner McNutt called off the scheduled hearing on railroad discrimination, is being reluctantly faced by the Administration. With nothing to meet the insistent demands of Negroes and other minorities hit by discrimination, an explosion seems inevitable unless action is taken at once.

The appointment of a full time Fair Practice Board with Graham as chairman would go far toward repairing the damage. The plan would take the board from McNutt's control and make it an autonomous body in the President's executive office with Graham ranking as a Presidential executive assistant.

Broad Powers Planned

The new Fair Practice Board, according to the plan, would investigate charges of discrimination, hold hearings and issue findings and directions binding upon such operating and contracting agencies of the government as the War Manpower Commission, War and Navy Depts. and Maritime Commission. These agencies would be empowered to withhold manpower from offenders, cancel contracts or take what other steps were necessary to secure enforcement of the Presidential order forbidding discrimination.

Besides Graham, other likely members of the proposed board are John Brophy of the CIO, Boris Shishkin of the AFL, Milton P. Webster of the Sleeping Car Porters' Brotherhood, and Earl Dickerson, Chicago attorney, who helps shape what is left of the present FEPC since the resignations of Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean, David Sarnoff and Mark Ethridge.

A possible choice for executive director of the new board is Henry Epstein, former New York

Associated Press Photo

FRANK P. GRAHAM, who is being considered for head of a new federal anti-discrimination agency, shown in a recent photo with Mrs. Roosevelt and William L. Batt, WPB official.

State Solicitor General who was retained by the FEPC as general counsel for the hearing on railroad discrimination but resigned in protest over McNutt's veto.

Developments may be expected from a meeting of the old FEPC remnant with McNutt today. Further resignations from Bropry, Shishkin, Dickerson and Webster are expected unless McNutt reverses himself on the railroad hearing or a positive plan for the rehabilitation of the FEPC is presented.

McNutt Consents to Meet FEPC Members Tomorrow

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21.—Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission (WMC), will meet with members of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) tomorrow in an attempt to quiet the storm raised by his action in indefinitely postponing the Committee's public hearings into racial discrimination on Southern railroads.

The meeting will be the first held since the railroad hearings were called off indefinitely, and the first since Malcolm S. MacLean resigned as Committee chairman. MacLean, it was learned, also has resigned as president of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., to become the Navy's adviser on Negro problems.

With some of the members known to be threatening to resign in protest against what they feel is McNutt's interference with efforts to enforce the national policy prohibiting racial discrimination on all war contracts a stormy session is expected.

Whether McNutt's action in calling off the public hearings under what obviously must have been strong pressure from Southerners in Congress and in the Democratic party is the forerunner of an attempt to kill the Committee entirely is doubted by Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of FEPC.

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What Paul V. McNutt Says:

From a speech by the War Manpower Director before the Negro Labor Victory Conference at the Golden Gate Casino, in Harlem, last June 28.

"Discrimination—based on anything but a man's sheer worth—must go. Discrimination against every race must go. . . .

"We are not using Negroes enough. . . . There are still too many employers who stipulate on their hiring schedules that certain jobs are barred to Negroes. . . .

"Man's inhumanity to man has been laid heavily upon you. You have suffered grievous discrimination. And, when you demand a re-definition of fundamental American rights, your claims are just and sound. . . .

"Today, America is making up for lost time. From the great reservoir of more than 5,000,000 Negro workers, needed men will be found for the production lines at home. . . . It is unthinkable that our sacrifices shall be in vain. . . .

"We fight today two battles. We fight a battle for the world, a battle for the victory of free men everywhere. And we fight at home the battle of our souls. In every act, in every decision, in every word, our democracy and its ideals hang in the balance."

What Paul V. McNutt Does:

On Jan. 12, less than seven months after his Harlem speech, he announced that the Fair Employment Practice Committee's hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry had been "indefinitely postponed," an order which sidetracked the FEPC's most important

On Jan. 19, he turned away a delegation of 40 leaders of church, labor, and liberal organizations who appeared at his office to protest against the postponement.

On Jan. 20 [illegible] to meet with

Resignations Flow Freely:

Complete Breakdown Of FEPC Expected

By ST. CLAIR BOURNE

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, front line force in the fight for true democracy at home, sagged visibly, appeared near collapse this week as events followed cancellation by Manpower Boss McNutt of the committee's scheduled hearings on railroad discrimination in employment against the Negro.

Dr. Malcolm MacLean, president, Hampton Institute, and chairman of the FEPC—who had sided with McNutt in his decision, resigned from the committee, it was announced Monday. MacLean quit to take a job as adviser on Negro affairs for the navy department, it was reported.

Meanwhile, following closely the action of Attorney and former NYState solicitor general who resigned as FEPC counsel last Tuesday, Attorney Charles H. Houston tendered his resignation from the same job Saturday. Attorney Harold A. Stevens, last of the three special counsel retained by the committee, revealed Monday that he too had quit. All three resignations were in protest of McNutt's action.

Houston, in his letter of resignation, charged: "The action of Mr. Paul V. McNutt . . . exposes the hollow pretension of the Government's pledge. . . ."

Stevens, in his notification, declared that the cancellation order "was a blow to the Negro railroad workers. . . ."

Other developments in the situation included:

● a meeting of McNutt and a large delegation headed by A. Philip Randolph of the March on Washington (MOW) movement and including representatives of the Federal Council of Churches, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Central Council of American Rabbis, Catholic Interracial Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Union for Democratic Action, Workers Defense League, American Civil Liberties Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers Union, Urban League, and NAACP;

● presentation before the NY State legislature in Albany by Assemblyman William T. Andrews (D-21 AD) of a resolution asking immediate resumption of the FEPC hearings;

● sending numerous protests to McNutt from organizations and individuals all over the country, including the National Maritime Union, the Negro Labor Victory Committee;

● voicing of charges by NAACP's Walter White that Presidential Secretary Marvin McIntyre was partly responsible for the cancellation order from McNutt;

● request by the National Lawyers Guild that [illegible] to countermand [illegible];

● preparation by the other FEPC members for a meeting this Friday when, it is believed, the continuance of the entire group may be decided.

WASHINGTON—Paul V. McNutt, in a conference with a delegation of 40 trade union, Negro and other minority leaders here Friday (Jan. 15), openly assumed sole responsibility for cancellation of the FEPC railroad hearings, said he had acted in accordance with his best judgment but refused to disclose any of the factors influencing his decision.

The delegation waited two hours and five minutes before seeing the Manpower boss, spending about an hour and a half of it in discussion with Fowler Harper, McNutt's deputy commissioner.

Attempting to infer that a plan superior to the FEPC setup for creating employment opportunities for Negroes is in the offing, McNutt met all questions with implacable "I'll-take-all-you-give-but-I-won't-talk" attitude, McNutt met with silence all arguments that his action was capitulation to Southern reaction.

Implying that he is merely carrying policy from the White House, McNutt's most significant comment during the interview was:

"I am the man who has to go before Congressional hearings on budgetary matters, not FEPC."

PEOPLE'S VOICE
1-23-43

The PEOPLE'S

Democracy In Last Ditch Battle On Home-Front

Someone is giving Paul McNutt a bum steer in our nation's capital. It is obvious that some group maneuvered or needled the War Manpower Director into a bad position when he canceled the FEPC hearings. Conferences held with Mr. McNutt clearly indicated that his hands were tied. He has refused to answer any questions and has accepted the full responsibility for the cancellation.

The cancellation of the hearings of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee is the most dangerous blow to the Negro people, democracy and full prosecution of the war that has yet been dealt. This is one issue around which all Negroes and all democracy-loving whites must unite. If we fail to unite and fail to win in the fight, then American Fascism will be here to stay. The group that has needled and maneuvered Mr. McNutt is the same group that wants the Poll tax and lynch law.

AMERICAN FASCISM IS WINNING THE WAR ON THE HOME FRONT. Make no mistake about this—the fight to embarrass our President is gaining headway rapidly. The new cry is *"Win the war at any cost, to democracy and civil liberties."* The only power to stem the tide and support the President is *"we the people."* The first great test of our power is whether the FEPC shall continue or not. We say "IT MUST." They say "IT WILL NOT." Only complete, undeviating unity will make the side of right triumphant.

To achieve this unity the Simon Legrees must be purged from one side and the Uncle Toms from the other. Regardless of what our difference may be in the fields of politics or religion we must unite to make this a people's fight. Every individual and group must immediately plunge into this struggle.

ACTION STEPS:

● Write and wire immediately the President and Paul McNutt, urging the immediate re-opening of the railway hearings with full power for the FEPC.

● Arrange conferences for city-wide committees with Mr. McNutt. Already Detroit and New York have consulted with him.

● Make sure that your Congressman and Senator give you a specific reply in writing as to their stand on the abolition of the Poll Tax and the passage of an Anti-lynching bill.

● Hold mass meetings within the next week of Negro and Whites. At these meetings pass resolutions and forward them immediately to the Capitol.

● Form permanent committees in your community to see that the FEPC is kept posted concerning all local discriminatory practices in industry.

We want this war at home and abroad to be fought on the people's terms. This is our land and because we love it we want to see it rise to the heights of pure democracy. This is our war and we don't want it fought for the protection of any status-quo group but for the liberation of all peoples. This is our world. This is not a white man's world, nor do we want it to be a black man's world. We want it to be a people's world!

FEPC HEARING POSTPONE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Because the decision which is now made will profoundly affect the course of things to come we renew our request that the Fair Employment Practice Committee be restored to its completely independent status," said Walter White this week in a letter urging the President's reversal of McNutt's War Manpower order of the postponement of the January 25th Fair Employment Practice Committee hearing on discrimination in railroad employment.

"We want you to know," said White, "that we understand and are deeply sympathetic with you personally because of the difficulties which the making of such a decision will entail. We know the terrible dilemma you face in the 78th Congress because of the coalition formed against you and against all liberal legislation by members of the Congress of your own party from the South, and of certain members of the Republican party. We have been informed of the lobbying being done among these members of the Congress by representatives of the railway brotherhoods and some of the representatives of the railroads who bitterly oppose any action which would attempt to correct the vicious discrimination against Negroes on certain of the public carriers of the United States. But we respectfully submit that any surrender to such forces, or any manifestation of weakness in the face of the barrage from them would be disastrous not only for the Negro but for the principle of democracy itself. Temporizing can only encourage those persons who wish to perpetuate the status quo with all its inequalities and discriminations.

"We know also, that certain members of your secretariat, who are distinctly unsympathetic to Negroes who ask unequivocally for full citizenship status as well as duties, may have given you less than a co[mplete] picture of the situation [as] been informed, for exa[mple] distinguished white [per]sons visitors to The White [House] violently delinquiatory [state]ments by one of your [secretaries] against Negroes who [have] come to The White [House] mendicants but [have] made their requests [for] ing of injustice [against] Negro without [bitterness] am informed that [Mr. A.] ip Randolph and myself [are] particular objects of [attack].

As an important [consideration] factor to decisions [concerning] Negroes, White pointed [out] on matters relating to [the] gro the President has [up]casion conferred exclusively with white Americans. [He] stated that in most [instances] the President's informants [have] been honest and sincere [in] their opinion valued but [it] that the President resume [the] former practice of discussing with qualified Negroes [issues] which are of paramount importance to the nation's welfare. "In saying this," White added, "we do not in any way suggest any individual or representative of any organization."

"May we again strongly urge," White concluded, "that you restore the Fair Employment Practice Committee to its [full] independent status prior to [its] transfer to the War Manpower Commission.

NAACP BRANCHES ORGANIZE PROTEST

NEW YORK—Major NAACP branches throughout the country swung into action this week and organized telegram and letter writing squads protesting the ban on FEPC investigations of Railroad discrimination hearings scheduled for January 25.

Alfred Baker Lewis, NAACP board member and chairman of the Negro Work Committee of the Union for Democratic Action also joined in the protest

FEPC Facing Overhauling

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special)—Just what the future holds for the President Fair Employment Practice Committee is not known, but persons close to the White House hint that the body is in for a complete overhauling before it gets down to work again.

The committee was established by President Roosevelt in 1941 when the United Nations were fighting with their backs to the wall and every effort was being made to unify the people. In recent months, however, since the prospects of an Allied victory have become brighter, there has been a tendency toward reaction.

A decision to reorganize the committee, which has been investigating war industries believed practicing discrimination, is said to have emanated from the White House. In recent weeks the FEPC ran into trouble when it cracked down on the Capital Transit Co. here, when it threatened to expose injustices of the Southern Railroads regarding Negro employees, and when its chairman Malcolm MacClean resigned to join the navy.

The full committee is expected to meet Jan. 25, when a decision will be made as to what it intends to do and how it expects to function in the future.

THE TABLET

Jan. 23, 1943

16TH BREAKFAST OF NEGRO LAYMEN

Msgr. Moore Addresses Group On Interracial Harmony

Over a hundred white and Negro Catholics attended the 16th annual Mass and Communion-Breakfast of the Catholic Laymen's Union, a group of Catholic Negro business and professional men, which was held last Sunday. The celebrant of the Mass, at Old St. Peter's Church, Barclay St., Manhattan, was Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., associate editor of "America" and chaplain of the Laymen's Union.

The principal speaker at the Breakfast, held at the Terminal Banquet Room, Manhattan, was Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward Roberts Moore, pastor of Old St. Peter's Church, and member of the New York Housing Authority.

Other speakers were Richmond Barthe, distinguished Catholic Negro sculptor, and Guichard Parris, regional director of Negro Affairs of the N. Y. A.

Several speakers spoke on the recent "last minute" postponement of the hearing of the case of two thousand Negro locomotive engineers which was about to be held before the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice by an order issued by War Man Power Commissioner, Paul V. McNutt. The following resolutions, offered by C. P. Johnson, member of the Catholic Laymen's Union, were unanimously adopted:

"1. We believe that the establishment of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice prohibited discrimination in employment in defense industries, and provided a tribunal to which complainants might appeal for redress.

"2. The transfer of the President's Committee to the War Manpower Commission curtailed the power and limited the effectiveness of this tribunal. This has been amply demonstrated by the recent order of the War Manpower Commissioner, Paul V. McNutt, in indefinitely postponing the pending hearing to consider the case involving the flagrant discrimination against over two thousand Negro locomotive firemen.

"3. Therefore, in the interest of justice and national morale, we urge the President to take the most effective steps to restore the Fair Employment Committee to its original autonomous jurisdiction, answerable only to our Chief Executive."

"The Catholic Laymen's Union, with its interracial program, is an essential agent of democracy," declared Msgr. Moore in his address. "Until we give the Negro, not charity, but justice, give him, not a preferred position in the field of employment, but the opportunity of competing on equal terms with his fellow Americans; until we cease building special educational institutions for him and admit him in accordance with his qualifications to the traditional schools and colleges of the nation; until we cease segregating him in our housing developments, we are not being truly democratic."

Msgr. Moore warned, however, against too great haste. "Rome was not won in a day," he said. "It is necessary to educate to this high standard of association both Negro and white, and Negro groups that are over-aggressive and impatient because of slow progress made sometimes create antagonisms that militate against any progress at all. Progress in every great and complicated cause is slow; it must be slow if it is to be sound. Patience is an essential ingredient of such progress; not the patience that accepts an unfortunate situation and does nothing about it, but that patience which, while always striving, recognizes the difficulties involved and the necessity of consolidating each advance made through the maintenance and extension of good

Randolph, ACP To Speak at FEPC Protest

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and *March on Washington* movement head, will be one of the main speakers at a monster mass meeting protesting cancelation of the FEPC hearings on railroad discrimination, to be held Monday evening Jan 25, at Abyssinian Baptist church, 132 W 138 st. This announcement was made Tuesday by the People's Committee and the Negro Labor Victory Committee, co-sponsors of the meeting. Councilman A. Clayton Powell jr will preside at the meeting.

Other scheduled speakers include Charles A. Collins, NLVC executive secretary; Joseph Curran, president, Greater NY Industrial Union Council, CIO and of the National Maritime Union.

Invitations have also been wired to Congressman Vito Marcantonio, A. F. Whitney, grand president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Philip Murray, CIO president; William Green, AFL president; Alderman Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, John Beecher, former regional director for FEPC in NYC and Anne Rosenberg, regional director, War Manpower Commission.

According to Dorothy K. Funn, spokesman for NLVC, cancellation of the FEPC hearings strikes a deathblow at the defense effort.

"The railroads are recognized as among the most important if not *the* most important of the military resources of our country," she said. "It is imperative at this time that all of the human resources of our country be mobilized for the defeat of our enemies and that every person, regardless of race, creed, or national origin be permitted to participate in the total production effort for victory."

Appeasement and [illegible]

THE ELABORATE Fair Employment Practices Committee set up by President Roosevelt to quiet the liberal element, which demands complete integration of the Negro into the war effort, now seems to have collapsed. Created under pressure, this smooth bit of appeasement propaganda seems to have been shattered under the pressure of Southern Tory opposition. War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt issued an order last week to the FEPC instucting it to postpone indefinitely the hearings on discrimination because of race, color, religion or nationality in the railroad industry scheduled for Jan. 25, 26 and 27 in Washington, despite the fact that the matter had been on the agenda of the commitee since March 30, 1941, when the 1943 hearings were scheduled.

There is, it seems to us, no excuse for the calling off of the hearings, unless it be that the administration is willing to admit it is actually afraid of the reactionaries of the South and those in Washington. The nation's 15,000,000 Negro citizens, most of them native to the soil, have as much at stake in winning the war as any white man, even thought it is hard, at times, to differeniate between a Fascist in Europe or one in Dixie.

The cancellation of the hearings seems to be a deliberate betrayal of the faith of the Negro and other minority groups affected in the aims for which the war is allegedly being fought. This is the significant statement of B. F. McLaurin, national organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters who says "the withdrawal of this crucial issue from the salutary light of public discussion to back office realms of intrigue and pressure politics may well be considered ominous by liberals of all color and all creeds. If the record of what the carrier-white brother coalition has been doing to drive Negroes out of their jobs on the railroads is too black to be exposed in public hearings, the same thing will be shortly said of the grievances of other racial minorities."

II

Since it was Commissioner McNutt who canceled the hearings, it is apparent that there is much that the commissioner does not want the American public to know about what is going on between Negroes working in the railroad industry and the white brotherhoods. For the edification of our readers, here are four points that might have come out in the hearings if they had been held and which Commissioner McNutt certainly must know about:

1. That in the struggle of white railroads to get the jobs of Negro firemen, 17 Negro fireman have been killed.

2. That Negroes are excluded from eight railroad brotherhoods by their constitutions or rituals.

2. That the South Eastern Carriers Conference together with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginmen, on Feb. 18, 1941, signed a non-promotability agreement, which means that Negro firemen will be completely eliminated from American railroads within the next two years.

4. That the Railroad Labor Act, designed to protect workers, does not give representation or protection to the Negro firemen.

This is the situation the FEPC would have attempted to solve had the hearings been held as scheduled: 2,000 Negro firemen are in grave danger of being kicked out of their jobs with American railroads permanently because the Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered that steam engines should be replaced by stokerized or Diesel engines by July 1, 1943. On Feb. 28, 1941, an agreement was signed by the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen making it impossible for a Negro fireman working on a steam or stokerized engine to be switched to a Diesel engine. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers have never allowed Negro firemen to become members.

III

Negroes have been working on southern railroads for nearly 100 years as porters, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, hostler helpers and in many other capacities. Whenever a Negro's job looks good to a white man, the colored man is eased out. Before World War 1, only few white men wanted to be firemen since that kind of work was and is dirty and hard. However, during the first world War, the government shortened hours, raised wages and improved working conditions of the men who stoke the railroad engines, and when stokerized engines were introduced, the white man found them to be all right to work on as firemen. The present predicament of the Negro firemen is, however, due to technological and economic reasons. Because of competition from the truck and airplane industries, the railroads have had to do a lot of things they didn't do before they monopolized the nation's hauling traffic. Trains of 30 cars handled by a crew of 20 have been replaced by trains of 150 cars handled by a crew of four. With the depression, the railroads eliminated over 1,000,000 white and colored workers and between 1924 and 1942 the number of Negro firemen fell from 6,478 to 2,400.

It is almost impossible for a Negro fireman to rise higher or to become an engineer because the white brotherhoods have blocked the advancement of black men. After three years experience, the white fireman takes an examination and becomes an engineer. There is no special education or training required, but at the end of three years, the Negro fireman continues in his present capacity. White brakemen customarily wind up as conductors, but Negro brakemen usually remain in the same category. This is due to the fact that there are 16 national unions which exclude Negroes from membership either by provisions in their constitutions and charters or in their rituals. Eight of these Jim Crow organizations are railroad unions. Railroad men earn good wages and a Negro fireman, for example, who has a good run, makes from $250 to $350 a month. They are the most highly paid group of Negro workers in the United States. Despite the exclusion acts written into the constitutions of the white brotherhoods, the 1924 census showed 33 Negro conductors and three Negro

IV.

There now exists, following World War 1, percentage agreements entered into by the carriers and the white brotherhoods limiting the number of Negro firemen. The percentage of Negroes is said to be never over 49. The procedure has enabled the white unions to set aside the seniority rights which Negro firemen had acquired. Since no railroad is compelled to hire the maximum number of Negro firemen stipulated in the agreement (no Negro firemen are known to have been hired since 1929) the non-promotable agreement of Feb. 28, 1941, not only specifies that Negro firemen cannot be used on Diesel engines, but it has other provisions which will eventually eliminate Negro firemen.

V

The investigation of discrimination in the railroad industry has a definite bearing on the war effort, and Commission McNutt, as well as President Roosevelt, knows it. The safety of passengers on railroads depends in large part on the competence of railroad employees. With skilled workers being grabbed off by the armed forces, it is imperative that colored locomotive firemen retain their jobs. Most of these Negroes have records of over 10 years of service and are considered to be excellent and dependable workers. The majority of them above the age for active military service, many having served in the World War 1.

We are sure the nation would have been surprised to know that the threat to Negro firemen's jobs is the climax of an organized campaign on the part of the railroad companies and the all-white railroad brotherhoods to oust all Negro workers from railroad jobs which pay good wages. As far back as 1926, D. P. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, said he hoped no black face would remain on the left side of an engine cab.

President Roosevelt's assumption of wartime power gives him the remedy for all this hullabaloo on the race question. If he wants to create a unified home front behind the war effort, he can do so. In labor, for one thing, he has the executive fails to fall in line with the national program for unity at home (if there is one). He can stop discrimination at its source, that is, if he wants to.

ound - and Beyond

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

HE CAUSE of American democracy and justice received another slap in the face on Monday, n. 11, when Manpower Commissioner Paul V. Nutt arbitrarily suspended the scheduled hearings of Negro railroad workers before the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The Commissioner's action was taken without the knowledge or consent of the members of the committee. The hearings were to have been held on Jan. 25 and 27 in Washington and were intended to expose some of the discriminatory tactics practiced against Southern Negro locomotive firemen by both the union and the railroad management. It is estimated that over 2,000 Negro firemen will catapulted from their jobs by July 1, 1943, less the Government steps in to prevent it.

Frank R. Crosswaith

Remembers McNutt

Readers of this column will remember Commissioner McNutt as the gentleman who recently ppeared in the following two interesting roles:

Early in last December the Commissioner addressed a group of railroad executives gathered a conference and told them in substance that the employment practices of certain railroad anagement were continued "millions of Americn Negroes, instead of turning out the ships, lls, planes and guns America and her allies for victory over Nazism and its allies, they ld be immobilized during the war instead."

arlier in 1942 Commissioner McNutt was the ured speaker and endorser of a mass meeting Harlem, at which time the so-called Negro bor Victory Committee was baptized. Oh! how is the old adage: "Beware of Greeks bearing ts." We wish every reader of this column would dy the meaning of that adage and thus be re careful in choosing our friends and in supting causes.

Earn Small Pay

The Negro locomotive firemen in the South ave had a most interesting career. When the outhern "choo-choo" trains burnt soft coal the weating, grimy Negro fireman was a familiar gure in the railroad systems of the South. His verage wage was about $60 or less a month. uring a single run the fireman used to shovel ore than 20 tons of coal. In those days the superior" (?) white railroad workers of the South corned those jobs and confined themselves largely to the more skilled jobs of engineers, etc. These superior (?) people, with the approval of the railroad management, advanced and promoted the false Nazi theory that a Negro could never be an engineer. The engineers, like other white railroad workers, were organized. Because of the prejudiced attitude of these white railroad workers, the Negro tionally barred from membership in the railroad unions.

In passing it might be of interest to recall that when this writer, together with A. Philip Randolph, Ashley L. Totten, Wm. Des Verney and others, succeeded in organising the Pullman porters, one of the most difficult hills we had to climb, in addition to the natural opposition of the Pullman Company, at that time headed by the son of Abraham Lincoln, was the persistent and brazen efforts of one of the white railroad unions to claim jurisdiction over the Pullman porters. That union did nothing to organize those Negroes —it had in its constitution a clause barring Negroes, yet after the Negro had succeeded for the first time in American industrial history in lifting himself organizationally by his own bootstrap, that same union stepped in to claim jurisdiction. Of course, their efforts were not opposed by the Pullman Company nor by many of the leaders of labor. There were some progressive units of labor and liberals, however, who recognized the justice of our position and gave us their wholehearted support. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were among the most outstanding in this respect.

Efforts Are Opposed

With Negro workers steadily gaining access to many industries, and readily accepting the sound principles of trade unionism, an effort is being made, under the leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to organize these Negro railroad workers. Naturally, this effort is being opposed by certain railroad unions and management.

It is the general belief among liberals and progressive labor leaders that McNutt's action is simply another indication of the determined intention of the enemies of American democracy to sabotage and eventually destroy the FEPC. They have had several successes in their campaigns thus far, among them being:

1. Their opposition to a certain Negro being on the committee.
2. The utterly inadequate financial support allotted to the committee.
3. Mr. McNutt's action.

Once more the Negro has to make a decision. Must we, in cooperation with the enlightened and progressive sections of organized labor, take our fate in our own hands? Or shall we continue blindly to place our future in the uncertain lap of time and everchanging circumstances? We are turning a corner in our struggle for justice. Let us turn with our heads up and in the spirit of Patrick Henry together declare: "Give us liberty or give us death!"

MEMBERS ADVISED NOT TO TALK UNTIL AFTER CONFERENCE

FEPC DEVELOPMENTS DURING WEEK

Walter P. Reuther, vice president of the UAW-CIO, and member of the Labor-Management Policy Committee of WMC, protested to President Roosevelt and Chairman McNutt against postponement of FEPC hearings on discrimination in the railroad industry.

Powerful National Maritime Union wired Mr. McNutt denouncing the postponement as a "blow to the war against fascism."

Evidencing his resentment at McNutt's action Harry Epstein, FEPC special counsel, tendered his resignation.

Walter White, NAACP secretary, held Roosevelt's secretary, Marvin McIntyre, partly responsible for suppression of FEPC hearing and called McIntyre self-appointed President of the Negroes."

A delegation from Detroit, headed by Rev. Charles Hill, conferred with McNutt but received no "encouragement" the hearing would be held.

George Marshall, president of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, in a letter to President expressed "grave concern" over the indefinite postponement.

The National Lawyers Guild called on President Roosevelt to "re-create" FEPC as an independent agency with complete autonomy.

The CIO, through James B. Carey, secretary, leveled a sharp attack on McNutt and charged the postponement was a "serious blow to the war morale of Negro citizens and to all whites who know that racial discrimination is a Hitlerite weapon."

William Green, AFL president, has instructed Boris Shishkin, Federation representative on FEPC, to voice AFL's opposition to McNutt's action at the committee meeting this week.

The Socialist Party called upon McNutt to "rescind" his postponement order.

NAACP branches throughout the country began organizing for mass protest on the ban on FEPC investigation.

The National Urban League, through President William H. Baldwin, wired President Roosevelt and Commissioner McNutt that it was "disturbed over apparent trends toward immobilization of the Committee's authority."

Dr. Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, demanded the restoration of FEPC's power as an [illegible] agency.

A. Philip Randolph, head of the March on Washington Movement and militant leaders of the Porters' Brotherhood, led a delegation of labor and civic leaders to Washington for a conference with McNutt on Monday.

By E. W. BAKER
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 21—War Manpower Boss Paul V. McNutt remained adamant in the face of the most withering blast of criticism and protests ever leveled at a government official in one week, and he steadfastly refused to clarify his order to the Fair Employment Practice Committee, forcing it to halt a scheduled investigation into discrimination within the railroad industry or to satisfy two delegations as to the reason for its issuance.

With many wild rumors abroad as to the reason for squelching the probe, members of FEPC, acting on orders from Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman, have refused to publicly comment on McNutt's action. The members had no opportunity to discuss the postponement and it came as a complete surprise to them.

MEMBERS MAY RESIGN

Dr. MacLean has called a meeting of the entire committee for Friday and it is expected they will thoroughly analyze McNutt's order and the future of FEPC in being able to enforce Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802.

Members who were polled separately were unanimous in stating the ban on the committee's probe was a challenge to FEPC's existence and would hamper or completely make ineffective any further probe against jim crow in the nation's war industries. It is believed the committee will make a direct appeal to President Roosevelt following their Friday meeting and, if that procedure is not effective, they are expected to resign in a body.

LABOR LEADERS OPPOSE ORDER

With the strong position taken by both the CIO the AFL, it is a certainty their representatives on committee will make a strong protest against the suppression of the hearing, which was scheduled for January 20.

William Green, AFL president, has already advised Boris Shis AFL representative, to register the Federation's opposition to Nutt's order. Green is believed to feel the railroad hearing sho go on as scheduled.

John Brophy, CIO representative, and Milton P. Webster, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are expected to join Shist in demanding that McNutt rescind his order.

WENDELL WILLKIE CONSULTED

After consultation with Wendell Willkie in New York last w a group of citizens issued a statement saying "The cancellation only is an irreparable blow to the Negro people, but does the ut damage to the whole prosecution of the war." The committee composed of Ferdinand Smith, of the National Maritime union; Max Yergan, of the NNC; Dr. Warren Banner, National U league; Edward Lewis, New York Urban league; Joseph Ford, ple's committee, and Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., city councilma

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Walter White, NAACP secretary, strongly urged President R velt to "restore the Fair Employment Practice Committee to it independent status prior to its transfer to the War Manpower mission."

WHAT NATION'S LEADERS THINK

Arthur W. Mitchell, former Congressman: "A grave and serious injustice is being done Negro morale and the cause of democracy in this country. It would seem to me that the usefulness of the Commission is at an end."

John O. Holly, Future Outlook League: "The stifling of FEPC seems a definite indication that policies of the railroads against Negroes are too shocking to reveal."

Willard S. Townsend, UTSEA president: "We who are committed to an all-out victory find it very difficult, with this definite bias action of the Manpower Commission, to maintain the high morale among Negroes who too, seek only inherent rights of humanity for which all nations and peoples are struggling."

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PITTSBURGH COURIER
Jan. 23, 1943

"ZERO HOUR" FOR FEPC

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THE NATION

McNutt Calls FEPC Action 'Strategic'

By GORDAN H. COLE
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22.—Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission (WMC) today defended on grounds of "good strategy" his action in postponing public hearings by the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) into charges of racial discrimination on Southern railroads.

McNutt, whose intervention in the FEPC proceedings has evoked wide protest from church, labor, and liberal groups, told his side of the story for the first time in an interview.

The manpower director pledged that there would be "no retreat" and "no softpedaling" in the campaign to bring wider job opportunities to Negroes.

Expressing his resentment over the sharp pressure that has been brought to bear on him by Negro organizations in the last 10 days, McNutt warned that Negroes and their supporters "have got to recognize me as their friend and not crack me on the head every time my neck is out."

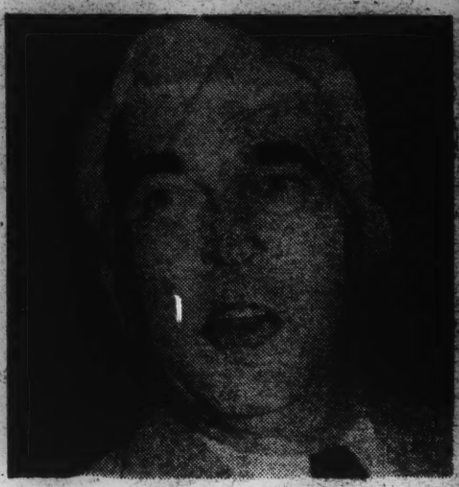
He ordered the railroad hearings postponed, he said, solely because he believes that "direct negotiations may yield better progress."

Here are McNutt's views:

¶ The FEPC has no strict legal authority to enforce its orders except for those employers whose war contracts contain nondiscrimination clauses.

¶ The railroads have no war contracts except, possibly, in the sense that Government officials buy railroad tickets and those tickets constitute a contract.

"Why get caught out on the end of a limb on one of the doubtful cases when there are so many positive ones?" McNutt argued. "The other firms (under FEPC scrutiny) have contracts with no discrimination clauses."



Paul V. McNutt

McNutt stated flatly that the FEPC would decide when it would conduct hearings and that his intervention in the railroad case is "not a pattern."

He indicated that the possibility of the committee conducting hearings in Detroit, Cleveland, or St. Louis is to be decided by the Committee, not himself.

However, McNutt admitted that with only four members remaining on the Committee —the chairman, Malcolm MacLean, and two members, Mark Ethridge and Col. David Sarnoff, having submitted their resignations —possibility of reorganizing the Committee is under consideration.

One reorganization plan being studied would substitute for the present committee of volunteers representing various groups a full-time paid committee comparable to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). On the NLRB, all three members are public representatives rather than representatives of labor or the employer.

His decision on adopting this plan or reconstituting the present Committee will not be made, McNutt said, until the idea has been sold to the Negro groups.

McNutt repeated his pledge to fight for fair employment practices and for an end of racial discrimination on the job.

He explained that he had been in that fight for a quarter century and added: "I don't intend to change my mind on this subject."

In McNutt's record are these facts:

¶ In 1918, when he was an Army major, he was commander of a brigade of 2000 Negro troops at Camp Jackson, outside Columbia, S. C.

¶ In the years immediately following the war, McNutt fought the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana in the days when it was neither politically expedient or professionally wise to be known as anti-Klan.

¶ Later, he became the first Governor of Indiana to appoint a Negro to a major state board.

¶ In the poll tax fight last year McNutt sounded off briefly, but specifically, against the poll tax in a Labor Day speech in Southern Virginia—where the poll tax is no theoretical issue

FEPC Urges McNutt To Resume Hearings On Negro Job Bias

By JOHN BEECHER

Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Jan. 23—The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee met with Manpower Commissioner McNutt yesterday and urged unanimously that the public hearing on railroad discrimination, which McNutt indefinitely postponed last week, be held as soon as possible.

Meeting with McNutt were FEPC members Earl Dickerson, Chicago attorney; John Brophy of the CIO; Boris Shishkin of the AFL; Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Mark Ethridge, Louisville editor, whose resignation is on the President's desk, but who appeared at the meeting to show his support of the FEPC.

McNutt "Explains"

The FEPC expressed satisfaction over McNutt's guarded assurance that "every consideration" would be given to rescheduling the postponed hearing and that his move did not imply the postponement of future hearings announced for Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

The showdown is yet to come on the issue of the FEPC's power and the administration's real de[illegible] to enforce executive

dent that this issue was originally raised by the White House and has been referred back to the White House for final settlement.

The next meeting of the FEPC will be on Feb. 1. A showdown can be expected on this date, if not before.

Full-Time Board Sought

Plans continue to go forward for the establishment of a full-time Fair Practice Board, of three to five members, to replace the FEPC. Ethridge conferred at length with Atty. Gen. Biddle on this yesterday, it was learned. Biddle is known to be handling legal aspects of the reorganization plan.

Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and member of the War Labor Board, has been mentioned as a [illegible] head for the projected

Keep FEPC Intact, Randolph Demands

By JOHN BEECHER
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Jan. 25—The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee "should be retained in its present form," A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said at a protest meeting here yesterday.

Randolph opposed a full time, paid Fair Practice Board which White House advisers are now considering to supplant the FEPC. He called War Manpower Commissioner McNutt's postponement of the FEPC public hearing on railroad discrimination "part of a pattern, a trend to the right in America." Progressive forces, labor and the Negro must unite to stop this reaction, he said.

No Substitute

Randolph insisted that "there can be no substitute for the railroad hearing" which the FEPC urged McNutt to reschedule in its conference with him last Friday.

Milton P. Webster, FEPC member, told the meeting that progress in Negro war employment so far achieved by the FEPC has been the product of public hearings held at Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Birmingham. He said that there were no Negroes working in Pacific Coast aircraft plants except as janitors prior to the Los Angeles hearing, but "now there are thousands."

T. A. Jackson, president of the New York Dining Car Employees Union, said veteran Negro waiters may not be promoted to be stewards, but are required to break in inexperienced whites as stewards. He said Negro car cleaners with 30 years' experience are stranded at that level, while the better paid car maintenance jobs are held by whites.

"You are foolish to bid in for skilled jobs," management tells employees, according to Jackson, "skilled jobs are for whites."

The "Non-Promotables"

B. F. McLaurin, national organizer of the Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen, described how an agreement between the Southeastern Carriers Conference Committee and two all-white railroad brotherhoods is operating to eliminate Negro firemen in the South on the basis that "non-promotable" men may not become firemen on diesel locomotives. This means Negro firemen, he said, since they are barred from becoming engineers, as Negro brakemen are prevented from becoming conductors.

Under this discriminatory agreement, sanctioned by the Railway Mediation Board, Negro firemen with 30 years' experience are being "furloughed" in a time of acute labor shortage, while white firemen with two or three months' experience go on working, McLaurin said. According to the Provisional Committee, no Negro firemen have been hired by the Southern roads since 1929.

Randolph moves appeal to FDR

WASHINGTON—Latest developments in the startling close-down last week of the Fair Employment Practice committee, were a protest mass meeting, scheduled for yesterday, (Sunday; this is written Saturday), and an appeal to President Roosevelt by the NAACP.

The protest mass meeting, called by A. Philip Randolph and slated for the Vermont avenue Baptist church, was expected to be attended by more than 5000 persons and might result in a decision to make the long-threatened March on Washington, it was reported. The march would protest the action of War Manpower commission chief Paul V. McNutt in ordering the FEPC to cancel hearings, supposed to have been held today and tomorrow, into discriminatory practices in employment by the railroad industry. Special attention of the FEPC was to have been given to Negro railroad firemen who face loss of their jobs.

President Roosevelt, accused last week by Randolph of giving McNutt the order to scuttle hearings of the FEPC relating to the railroad industry, was asked by the NAACP this week to re-order the hearing and to restore the independent status of FEPC. It was recently bracketed under the War Manpower commission.

Over the signature of Walter White, the NAACP wrote the Chief Executive:

"We want you to know that we understand and are deeply sympathetic with you personally because of the difficulties which the making of such a decision will entail. We know the terrible dilemma you face in the 78th Congress because of the coalition formed against you and against all liberal legislation by members of the Congress of your own prty from the South, and of certain members of the Republican party. We have been informed of the lobbying being done among these members of the Congress by representatives of the railway brotherhoods and some of the representatives of the railroads who bitterly oppose any action which would attempt to correct the vicious discrimination against Negroes on certain of the public carriers of the United Sates. But we respectfully submit that any surrender to such forces, or any manifestation of weakness in the face of the barrage from them would be disastrous not only for the Negro but for the principles of democracy itself. Temporizing can only encourage those persons who wish to perpetuate the status quo with all its inequalities and discrimin-

Had the FEP hearings been held as scheduled, white liberals and churchmen were to join with white and colored trade unionists in forcing a show down on Jim Crow. A Provisional Committee To Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen with A. Philip Randolph as chairman was to charge that the all-white Brotherhood Of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, through secret agreements with the carriers, has undertaken to eliminate colored firemen completely from employment on 22 southern railroads.

"This was to be a show down for Executive Order No. 8802 against racial discrimination in war industry," said Randolph. "Is Jim Crow going or coming in the trade union movement? The hearings also were to be a showdown for the Committee itself. If the FEPC cannot prevent the unfair and illegal elimination of Negro workers from jobs in which they have been established for nearly a century, its ability to open up new opportunities for Negroes will be seriously impaired. If it permits defiance or evasion of the President's order by the powerful all-white Brotherhoods, we'll sooner or later face a relapse into Jim Crowism by other unions which have only recently seen the light."

MRS. ROOSEVELT ON COMMITTEE

The Provisional Committee To Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen is backed by a Citizen's Committee of over a hundred prominent white and colored liberals, churchmen and trade unions including William Green, Philip Murray, and Walter Reuther, and with Mayor La Guardia of New York, and Mrs. Roosevelt as chairman and honorary chairman. The Firemen's case is urgent for another reason; it is pointed out: The Interstate Commerce Commission has decreed that steam engines should be replaced by stokerized or Diesel engines by July 1, 1943.

Negroes have been working on southern railroads for nearly a century, as porters, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, hostler helpers and in many other capacities. Prior to World War I, white men did not want firemen's jobs as they were dirty and difficult. When during World War I, the Government improved the hours, wages, and working conditions of firemen, and when stokerized engines were introduced, these jobs became desirable.

"The present dilemma of the Negro fireman is however, due also to technological and economic reasons. The railroads have been competing with the truck and airplane industries. Trains of 30 cars handled by a crew handled by ate handled by a crew of 20 have been replaced by trains of 150 cars handled by a crew of 4. The depression hit the railroads, as it did other industries, white and colored. Between 1924 and 1942, the number of Negro firemen was reduced from 6,478 to 2100.

HINT FEPC WILL GET GENERAL OVERHAULING

"Cooling Off" Period Slated For Committee

Rumor Says White House Sent Down Going Over Order

LOS ANGELES TRIBUNE
Jan. 25, 1943

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (ANP) —The War Manpower commission's Fair Employment Practice committee is slated for a thorough overhauling and until this is perfected, its functions are to be subjected to a "cooling off" period, it was reported around Washington early this week.

A decision to reorganize the committee, which has been investigating war industries believed practicing discriminatory methods, is said to have emanated from the White House.

It is said the committee's recent adamant stand against the Capital Transit company and its extensive and thorough preparations for the now defunct railroad hearings caused the White House considerable concern.

TO BE CHANGE

Considerable speculation has arisen over the action of the committee when it meets next. The complexion of the committee is due for a change because of the attitudes of certain members. However, to date, none has tendered his resignation.

At the next meeting, the members will be told that their functions will be shelved pending a reorganization.

Paul McNutt nas made no additional statements as to the future of the commitee, nor has he implemented his initial statement on the calling off of the railroad hearings.

The shock of the announcement has not fully subsided in Washington yet and there are those who are hopeful of reviving the issue later.

What the governor meant when he said the manpower commission would have the opportunity to test its power to the fullest now and that the problem would be solved in a normal manner leaves plenty to the imagination as to what transpired behind the scenes.

The full committee is expected to meet on January 25 at which time action will be taken as to what it intends doing and how it expects to function in the future.

State Dept. Blocks Discrimination Probe

Lower Pay Scale Charged for Mexican Copper Mine Workers

By JOHN BEECHER

Washington, Jan. 26—The State ept., it was learned today, smothered an investigation by the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee into charges that Southwestern copper mine owners discriminated against American workers of Mexican origin.

A public hearing was to have been held in El Paso, Tex., last September. But the State Dept., through Undersecretary Sumner Welles, exerted such pressure that the hearing was never held, the committee's El Paso office was closed and the investigator was recalled to Washington.

The case now stands indefinitely postponed, like the hearing on discrimination against Negro railroad workers which was sidetracked by Manpower Commissioner McNutt.

Cited Mexican 'Opposition'

Welles, it was understood, took the position that the hearing was opposed by the Mexican government and would injure our relations with Mexico. The FEPC had scheduled the hearing on the assumption that it would aid relations with Latin America by convincing the southern republics that the U. S. really meant to accept their people as equals.

The FEPC position was supported by the Mexican Minister of Labor, who wrote to the National Lawyers Guild strongly indorsing the hearing on behalf of his government — but the State Dept. won.

Officials of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (CIO) assert that the discriminations against the "Mexican" half of the Southwest's copper workers are as vicious as those directed against Negroes in the deep South.

Dual Scales Charged

The FEPC hearing was expected to reveal that segregation, dual pay scales for identical work and denial of promotion kept the "Mexicans" in a position of inferiority in the mines and smelters operated by the Phelps-Dodge Copper Corp. and other producers in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

In one smelter, the union said, the "Mexicans" with a few exceptions receive the abnormally low base pay of $3.60 a day, and skilled "Mexicans," earning $3.60 a day after years of experience as furnace men and burners, often break in untrained "Anglo-Americans" who are earning $6.88.

Similarly, in the copper mines, the union officials said, the "Mexicans" are paid far less than others for the same work. In one mine "Mexican" common laborers are paid $4.95, while others doing identical work draw $6.10.

Adolph McNutt They Call Him: What Happened To Two Delegations

FEPC Killed in the House of Its "Friends": The beautiful ex-Governor of Indiana, Paul V. McNutt, Manpower Commissioner, whom Norman Thomas once dubbed—for cause—the Hoosier Hitler, last week was given another name by Negro newspapermen who covered various conferences and attempted conferences on the cancellation of the railway hearings and the future of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. To a politically alert section of Negro America, he is going to be known as **Adolph McNutt.**

Written and personal protests over McNutt's arbitrary action, which probably mean the end of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, have poured into Washington. In a four-day time span, an alliance of Socialist, liberal, Negro and labor forces brought two delegations from Detroit to Washington. After an early interview with Lawrence Kramer, secretary of the FEPC, a delegation of fourteen from Detroit decided to bring a mass delegation 48 hours later to see "Adolph McNutt."

When the delegation finally gathered, it was an assembly of forty people from Detroit, St. Paul, Minneapolis, New York and Washington. The delegation was led by James Carey, national secretary-treasurer of the C.I.O.; Walter Hardin, secretary of the Inter-racial Committee of the United Automobile Workers; Horace Sheffield, international representative of the U.A.W.A., the Rev. Charles Hill, of the Detroit Citizens Committee, Gloster Current, Detroit Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., and Leslie Perry, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The delegation arrived for a 1 o'clock appointment with the ex-governor and finally saw him at 3:10 on Jan. 15!

The first question asked was whether it was true that Marvin McIntyre, White House Secretary, had given orders to call off the F.E.P.C. hearings. To this McNutt replied that he refused to answer. For the next forty minutes he was plied with questions. He gave two replies: one that we would have to trust him, and two that he couldn't answer.

It is impossible for this reporter to describe the conduct, the atmosphere and the completely autocratic treatment that met this group of men who had sacrificed sleep, money and time to visit McNutt on a vital question. The beauti-

tee carried the case to the Fair Employment Practices Committee on the ground that railroads are a defense industry. An investigation was ordered and public hearings set for January 25-27.

A Job for FDR

If Mr. McNutt's act sheds light on those forces which are responsible for the sabotage of the FEPC it will have served a useful purpose. Only recently Mr. McNutt publicly declared: "We cannot contribute our full strength to the war effort . . . if barriers are maintained against any minority group. Every American must be permitted to play his part in the monumental task which faces us. . . . The War Manpower Commission intends to see that this is done." What was the pressure which forced him to reverse his position? We hope that President Roosevelt will intervene. He should order the FEPC to proceed with the investigation of the Negro firemen's case and restore the committee to its original status as an independent agency responsible only to the President.

The whole question of the status of Negro workers within trade unions must also be given serious consideration. During the past decade their position has greatly improved and much of the credit for this must go to the CIO. From its inception the AFL has likewise had a "policy" of no discrimination, but many of the national unions have pursued discriminatory practices. The trend is to cope with the problem by legislative enactment—New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin having led the way.

Was It Bureaucracy?

We have read with interest and sympathy the advertisements of the railroads telling us what a good job they are doing under great difficulties, and asking us to be patient with insufficient service in view of the needs of the armed forces. But wasn't it the railroads who opposed, and for many months postponed, the construction of oil pipelines to the Eastern seaboard, on the ground that they were equipped to carry all the oil that might be needed?

We recall this incident, not to be unpleasant, but merely to remind those who are freezing or have to give up the use of their cars that they are wrong if they blame governmental bureaucracy for all their inconveniences. From the day we began to rearm, those public servants who tried to enlarge our supplies of basic materials and the facilities for transporting and distributing them had to struggle against a powerful array of private interests which feared an economy of abundance and had long based their search for profits on a limitation of supply. We have no doubt that the railroads are now doing the best they can with the equipment at their disposal. But they cannot escape part of the responsibility for the fact that it is not enough.

Washington Dispatch

From a United Press dispatch: "Senator Nye told the Senate today that persons recently indicted for sedition by a District of Columbia grand jury are no more guilty of conspiracy than I am. . . ."

The North African Mess

JUDGED BY THE FINAL TEST, American policy in North Africa has proved bankrupt. That test is the hard and pragmatic one. It simply has not worked.

From the beginning The New Republic has said that you can't build a structure of order in North Africa by using only the mud and rubble of the Vichy collaborationists. That is now proving true with a vengeance. So far from beginning unity and order in North Africa, the policy followed by General Eisenhower and backed up by our minister, Robert Murphy, has brought disorder, conspiracy, arrests, civil conflict, intrigue, incessant behind-the-lines worry for the American military commanders. The fruits of "realism" have proved bitter to the taste and without nourishment to the body politic.

Is this so surprising? The conservative newspapers have set it all down to the orneriness of French politics. "The North African muddle" is the way they phrased it: and it is all treated as if foreigners were in some mysterious way their muddles to create. The bland assumption is, of course, that we have had nothing to do with the muddle. But what could we have expected except muddle when we appointed Darlan head of the region which we had come to wrest from him? What could we have expected except muddle when miraculously given a second chance by the death of Darlan, we muffed it and created a council of Vichy men—Boisson, Noguès, Chatel—to assist the reactionary, although patriotic, General Giraud?

Is American policy learning from these blunders? There are no signs yet that it is. In fact, we are recalling to North Africa from Argentina a former French colonial governor, Marcel Peyrouton, who can only increase the muddle. Peyrouton showed himself in his former administration of North Africa as a Martin Dies with a policeman's club. His specialty was repressive measures, his philosophy Red-baiting, his pride toughness. Whoever thought of calling him back was a fool or worse. Such action shows a total blindness to the simplest principles of political psychology, and misunderstands completely the roots of popular feeling in North Africa.

If, as Drew Middleton of The New York Times has suggested, you go among the workers in North Africa, not among the loungers in the expensive bars, you find readily enough what the people feel. They hate the Vichy men, both present and past. They distrust civilian

New FEPC's Paid Staff Is Selected

By JOHN BEECHER

Washington, Jan. 29—The entire proposed personnel of the Fair Practice Board which President Roosevelt is expected to appoint soon to replace the virtually defunct Fair Employment Practice Committee became known today.

The four-member paid board, having independent status in the executive office of the President, rather than the present setup of voluntary appointees responsible to Manpower Commissioner McNutt, would be composed of the following:

Chairman—President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, a member of the War Labor Board.

Members—The Rt. Rev. Francis J. Haas, dean of the School of Social Science of Catholic University of America, one of the leading Catholic welfare workers in the nation, a member of the original NRA labor advisory board and the chairman of a special committee which made wage-hour law adjustments among Puerto Rican needle workers.

William H. Hastie of Chicago, on leave as dean of Howard University Law School, for three years a Federal judge in the Virgin Islands, and a civilian aid to Secretary of War Stimson who resigned from that post last Jan. 19. Hastie had specialized in advice to the War ept. on Negro affairs.

Malcolm Ross, a friend of Atty. Gen. Biddle, a former New York newspaper man, former associate in the NRA and now associated with the National Labor Relations Board.

Former Board SuSnk

The usefulness of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee was all but nullified when Manpower Commissioner McNutt a week ago called off a scheduled hearing on discrimination against Negroes in railroad employment.

Previously, Chairman Malcolm S. MacLean, David Sarnoff and Mark Ethridge had resigned from the FEPC, leaving as members John Brophy of the CIO, Boris Shishkin of the AFL, Milton P. Webster of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Earl Dickerson, Chicago attorney. None of the remaining FEPC men, it was learned, were considered for membership in the new Fair Practice Board, which [redacted] from A. Philip [redacted] of the

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

A quick glance at the nationwide news of the week as it affected the Negro

By William F. Cummings, West Coast; Esther V. Cooper, South; J. Don Davis, Southwest; John Louis Clarke, Midwest; James Stanton, Eastern Seaboard.

DEATH-DEATH twitching of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC) while the ghouls of the Southern crackerocracy bloc, chuckled gleefully turned to new campaigns of undermining democracy provided a tense week past. subtle but quite apparent march of the reactionary factions, waving menacingly at administration the threat of revolt and alliance with the hostile Republican large ority in Congress was being speeded up. resignation of Hastie from the War partment carried the native fascists' at-tion to the last of influencing the choice successor. Hope of keeping the spot ant was a bit too much to entertain—yet. anwhile, the administration, awkardly addling a position vulnerable from all es, strove frantically to (1) make terms h the high-riding Dixie clique, and (2) ld in check, mostly with soft, evasive ds, the rising protests of the believers in mocracy who gathered hastily in defense the general welfare.

MacLean's Leaving for Navy Post, Main Seaboard Topic

ranting of Dr. Malcolm S. acLean, Hampton Institute rexy "indefinite leave of ab-nce" enabling him to accept a navy commission is inter-preted, along the Eastern Seaboard, as a forerunner to his formal resignation from the school. Reasons: MacLean's relations with alumni, faculty members and students have not been the best, close sources insist.

Breakdown of the FEPC is viewed as just the "out" MacLean sought. His formal resignation won't be forthcoming however, until a white successor can be named, the same circles declare. Dean O'Hara Lanier, now acting president of Hampton, though capable and the first Negro in such a spot, will not get the call, it is generally believed because the mixed faculty and influential organizations (Kiwanis and Rotary clubs) are factors opposing naming of a Negro head for Hampton—yet.

The Norfolk (Va.) NAACP branch is preparing for a gigantic mass meeting at which formal protests will be made against the unwarranted police killing of a Negro a fortnight ago.

The COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XXXVII *January 29, 1943* NUMBER 15

THE WEEK 363
TO JACQUES MARITAIN *Dorothy Thompson* 367
PASTORALE (*Verse*)
Sister Mary Immaculate, C.S.C. 368
FATHER SIDOTTI IN JAPAN *Max Fischer* 369
VIEWS AND REVIEWS *Michael Williams* 371
THE STAGE *James N. Vaughan* 372
THE SCREEN *Philip T. Hartung* 373
CHILEAN POPULAR FRONT
Clarence Finlayson 374
EDITORS' CHOICE 376
Charles Péguy: Basic Verities, Prose and Poetry—With Perry in Japan—Behind the Japanese Mask—Montreal, Seaport and City—Three Came to Ville Marie
MORE BOOKS OF THE WEEK 379
Religious Trends in English Poetry—The A B C of Inflation—Thucydides

THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and Catholic Bookman.*
Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York.
Annual Subscription: U. S., $5.00; Canada and Foreign, $6.00

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Further Abandonment of the Four Freedoms

ALMOST two months ago we had occasion in these columns to point to the tremendous pressure which has been brought to bear on the present Administration to "lay off" the Negro. By and large the New Deal has an excellent record in what it has done or tried to do to improve the economic and political status of colored citizens. Through the various departments of government it has made serious efforts to better Negro educational opportunities in a practical way; it has given a fair share of Federal jobs to Negroes; it has tried to redress the prejudices of the armed services. Finally, through a quasi-judicial body, the Fair Employment Practices Committee, it has attempted—and with considerable success—to eliminate discrimination based upon race, color or creed from defense industries. The Roosevelt Administration has also favored anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills, though it has never put them in the "must" category and none of these bills has yet become law.

It is a plain fact that an appreciable source of the New Deal's political strength lies in the Southern bloc in Congress. As a result of last fall's election, the importance of this bloc in the carrying out of the Administration's policies has naturally increased. So long as both houses of Congress were almost overwhelmingly Democratic, it was possible to oppose Southern Congressmen on this one question, making it up to them by favors in other directions. But under the present situation this is no longer the case. The margin in both Senate and House is too slim. Evidently the Administration has felt that it must sell its Negro policy down the river.

Two months ago we pointed to the increasing pressure and hinted that it might go further. We also pointed out that pressure of this sort, with the compromises it produces, is necessary to the peaceful functioning of a democracy in which there are deep cleavages of opinion between sections of the population. Yet there comes a time when yielding to such pressure can accentuate rather than ease the strain. Particularly is this true when an issue is absolutely clear cut. In the case of the Poll Tax Bill an attempt was being made to remedy an ancient abuse, but the rancor of that abuse was somewhat modified by the fact that it injured the rights of whites as well as Negroes. We are now confronted with a very different situation. For a year and a half the Fair Employment Practices Committee has actually been functioning. It has been functioning in accordance with a broad principle of policy to which the President of the United States committed the nation, and to which there has been substantially no open opposition, for it is a principle which no one dares openly oppose, without denying the entire moral basis of our way of life. Many months ago the Fair Employment Practices Committee agreed to hold hearings on what is generally admitted to be one of the nastiest race situations in American industry—the gradual exclusion of Negroes from railroad jobs in the South by the railroad Brotherhoods with the connivance—or acquiescence—of railroad management. These hearings were set for January 25-27, 1943. Then suddenly, two weeks before the hearings were to be held, Mr. Paul McNutt, who has no legal jurisdiction over the Fair Employment Practices Committee, but within whose budget the Committee operates, announced that the hearings had been postponed and refused to set any date when they would be held. A delegation of protest went to Washington from Detroit, saw Mr. McNutt and got nowhere. A few days later a group of 52 persons representing 27 different organizations—including Catholic, Jewish and Protestant bodies—was treated most discourteously when it appeared in Washington. Mr. McNutt refused absolutely to see the whole group, although an appointment had been made some days earlier. He insisted that only four spokesmen from among the 52 persons might have the privilege of entering the sacred precincts of his office. This was unacceptable to the group as a whole.

So we now find that Southern pressure has made the Administration go back on what is one of the fundamental policies capable of justfying anyone's hope that we are fighting for the Four

NEW JERSEY RECORD
Jan. 30, 1943

RESUMPTION OF FEPC PUBLIC HEARING IS URGED BY THE NAACP

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Unless the President is ready to undertake a drastic revision of executive order 8802 providing positive sanctions covering every field to which the Fair Employment Practice Committee has been assigned, no tampering with the Committee's hearings or with any other of its procedures should even be considered, the N. A. A. C. P. declared this week in a memorandum to the president of the United States and to the FEPC. The memorandum which stated that the recent arbitrary action of War Manpower Commissioner McNutt called for more than condemnation supplemented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's protests against the postponement of railroad discrimination hearings scheduled for January 25th.

The N.A.A.C.P. recmomended that the only other effective alternate to public hearings would be the increasing of the committee's authority by permitting it to require all holders of government contracts to execute an oath that the employer has not been guilty of any discriminatory employment practices. A false statement would subject the affiant to prosecution. It would also be important that the president require that war contracts provide money penalties for proven acts of discrimination.

In regard to labor organizations, the NAACP suggested that the President might order the War Labor Board or the National Labor Relations Board or any other appropriate agency before which labor organizations have occasion to appear to allow the F.E.P.C. to intervene in their proceedings involving labor organizations guilty of proven acts of discrimination.

The NAACP stated that McNutt's action necessitated an appraisal of the fundamental attitude of the administration to the problem involved, an analysis of executive order 8802 and re-examination of the techniques employed by the FEPC. The memorandum pointed out that although it was anticipated that the Committee would have independent staus the President placed it in the office of Production Management and subsequently shifted it from one agency to another.

The NAACP said that although the committee members are presidential appointees, there has never been a direct relationship between the Committe as a whole and the Executive Office of the President. The practice has been to decide important matters relating to the Committee in "off the record" conference involving the President's Executive Assistant, other high-ranking government officials not connected with the Committee and, on occasion, some one or more of the white members of the Committee. When Mr. McNutt ordered the postponement of the railroad hearings without prior conference or consultation with the Committee, he simply followed and reflected the mode of the Administration in dealing with the committee.

comply with its provisions, provides no sanctions in this field.

Notwithstanding these obvious limitations inherent in Executive Order 8802, and despite the handicap of an inadequate budget and admittedly undermanned staff, the Committee has been able to investigate complaints and effect a significant measure of compliance in every section of the country.

At the time the order was issued, discrimination against minority racial, religious and national groups, in almost twenty per cent of our population, had reached such a stage that it threatened to become a national scandal. The committee was literally swamped with thousands of complaints. Where there was prima facie evidence of discrimination, the committee has attempted to effect an adjustment with the party charged. In numerous instances without publicity, satisfactory adjustments have been made at this level. Although public hearings have proved to be the committee's most effective sanction, it is only in a very small number of cases that this sanction has been involved. The committee, through its 18-month period of operation and the investigation of more than seven thousand complaints, has held only five public hearings involving less than fifty employers and labor organizations.

...nswer is expected by the group ... it next meets on Feb. 1.

... McNutt had assumed ... for the cancel- ... without ex- ...ee, it is ... that some ... minority ... caused the ... cancellation ... was behind ... the agitation for ... action.

Despite the blow caused by the cancellation of the railroad hearings, the Detroit matter is said to be rapidly getting into shape under the direction of Examiner G. James Fleming. Mr. Fleming was in Washington for a brief visit and to make a report on his findings. He returned to Detroit Saturday. At present, these hearings will go on as scheduled.

RESUMPTION OF FEPC PUBLIC HEARING URGED

Memorandum To President Condemns Cancellation On McNutt's Order

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Unless the President is ready to undertake a drastic revision of executive 8802 providing positive sanctions covering every field to which the Fair Employment Practice Committee has been assigned, no tampering with the Committee's hearings or with any other of its procedures should even be considered, the NAACP declared this week in a memorandum to the President of the United States and to the FEPC.

The memorandum, which stated that the recent arbitrary action of War Manpower Commissioner McNutt called for more than condemnation supplemented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's protests against the postponement of railroad discrimination hearings scheduled for January 25th.

The NAACP recommended that the only other effective alternate to public hearings would be the increasing of the committee's authority by permitting it to require all holders of government contracts to execute an oath that the employer has not been guilty of any discriminatory employment practices. A false statement would subject the affiant to prosecution. It would also be important that the President require that war contracts provide money penalties for proven acts of discrimination.

In regard to labor organizations, the NAACP suggested that the President might order the War Labor Board or the National Labor Relations Board or any other appropriate agency before which labor organizations have occasion to appear, to allow the FEPC to intervene in their proceedings involving labor organizations guilty of proven acts of discrimination.

The NAACP stated that McNutt's action necessitated an appraisal of the fundamental attitude of the administration to the problem involved, an analysis of executive order 8802 and re-examination of the techniques employed by the FEPC. The memorandum pointed out that although it was anticipated that the Committee would have independent status, the President placed it in the Office of Production Management and subsequently shifted it from one agency to another.

The NAACP said that although the committee members are presidential appointees, there has never been a direct relationship between the Committee as a whole and the Executive Office of the President.

PITTSBurgh Courier
Jan. 30, 1943

F.E.P.C. TO BE REORGANIZED

Want Rail Hearings Re-schedu[led]

BIDDLE TO TAKE CHARGE OF NEW SET-UP

Sarnoff and Ethridge Also Quit—Frank G. Graham Mentioned As Chairman

By SIDNEY WALKER,
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 28—It can be safely predicted that there is going to be a brand new Fair Employment Practices Committee.

FEPC is in the process of being reorganized now, not by Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner who said he called off the railroad hearings, but by United States Attorney General Francis Biddle.

Biddle has already tentatively picked the new chairman of the committee to succeed Malcolm MacLean. He is Frank G. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina. He is an ideal choice.

COMMITTEE WILL GET NEW FACES

To write that there is going to be a brand new committee does not mean that all the old members are to be replaced by new men. It does mean that new men are to be added to the committee to replace MacLean and David Sarnoff and Mark Ethridge, all of whom have resigned. It also means that there are to be important functional changes. The committee may win autonomy; that is, it may be removed from the War Manpower Commission and attached to the executive office of the President with paid committee members giving most of their time to the work.

From the new low to which the committee sank after McNutt got his orders to block the railroad hearings, the chances are that the committee may soar to a new high, streamlined for positive action.

WEBSTER MAY QUIT

Four members of the committee of seven remain. They are Milton P. Webster, Earl B. Dickerson, Boris Shiskin of the American Federation of Labor and [illegible] Baldwin of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is an even

The Fair Employment Practice Committee was set up to deal with a fundamental, long-neglected problem, the NAACP reminded the President. If the Administration's purpose was a serious one, it then became necessary that it follow through. Yet, at no time has the Committee had an operating staff, budget, or status commensurate with the immensity and complexity of the problem assigned to it. The militant support which the Administration has given such agencies as the National Labor Relations Board and the Securities and Exchange Commission when they were under violent attack by reactionary forces has been conspicuously absent in its dealings with the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

If the Administration intends that the committee be effective, let it give the Committee status in he Executive Office of the President, wholehearted support within government, and a budget adequate for the accomplishment of its functions.

The Association's memorandum pointed out that the committee has never had the authority it needs for the enforcement of Executive Order 8802. No provision is made for penalties or civil damages. Although many Federal agencies influence and, in varying measure, control the execution of war contracts, there is no provision in the Executive Order obligating any such agency to exercise its authority for the correction of discriminatory practices which the committee has discovered. It also should be pointed out that while the order imposes a duty on labor organizations to

bet that all these men will stick to the committee with the possible exception of Webster.

They will stick because strong pressure is on them to stick.

The committee listened to representatives of 25 Jewish, Negro and mixed organizations Friday.

Committee Wants To Hold Hearing

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 28—By unanimous vote the Committee on Fair Employment Practice Friday decided to make representations to Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, that it was the Committee's very strong feeling that the railroad hearings which were postponed last week should be re-scheduled and held as soon as possible. The Committee had a satisfactory conference with Chairman McNutt and received assurance that every consideration would be given to its recommendation.

All of these organizations pledged their support to the committee. All of them made it clear that they wished the committee to be independent, to have more funds, to have an adequate staff and to have its existence and function certified by law.

These agency representatives made it clear that they were prepared to give more than lip service to the committee.

"We are prepared to go out and raise funds and work and fight for this committee," they said.

But they all urged the committee[illegible]s present to stick to [illegible] while they turned on [illegible] their behalf.

[illegible] committee was visibly affected by this appeal. They did not know their true status at the time, but indicated that they did not want to run away from their responsibility.

McNUTT ASKS MEMBERS TO STICK

After meeting these delegations, the members of the committee called upon McNutt. The type of statement issued later indicated that McNutt had recognized that both he and the committee had been put on the spot and that he wanted to get off it. McNutt encouraged the committee to proceed with its other hearings.

He was unable to go far in predicting the future functions of the committee because, as he admitted, that was in the hands of Attorney General Biddle. But he wanted the committee to stick and hope for the best.

The committee members stipulated that they be given the opportunity to consult with Biddle over any plan for the future which he may draw up. Undoubtedly the Biddle plan will be submitted to the committee. It will probably be taken up at the committee's next meeting February 1.

[illegible]6 Race Editors [illegible] President [illegible] Back FEPC

Abandonment of the FEPC hearings by Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt and the apparent non-application of the four freedoms on the home front to the Negro, brought sixteen editors and publishers of Negro newspapers to New York City last Saturday, when a one-day conference was held at the offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored [illegible]ople, 69 Fifth Avenue. [illegible] meeting was called by [illegible] White, secretary of the [illegible]tion, to meet current [illegible] discredit the Negro p[illegible] ginius Dabney, John [illegible] Graves, white, and Dr. [illegible] Brown, Negro, and others.

Wire the President

A telegram sent to Presi[illegible] Roosevelt requested "that [illegible] railroad hearing postponed by Paul V. McNutt be rescheduled" and pointed out that "your consideration in this matter will restore the morale of all minority groups which are aroused over the action of the war manpower commission."

The attempts of reactionary forces in Congress and certain high placed officers to preserve the color line in war industry furnished fuel for Nazi and Japanese propaganda in Africa and Asia that the four freedoms do not apply to the colored [illegible]. They declared that the Negro people and the Negro press are one hundred percent behind the war effort but are determined that democracy shall function at home as well as be a policy designed for foreign consumption.

Attending the conference were: Ira Lewis, Pittsburgh Courier; John Sengstacke, Chicago Defender; Carl Murphy, D. Arnett Murphy and Howard Murphy of the Afro-American Newspapers, Baltimore; Roscoe Dunjee, Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City; Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Arthur Spingarn, George Schuyler, Odette Harper and Charles H. Houston of the NAACP, Chester A. Franklin, The Call, Kansas City; Louis Martin, Michigan Chronicle, Detroit; Adam C. Powell and St. Clair Bourne, the People's Voice, New York City; Dr. C. B. Powell, Amsterdam Star-News, New York City; Augustus Shields, Scott Newspaper Syndicate, Little Rock, Ark; Thomas W. Young, Journal and Guide, Norfolk; Lewis S. Gannett, Herald Tribune, New York City and Claude A. Barnett, Chicago.

[illegible]walker00

[illegible] RECOMMENDS HEARINGS BE RESUMED

By unanimous vote, the Committee on Fair Employment Practice on Friday decided to make representations to Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, that it was the Committee's very strong feeling that the railroad hearings which were postponed last week should be re-scheduled and held as soon as possible. The Committee had a satisfactory conference with Chairman McNutt and received assurance that every consideration would be given to its recommendation.

The Committee, in appraising the situation from information available to it, is of the opinion that the policy set forth in Executive Order 8802 continues to be the policy of the administration, and that it will be vigorously enforced.

Mr. McNutt assured the Committee that the postponement of the railroad hearings did not imply that other hearings would be postponed.

HY RANDOLPH SN'T WELCOME TOLD BY LORING

emphis Labor Leader Says Head of Porters' Union Is 'Rabble Rouser'

By LEE JOHNSON
Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

"Memphis Trades and Labor ouncil will support any construc- ve labor meeting and any speaker, egardless of race," Lev. Loring, ouncil president, said today. "How- ver, I know A. Philip Randolph nd have heard him speak. I do ot believe he would be a con- tructive speaker as far as race elationships in Memphis are con- rned."

Randolph, negro president of the rotherhood of Pullman Porters AFL) is supposed to speak at a ass meeting of the Tennessee ederation of Labor (AFL) in emphis some time in April.

"We consider Randolph a rabble- ouser who stirs up race trouble," oring declared.

"He charges we refused him per- ission to speak here last Novem- er—which is not true. He ad- ressed the Southern Tenant Farm- rs Union and the Brotherhood of ullman Porters. Another meeting ad been arranged by Memphis olored leaders but when they ound out the type of speech Ran- olph makes they called the meet- ng off voluntarily."

Wrote William Green

Randolph told AFL President William Green that E. H. Crump efused to let him speak in the ublic school where the meeting as to have been held. Green wrote andolph saying he believed the atter's civil liberties had been vio- ated when Crump barred his peech."

Loring said Randolph is a law- er and has never been a Pull- an porter.

"He's a graduate of Oxford Uni- ersity in England, and holds a aw degree from Harvard," Loring eclared. "He was put on the AFL rganizing committee some years go and after helping organize the orters he became the union's resident. After that he took wings nd flew — he has made many peeches which are nothing but 'social equality of the races' propa- anda. He advocates throwing off restraint between the races 'im- meddiately.'

"I've heard five or six of those peeches and they can't be called ood for race relations. I have eard him accused from the floor t national AFL conventions of aving his speeches printed in amphlet form and selling them o the country's negro population.

Loring Protested

"As far as Randolph's plan to peak here is concerned the first heard of it was when I read story about it in the negro paper, he Chicago Defender. I wrote reen, giving our reasons for op- osing the meeting, but he an- wered he believed we should sup- ort the meeting anyhow. The mat- er [illegible] until I saw [illegible]

saying the meeting would be held here in April."

A United Press dispatch from Washington Tuesday said Washington AFL headquarters did not know which city in Tennessee had been selected for the meeting and did not know that the meeting had been contemplated for Memphis. Green, according to the dispatch, assigned all details to AFL Southern Regional Director George Googe. Googe would not comment at that time and when The Press-Scimitar attempted to reach him by telephone today Washington AFL headquarters reported he is in Tampa, Fla., on vacation.

ASS MEETING PLANS NOT KNOWN BY ESSARY

Negro's Talk Lacks State A. F. Of L. Sanction

LORING OPPOSES ADDRES

The Tennessee Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.) "has no knowledge" of plans for a mass meeting in Memphis in April at which A. Philip Randolph, negro president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, would be a principal speaker, John Essary, president of the T. F. of L., said in Memphis last night.

In Memphis on other business, Mr. Essary of Knoxville, said that the state federation would meet in Jackson in June and that the first I knew of the Randolph meeting was when I arrived in Memphis Tuesday."

Loring Protests

On Monday, the Associated Press in Washington said that an A. F. of L. spokesman had announced that Randolph would speak here in April under T. F. of L. sponsorship and with the "full knewledge and approval" of William Green, president of the A. F. of L.

Meanwhile, it was revealed that Lev Loring, president of the Memphis Trades and Labor Council, acting with consent of the local A. F. of L.'s central body, had advised with Mr. Green concerning the proposed Randolph appearance.

In a letter to Mr. Green on Feb. 2, Mr. Loring said:

". . . And the kind of meeting he (Randolph) will hold, as you know from the speeches he had made before the American Federation of Labor, is not good for this section of the country, not only for the negro trade unionist but for the white trade unionist.

"I believe that you will agree with me that A. Philip Randolph is a demagog of front rank. We do not think that A. Philip Randolph speaking in this community . . . will be beneficial to the relationship between the races."

Green's Reply

In a reply to Mr. Loring, Mr. Green said, in part:

". . . It occurred to me that Randolph should be accorded an opportunity to speak in Memphis and to exercise his right of free speech.

"It is my opinion that your central body should support such a step and show that you believe in the right of free speech and free assemblage by being willing to concede the exercise of that fundamental American right to others."

Last night Mr. Loring reiterated that the Memphis Trades and Labor Council would not support any meeting here at which Randolph was a speaker.

Last Fall, Randolph was scheduled to address an open meeting in Memphis under sponsorship of his local union but the open [illegible] was called off after [illegible] conferred with [illegible] He did, however, [illegible] union and a [illegible] Tenant

NEGRO CHURCH IS INSPECTED

By District Fire Chief—It's Where Randolph Spoke

Today, the Fire Department got around to the First Baptist Church, negro, 379 Beale, at which A. Philip Randolph, negro, spoke last Friday night.

In a statement to The Press-Scimitar Monday, Rev. G. A. Long, negro, pastor of the church, said he had heard rumors that the church would be condemned in reprisal for allowing Randolph, national president of the Sleeping Car Porters, to speak in his church. Randolph condemned actions of Memphis political leaders in his speech.

Today a Press-Scimitar reporter, [illegible] down Beale Street, saw a Fire Department car parked across the street from the church, and when he stopped he found District Chief A. J. Schaefer, who makes Fire Department inspections, flashlight in hand, inspecting the church. Said Schaefer, "I'm just looking around."

Editorial from The Chicago Sun, November 21, 1943

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN MEMPHIS

Boss Crump of Memphis has gone all out for home-town isolationism. No "blatherskite or demagogue of the North or South", he says, should be permitted to "interfere" with the "friendly relations" between white and Negro races in Memphis.

That is the gist of Boss Crump's answer to criticism for having his henchmen intimidate Memphis Negroes into canceling a recently scheduled mass meeting on Negro problems. The meeting was to have been addressed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and member of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Mr. Randolph may be a "blatherskite" to Mr. Crump--but he is a national leader in the ranks of labor and in the cause of Negro betterment. Doubtless his opposition to the poll tax infuriates Boss Crump, who owes his power in large degree to that indefensible instrument for thwarting and corrupting democracy. Doubtless most things that Mr. Randolph stands for infuriate the czar of Memphis. But for all his zeal in stifling civil liberties in the Randolph case Mr. Crump will lose in the end. Memphis will not permit him to isolate it permanently from the American way of democracy and free speech.

Views Of The Commercial Appeal Readers

OUTSIDERS RESENTED

To The Commercial Appeal:

This is a great big "family" we have here in Memphis, and as such, naturally, we don't want our soiled linen hung on public clotheslines.

I refer to the recent bitter public castigation of our community and many of its citizens by persons whose interests and stay here were only transitory, and whose utterances apparently served no other end than to stir and unsettle "family" matters which it has been our concern to seek to handle in our own way and among our own folk.

If we have problems in our "family" we know we can settle them, while the outsider can well look after the problems of his own home town "family" . . . for truly, there are local problems everywhere. And in each community with its local problems, the outside meddler is resented and not appreciated.

I was born here; nurtured here in Memphis; and hope to sleep my final sleep here in her soil. I have seen Memphis grow and blossom physically, mentally and spiritually. I have read her history. Her greatest growth has been during the public civic life of Mr. E. H. Crump.

Really to know Mr. Crump is to love him. So many people, even Memphians, don't know him. This modern Memphis is truly the shadow of Mr. E. H. Crump, because he has lived and labored here and stood at the vanguard of every worth-while and progressive measure and movement for a better and a greater Memphis. Publicly provided and supported facilities for the colored people of Memphis are undoubtedly superior on the whole and in most ways to those of other large cities in the South. Exercise of the franchise in the Democratic primary by Memphis negroes is a long-standing tradition.

True, as a river city, and as a TriState city, Memphis has many problems peculiar to itself, which other cities, differently located and with different backgrounds do not have.

Yet, I do believe that the noble souls of both races in Memphis can solve and are solving their problems. These great souls do not need the uninvited help nor interference of outsiders, white or black, in reaching their solutions. It is obviously unfair to have such an outsider, here only temporarily, make inflammatory observations and criticisms, and then hie himself to his outside point and leave us holding the bag of unrest and disturbed conditions that inevitably follow his visit.

With thousands of others of my race I deeply deplore the ridicule of my city or of any of her citizens, white or colored, aside from personal references made to [illegible] self. The efforts of Mr. Crump; the efforts of our county and city officials, and other progressive citizens, are deeply appreciated by the overwhelming majority of the colored citizens of Memphis. We realize that no city is perfect . . . as no individual is perfect.

Many recent commentators on the local scene, I am sure, have been incorrectly informed and, consequently and unwisely, have presented erroneous interpretations which were both misleading and untrue.

I emphasize again that "Memphians should know their own facts about their own city, and arrive at their own conclusions, disregarding the discolorations spread by misinformed outsiders."

BLAIR T. HUNT.
Principal Booker T. Washington High School, Memphis.

CZARS NEEDED A WPA

To The Commercial Appeal:

I want to take up the cudgels on behalf of Mrs. Jones, Jackson, Tenn., in answering Byron Crouse of Rutherford, Tenn.

Yes, our great and far-sighted President could and did create the money spending agencies to excellent advantage. Many a great and clever politician told us if Russia had given its peasants a WPA instead of bullets, the Tsars would still have been in power.

If the Germans, who still had plenty of money after the first World War, had given its people a WPA, or other money spending agencies, Mr. Hitler & Co. would not have been created.

And if President Roosevelt had not spent the money he did, we, too, having been on the brink of disaster, might easily have slipped right into it.

And, by the way, what became of all the tramps, the loafers and idlers, who, we were told, were the only recipients of the "money spending agencies"? And if greedy and narrow-minded taxpayers will not be willing to spend at the end of this war in order that "none shall go hungry," we are not yet sure we can keep Communism or Fascism away from our doors.

Congress does not bluff. If it refuses to appropriate money for any venture, such as the fortification of the Philippines, for instance, our President can do nothing about it. It is only scoffers and haters of our President who belittle all his efforts and who see nothing but injustice in his noblest deeds.

HERMAN MEYER.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ONLY ONE MOSES?

To The Commercial Appeal:

In the beginning and before the New Deal we were told by common sense authority that in the market place there must be two opposing forces: one, the seller, the other, the buyer [illegible] demanding higher, the other lower prices. Without producer there could be no consumer. Without consumer, no need of producers.

After the New Deal we are told that the producer or seller was being crucified by low prices. Put prices up, we must and will, said F. D. R. Tax and tax, spend and spend, would bring back prosperity.

The law of supply and demand is obsolete. That, said he, was horse and buggy stuff, and we would have no more of it. He said, give me more tax money and I will put on a bull market and pay producers to destroy their products and also pay them for crops they do not raise. Well and good so far, but later we hear a mighty rumbling from the consumer who says the cost of living is too high and must be reduced, or else. That, says F. D. R., is a minor trouble. Give me another increase in taxes (by way of subsidies) and I will do the trick and reduce the cost of living. By higher taxes we can make the producer prosperous and by still higher taxes we can also make the consumer happy and prosperous. So, by taxation we care for all except the taxpayer. He must look out for No. 1.

It is written that when on earth Christ turned water into wine, but I doubt if he at any time even suggested the repealing of the eternal law of supply and demand. That was left for F. D. R., who seems to "move in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." He can do no wrong. His edicts are true and righteous altogether. On the record, say the New Dealers, let's have him for another term. There is no other Moses (?) in all the land.

GASTON THERRELL.
Columbus, Miss.

ABOUT NAME CALLING

To The Commercial Appeal:

Sunday night, the Lord's Day night, Walter Winchell and Martin Dies cluttered the airways with their so-called name calling campaign.

In my Bible, in the book of Exodus, the 20th chapter, 16th verse, God has a word about name calling, especially when it is false.

This country is called a Christian one. So what I want to know is why we allow prominent men like Winchell and Dies to boldly broadcast lies? And why do responsible people sanction such blasphemy for commercializing their product?

Europe today is being systematically destroyed because one of the biggest liars of all the ages started this war. God is not mocked. America will suffer, too, if we who believe in God's word do not stand up for the right. Who wants to give the precious life of their son so lying and other disobedience to God's word can be carried on?

What a pity the broadcasting systems do not put on programs of comfort and assurance for the aching, lonely hearts.

Thank God, I can at least turn off my radio and not listen to the brazen blasphemy of these two men.

'HERE AS DUTY': A. P. RANDOLPH

Sleeping Car Porters' Chief Speaks Despite Protests

A. Philip Randolph, negro, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, spoke in Memphis last night despite the opposition of city officials and the Memphis Trades and Labor Council, affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, of which the Brotherhood is a member.

Flanked on the platform of First Baptist Church (negro) by 18 white and negro officials of Memphis and national AFL organizations and with a press gallery including representatives of two press associations, the Chicago Sun (Marshall Field's paper) and several other out-of-town reporters, Randolph told his audience of approximately 700, which filled the church, that he was in Memphis because he was "morally obligated to take a definite stand on the right of free speech."

Links Loring and Crump

Lev Loring, president of Memphis Trades and Labor Council, who opposed Randolph's speaking in Memphis, was termed by Randolph "a satellite and labor political henchman of Boss Crump."

Randolph spoke of E. H. Crump as "the Memphis political boss who out-Hitlers Hitler." This statement drew applause from the audience, which was almost entirely negro.

Randolph said [illegible] of Memphis' leading [illegible] ordered to appear at [illegible] by Sheriff Oliver Perry [illegible] a speech he (Randolph) [illegible] duled to make in M[illegible]vember.

Cha[illegible]

Instead of be[illegible]office, said Randolph, [illegible]aken into a cell of th[illegible] and threatened with [illegible] up and jailed if they [illegible] to do with the meeting [illegible]re told, said Randolph, [illegible] people had been calling [illegible] Perry, threatening to [illegible] start a race riot if the [illegible] allowed to be held. The [illegible] threatened these negroes were Sheriff Perry, County Commission Chairman E. W. Hale, City Commissioner Joe Boyle, Attorney General Will Gerber and County Attorney Charles Crabtree, Randolph said.

Quotes Crump Comment

The following morning, said Randolph, a story appeared in a Memphis newspaper, quoting Crump as saying: "No blatherskite, or demagog of the North or South should be permitted to interfere with the friendly relations between the races that now exists in Memphis."

"If as Crump states," said Randolph, "the negro and white people in Memphis have such friendly relations there ought not to be any fear that one speech by one man could upset these so-called friendly relations."

Denounces Tactics

Randolph denounced the vote-getting tactics of the Memphis political organization as a "public circus in the form of cutting thousands of watermelons at the public high schools and feeding the people with peanuts."

"Is this the method whereby friendly relations between the races are maintained in Memphis?" he asked. "I consider such a spectacle a disgrace and an affront to the white citizens and negroes of this communi[illegible]

[illegible]ECH AROUSES PERRY'S IR[illegible]

Sheriff Says New York Negro Was 'Inciting Riots'

PREACHER ISSUES ANSWE[illegible]

Statements made by A. Philip Randolph, negro president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A. F. of L.), in his speech Friday night at First Baptist Church (negro) on Beale Avenue brought a reply yesterday from Sheriff Oliver Perry.

Randolph spoke despite the opposition of the Memphis Trades and Labor Council, A. F. of L. affiliate. He described E. H. Crump, Shelby political leader, as "our Hitlering Hitler," and belittled local administration effort on behalf of the negro.

Told of "Threats"

He also charged that 12 leading negroes were threatened by Sheriff Perry and other officials if they had anything to do with his appearance here, which was originally set for November but was cancelled.

Sheriff Perry's statement follows:

"Had I known the negro Randolph from New York City and those he brought with him were to make blackguarding speeches defaming this community and speaking ill of my friends, Mr. Hale and Mr. Crump, I would have pulled them all out of the pulpit in Preacher Long's Beale Street Church.

(Rev. G. A. Long is pastor of the First Baptist Church (negro) where Randolph gave his talk.)

"Freedom of speech doesn't give anyone the license to lie and incite riots, and that is what they were doing.

"Mr. Crump and Mr. Hale have done too much for Memphis and Shelby County all these many years for some wildeyed publicity seeker like Randolph to belittle their efforts. They have helped the negroes of this community in many ways. I know plans are afoot to do more for them. But the Memphis negroes do not show their appreciation by encouraging a man like Randolph to come here and find fault—ridicule what has been done.

"Will Be On Hand"

"I will be on hand at the next meeting, and further I will be on hand at the Mitchell meeting for the Tenant Farmers. There is no reason for Mitchell, a white man, to bring his mixed crowd here where the tenant problem does not exist, to condemn the efforts that are being made toward the upbuilding of the Mississippi Valley."

Replying to a criticism directed at him Sunday by E. H. Crump, Rev. G. A. Long, pastor of First Baptist Church (negro) said:

". . . I do not believe [illegible] will be any race trouble [illegible] result of A. Philip Randolph's address. I do not believe Mr. E. H. Crump believes there will be any trouble because of this address. I have no hate for the white group, not even Mr. E. H. Crump, who persists in heaping untrue criticisms upon me. I do not encourage hate for the white group; some of my best friends are white, for whom I am ready to give my last drop of blood. I would have Mr. E. H. Crump to know I am an ambassador of Jesus Christ and take my orders only from Christ.

'Issue Is Freedom'

". . . . I did not ask Mr. Crump could I come to this town and I am not going to ask him if I may stay.

". . . . The issue raised by Mr. E. H. Crump in Memphis is the issue around the world—freedom. Thousands of my group are dying around the world for that freedom. If they can take it there, I can take it here, although I must take it unarmed, but the pity of it is that men should have to die to get what is denied here."

[illegible]ast Night, Sheriff Perry [illegible] read what negro pres[illegible]g of the Beale Street ch[illegible] to say. He has been lo[illegible] here as a sassy and [illegible]cher from Chicago. He [illegible]is from Helena, Ark., bu[illegible]d up the country just [illegible]ugh to fit in with Ra[illegible]do[illegible]s. The town will be be[illegible]te[illegible]out him and I say this [illegible]t to prevent trouble."

Commenting on Sheriff [illegible] statement about the South[illegible]ant Farmers' Union, H. L. [illegible] president, said, "Sheriff [illegible] to attend our

Holds Negro's Rights Essential To Victory

NEW YORK, Jan. 21 (ANP)—Before one of the largest crowds of the season, editors of The Survey Graphic, New Masses, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and The Chicago Defender debated "the color question and the war," last week at the book forum of the Schomburg collection of Negro literature of the New York Public Library.

Dr. Alain Locke, of The Survey Graphic, said that his magazine represented "constructive liberalism" and that the special number of last November had received wide circulation outside of the United States as well as in this country. Dr. J. P. Shalloo said that their special number of last September was barred from shipment abroad on the grounds that Axis propagandists would pounce upon the accounts of discrimination in this country. Dr. Shalloo insisted that scholarly, sober, restrained articles in The Annals did the most good.

The next Schomburg book forum on January 21, will take up the controversial book, "No Day of Triumph." Some critics have praised it as a great book; others have condemned it, saying that it never should have been written. J. Saunders Redding, the author, will debate these issues with a southern white liberal author, Harold Preece, and the managing editor of The Negro Quarterly, Ralph Ellison.

Press-Scimitar
Apr. 20, 1944

OUTCOME OF INSPECTION AT LONG'S CHURCH

Fire Dept. Orders Changes: Chief Schaefer And Pastor Talk

District Fire Chief A. J. Schaefer said today that the speech of A. Philip Randolph, negro union leader, at First Baptist Church (negro) "had nothing to do with" inspection of the church by Memphis Fire Inspection Bureau.

The Fire Department ordered inspection of all wiring at the church by a licensed electrician, removal of all loose drop cords in the church, removal of paper wall board in several study rooms and construction of a stairway at the rear of the church to the second floor.

Deadline for making these changes was originally set for today, but Chief Schaefer today said:

'Plenty of Time'

"We know it is hard to get things done now and except for those things that are extremely dangerous we will give Rev. Long (Rev. G. A. Long, pastor) plenty of time to make repairs."

Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, spoke recently at Long's church over protests of Memphis Trades and Labor Council, AFL central body, and the city administration.

Inspection of the church followed shortly thereafter.

"The Randolph meeting had nothing to do with the inspection," Chief Schaefer said. "We went down there to inspect Beale Street Auditorium several doors from the church and made the church inspection as a routine matter.

"We have inspected many churches in Memphis and have issued orders on other churches without anything being said about it."

'Willing', Says Pastor

Long said:

"I am perfectly willing to do everything that the Fire Department has requested because I know the church probably needs these improvements, but the work couldn't be done in the time originally allowed by the Fire Department.

"These conditions have existed for a long time and no one has said anything about them. We have made improvements on the church without being asked to do them since I became pastor seven years ago. It seems a bit odd that the request should come right after the Randolph meeting."

The minister said he "talked the matter over" yesterday with Chief Schaefer "and he was very nice about it."

Randolph's Words About Crump Draws Perry's Ire: 'He's Defaming Community'

The speech of A. Philip Randolph, negro, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in Memphis Friday night today brought a statement from Sheriff Oliver Perry.

Randolph, speaking at First Baptist Church (negro), referred to E. H. Crump as "the Mephis political boss who out-Hitlers Hitler."

Sheriff Oliver Perry said:

"Had I known the negro Randolph from New York City, and those he brought with him, were to make blackguarding speeches defaming this community and speaking ill of my friends, Mr. Hale and Mr. Crump, I would have pulled them all out of the pulpit in Preacher Long's Beale St. church.

"Freedom of speech doesn't give anyone the license to lie and incite riots, and that is what they were doing.

"Mr. Crump and Mr. Hale have done too much for Memphis and Shelby County all these many years for some wild-eyed publicity seeker like Randolph to belittle their efforts. They have helped the negroes of this community in so many ways.

"I know plans are on foot to do more for them; but the Memphis negroes do not show their appreciation by encouraging a man like Randolph to come here and find fault—ridicule what has been done.

"I will be on hand at the next meeting, and further, I will be on hand at the Mitchell meeting of the Tenant Farmers. There is no reason for Mitchell, a white man, to bring his mixed crowd here where the tenant problem does not exist, to condemn the efforts that are being made toward the upbuilding of the Mississippi Valley."

'Christ, Not Crump, Is My Boss'

Rev. G. A. Long, pastor of First Baptist Church (negro), issued a statement in reply to a criticism directed at him by E. H. Crump Sunday. Long's statement follows:

"I regret to note in the Sunday Commercial Appeal April 2, 1944, that Mr. E. H. Crump condemns the pastor of First Baptist on Beale Avenue, who is none other than myself, Rev. G. A. Long, for allowing A. Philip Randolph to speak at the above-named church.

"I do not believe there will be any race trouble as the result of A. Philip Randolph's address. I do not believe Mr. E. H. Crump believes there will be any trouble because of this address. I have no hate for the white group, not even Mr. E. H. Crump, who persists in heaping untrue criticisms upon me. I do not encourage hate for the white group; some of my best friends are white, for whom I am ready to give my last drop of blood. I would have Mr. E. H. Crump to know I am an ambassador of Jesus Christ and take orders only from Christ.

"Seven years I have lived an abiding citizen in Memphis. Everyone with whom I have dealt, white or colored, can but say I have been respectful and honest in my dealings, they must say I have lived and acted as a Christian minister. I am not an imported rabble rouser. I am an American citizen, born in Phillips County, Ark. When Mr. E. H. Crump speaks of my abiding the consequences, I am fully cognizant of what he means. I have made up my mind.

"Now, as far as the town being better off without me, I did not ask Mr. Crump could I come to this town, and I am not going to ask him if I may stay. I have heard rumors that I am to be hounded by police and the First Baptist Church on Beale would be condemned because I allowed A. Philip Randolph to speak at the church as one of the mediums of breaking me down and running me out of town. I am not wealthy like Mr. E. H. Crump, I have no bodyguards nor any police to carry out my wishes; I am just an humble negro, God-called Baptist preacher. I am trying to buy a home at 332 Vance Avenue, and with God's help I am planning to stay there. I shall observe the laws of Memphis, respect white and colored, but I shall not live in fear.

"I feel safe in saying all white and colored who listened to A. Philip Randolph and other speakers at First Baptist on Beale Friday night, March 31, 1944, left there with love, respect and good will for white and colored in Memphis, Tennessee, America and the world. A spirit of loyalty was reborn in every heart. Memphis shall see a spirit of love and not hate as the result of that meeting.

"The issue raised by Mr. E. H. Crump in Memphis is the issue around the world—Freedom. Thousands of my group are dying around the world for that freedom. If they can take it there, I can take it here, altho I must take it unarmed, but the pity of it is that men should have to die there for what is denied here."

COMMERCIAL APPEAL ... APR. 2, 1944

RANDOLPH'S ADDRESS DENOUNCED BY CRUMP

Political Leader Calls Negro Union Head 'Demagogic'

'OUT TO CREATE TROUBLE'

E. H. Crump, Shelby political leader, yesterday denounced A. Philip Randolph, negro president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A. F. of L.), as a "vicious, demagogic negro out to create trouble" in reply to the negro's remarks in an address Friday night at the First Baptist Church on Beale.

Randolph said Friday night that "the Memphis political boss out-Hitlers Hitler" and he belittled Mr. Crump's statements that local negroes derive great benefits in schools, parks, hospitals, etc.

"Incendiary Speeches"

Mr. Crump's statement follows:

"We were advised Randolph had been going over the country making incendiary speeches. Therefore the city and county officials thought it wise to consult with leading colored citizens here. Randolph, with his race hate, says the Memphis colored citizens were corralled in a cell and threatened, which is a willful lie.

"When the preacher permits his Beale Avenue Church to be used as a forum for spreading race hatred in a city where there is a large negro population, if any trouble should result, the blood of the race is on his altar in the sight of God. He has desecrated it.

"There are a lot of white people who hate the negroes—like there are negroes who hate the whites. Randolph is the vicious, demagogic type, out to create trouble and did not come here with any helpful thought.

"Would Walk to Chicago"

"I say again I would walk to Chicago if that would prevent race trouble in Memphis.

"No good can come from inflammatory harangues such as Randolph and his imported associates made in that church. On the other hand, it is bound to create a feeling of race hate on the part of the whites and negroes. Therefore, everyone who had anything to do with his coming here did both races a great disservice.

"Randolph scoffs at what has been done for the negroes in Memphis and Shelby County in the way of schools, parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, health facilities and housing. I would hate to think that he voices the sentiment of the colored citizens of this community in his belittling the many things that have been done for them, notwithstanding the fact they only pay 5 per cent of the taxes.

Beale Street "Cleaned Up"

"Randolph didn't tell that the Police Department had cleaned up Beale Street dives that were harboring criminals with pistols and long bladed knives. Nor did he tell that the police were forced to give protection to a gathering of negro bishops in one of the churches where young negroes shot pistols, which created a near panic, and robbed those in attendance. He didn't tell in his formula for the conduct of the negroes in Memphis that the Police Department was forced to give protection at their leading football games where there was shooting and cutting affrays.

"If the negroes of this community or any whites insist on these imported rabble rousers, creating hatred, they might as well make up their minds to abide by the consequences and the town will be better off without that type of citizen, including the preacher who gave permission to hold that meeting in his church."

MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

It's about time, ... objected to the beautiful platitudes expressed thru your column on the reaction of negroes to the speech made by A. Philip Randolph recently. How did we ever get off on the question of whether negroes appreciate what has been done for them by the city administration? Do we have to say "thank you" forever because city officials partially perform the services for which they are elected? Is it a magnanimous gift that a city administration provides some school and recreational facilities for forty per cent of its inhabitants?

I can see no wrong in recognizing the fact that these and other facilities for negroes in Memphis are totally inadequate; that the police force is used to intimidate rather than protect certain groups in the city. All of us know that what Randolph said is true; and the truth has never yet injured prejudice, and hate. It's pitiful when we not only are afraid to speak the truth, but are too cowardly to admit that someone else has spoken truth.

The first step toward progress in any situation is a frank analysis of the situation. The next is the formulation of a program to eliminate the bad spots. That Randolph gave, and no one can truthfully say that one statement he made was false. Randolph is no "demagogue," no "rabble rouser."

I, for one, do not resent the speech, nor do I condemn Randolph for making it.

Beware of Cocktails

By DR. THURLOW C. NELSON
Rutgers University

If your boy from overseas has had tropical malaria, don't celebrate his return with a cocktail party, because there's a good chance that the party will be followed by a funeral.

Press-Scimitar
Apr. 19, 1944

TUESDAY, APRIL 4, 1944.

EDITORIALS
THE PRESS-SCIMITAR

Consider Randolph Incident Closed

The Press-Scimitar is of the opinion that the methods of A. Philip Randolph, negro president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, are unwise. We are also of the opinion that the methods of our Shelby County officials, in trying to bring pressure on Memphis negroes to prevent Randolph from speaking, were unwise.

The Randolph meeting was held. His actual remarks did not prove as sensational as the advertising had led the public to expect. But they offended politicians who have had a good thing because they had made voters of negroes years ago and for a long time got the negroes to vote all one way.

The statement of Sheriff Perry that he would pull a speaker out of a pulpit was an irresponsible one, unworthy of an official charged with the sober responsibility of enforcing the laws and upholding the Constitution of the State and Nation.

Our peace and prosperity are dependent on harmonious race relations. These relations will be right if leaders of both races keep their heads. It is not too much to expect that our officials should set an example of temperateness in speech and legality in conduct.

The Press-Scimitar does not believe any good will come to Memphis from any further discussion of the Randolph affair by our politicians or anyone else. Of course, under the free speech principle, they have a right to talk about it, and we also have a right to say that we don't think it will do good.

Let us consider the Randolph meeting and opinions concerning it a closed chapter. Let white and negro citizens work together as friends to win the war and build a better Memphis in the spirit of the Lord whom they both serve.

PASTORS ANSWER ...

To The Commercial Appeal:

It is unfortunate for the colored people to be carelessly thrown on the defensive side, but recent articles read in the daily papers have provoked the following questions: What is wrong with the negroes? Aren't they appreciative of the things that are being done for them? Some say it doesn't pay to try to help them; they have no sense of appreciation.

Did the speech delivered on Friday by A. Phillip Randolph in which he lambasted and vilified E. H. Crump, the City and County Administration, represent the attitude of the colored people of Memphis and Shelby County? We, the committee appointed by the Baptist Pastors' Alliance, representing more than 70 per cent of the negro population both of the county and city, take the position to say NO. It was unfortunate and unprovoked. One of those serious things that happen sometimes, when people change their opportunity to do good into doing evil or wrong and hike out and leave the burden and bag to be held by innocent people.

Such affairs have often resulted in much harm and the humble people made to pay the cost in bloodshed, tears and suffering, while the guilty flee and stand behind a smoke screen wishfully hoping to rise and profit.

We resent anybody coming into our community lambasting and deriding the leaders of our community to satisfy any home or foreign group. For such is calculated to undermine and upset and destroy the splendid relations and understanding between the white and black people of Memphis and upset the plans for closer co-operation and help as it relates to education and economic advancement.

Many things have been done for the colored people of Memphis. The things speak for themselves. "Good schools, increase in salaries and more to come; good housing conditions for people in low salary brackets and still more to come; wading pools, playgrounds, parks, health centers, and more of these in the making." These we think are evidences of good leaders and good city and county government.

We think that any sane person will agree that these are signs of progress and the promoters should be encouraged for these things. Things don't just happen. The leaders, E. H. Crump, E. W. Hale, Mayor Chandler, Sheriff Oliver Perry, General Gerber, Commissioner Boyle and Commissioner ... city and county commissioners ... their efficient help, and the negroes of Memphis appreciate your efforts and services in our behalf.

We have been with you and we are still with you and for you. We believe you will continue in your advancement and helpful program for all the people of Memphis and Shelby County. We believe the road to progress is to reason and understand each other and plan together. "Not by might nor by power but by My spirit saith the Lord of Host."

It is very unfortunate for us that our enemies say more about us than our friends. They knock Memphis, still they come to Memphis.

The question of free speech may arise. Yes, we believe in free speech but that does not mean that one is permitted to come into my house or my community, lambast and criticize me on the grounds that you are free, when you know nothing about me; nor the attitude of my household or community, basing your inflammatory remarks on hearsay, or your own nervous and jittery attitude. And if one group feels free to bring somebody to inspire hate and prejudice and somebody behind the screen hiding their identity encouraging it another group has the same right.

Suppose Mr. Crump and the leaders of our community should choose to bring someone to Memphis to incite prejudice and hate to white people with fiery lambasting criticism of negroes—you and I would feel we had been done a great wrong. Don't give what you can't take.

We may be called stooges and white folks lovers. The gospel we preach and the Christ we represent commands that we love everybody, do good for evil and do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Upon this truth hangs the hope of the world. Knockers never win and winners never have time to knock.

We do not contend that Memphis is perfect. There are no perfect people in Memphis or anywhere else, but we do know there is evidence of a growing sympathetic attitude between the groups. While it may be slow, we believe it's permanent. It takes time to grow an oak and to build character. Time is the great furnace where the broken parts are welded and if pulled too soon the job falls apart and the effort wasted.

In the language of Abraham to Lot, let there be no strife between the white and black people of Memphis and shun the things that generate strife.

(Signed) Rev. J. L. Campbell, St. Stephen's Church, chairman ... committee for Baptist Pastors' Alliance.

Rev. James H. Pugh, Mt. Nebo Church, president Baptist Pastors' Alliance.

Rev. Roy Love, Cane Creek Church, critic of Baptist Pastors' Alliance.

A COMBINATION

To The Commercial Appeal:

With reference to the difficulty which seems to be in the air in naming the lake that crosses the Tennessee-Kentucky line.

Here are some suggestions that are logical. If the thought of hurting Kentucky's feelings predominates, that is the combination names of the two states:

TENNETUCKY
TENNTUCKY
TENNUCKY

As part of the TVA, further suggestion is made that they spell out these initilas like "TEVA" or "TE-VAL-A."

If there is any prize money in connection with the suggestion of the best names and these are accepted, I'll be very happy to receive the check.

H. HUDSON SMITH.
Memphis.

STATE A.F.L. MEETING SLATED HERE IN APRIL

Green Approves Plans For Randolph To Speak

From Washington yesterday, the Associated Press reported that William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has approved plans of the Tennessee Federation of Labor for a mass meeting in Memphis in April, with A. Philip Randolph, negro A. F. of L. union leader, as principal speaker.

Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and his scheduled appearance meets with the "full knowledge and approval" of Mr. Green, the Associated Press reported.

Randolph was scheduled to address an open meeting of his local union here several months ago, but the appearance was called off when local negro leaders conferred with Memphis authorities. The negro, however, addressed a closed meeting of his local and a session of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Informed of the proposed address of Randolph last night, Lev Loring, president of the Memphis Trades and Labor Council, (the A. F. of L.'s central body here) said:

"The A. F. of L. may call a mass meeting for Randolph, but the Memphis Trades and Labor Council will have nothing to do whatsoever with this meeting.

"Personally, I think Randolph is a demagog of the first run. He will not promote the best relationship of the races in Memphis."

The Associated Press asked E. H. Crump, head of the Shelby County political organization who is vacationing at Hot Springs, about the meeting.

... comment, no com-

NC-FEPC

REPORT

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

"THE RIGHT TO WORK....
IS THE RIGHT TO LIVE...."

For additional copies write to:
National Council for a Permanent FEPC
1410 H Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

June 30, 1944.

"THE RIGHT TO WORK IS....THE RIGHT TO LIVE...."

Of all the appropriations in the federal war budget before Congress this spring, the smallest item created the greatest furore--$500,000 requested to continue for one more year the emergency-created Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

The winning of the fight for this appropriation--despite a bitter, misleading campaign by a minority to whom the maintenance of "white supremacy" was more important than winning the war--was a signal victory which helped turn the tide in favor of a Permanent FEPC.

From the beginning, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC knew that to win broad support for a permanent FEPC, with adequate funds and authority, required the achievement of majority acceptance of the principle of federal action to prevent discrimination in employment. Thus all our forces were thrown into the fight when this principle faced its first and crucial test in the House and Senate vote on the appropriation in June. For it was then that the present FEPC came up for congressional approval for the first time in its three years of operation.

And it was then that the southern advocates of "white supremacy" and their northern collaborationists in Congress saw their first opportunity --and they grabbed at it--to abolish FEPC. That many of them considered it more important to kill FEPC than to defeat Hitler and Tojo was demonstrated in the vote on the omnibus War Agencies Bill in the House of Representatives. FEPC was included, with 17 other emergency agencies of the federal government, in a single War Agencies Bill. The amount requested for all totaled $1,030,937,242. Although each agency was discussed and acted upon separately, final clearance required a vote on the War Agencies Bill as a whole. Enraged at the defeat of their amendment to strike FEPC out of the bill, 52 southerners recorded themselves as voting against passage of the War Agencies Bill. Southerners who had never before voted against an important war measure voted to kill the War Production Board, the War Labor Board, the Office of War Information, the War Shipping Administration, the Smaller War Plants Corporation, the Selective Service System, and the rest--only because FEPC had been included, even though by majority vote of Congress.

But FEPC cleared the House by a margin of only four votes. The people had not made their desires sufficiently known. Much remained to be done to ensure passage in the Senate by a vote substantial enough to indicate unquestionably broad and non-partisan support of FEPC. And when, scarcely three weeks later, the FEPC appropriation reached the floor of the Senate, it was approved by a vote of 38 to 21. The job had been done. A substantial majority in the Senate had become convinced that the people wanted FEPC continued (in spite of the fact that the southern opposition reached new lows in deceit and viciousness during a three-day Senate filibuster).

Meanwhile, the eyes of the nation--and of Congress--were on the House Labor Committee where, during those same crucial three weeks, hearings

were being held on the Scanlon-Dawson-LaFollette Bill for a Permanent FEPC. Here was the sounding-board of public opinion, and here spokesmen of civic, religious, and labor organizations, comprising millions of voters, were telling the House Committee what kind of FEPC they wanted. Unanimously they urged that they wanted more than continuation of the present FEPC. They wanted a new kind of FEPC. One with funds enough and power enough to do the job. They wanted an FEPC with "teeth".

It was almost inevitable, therefore, that, sensing the temper of America, in its convention a week later the Republican Party inserted in its platform a plank calling for the establishment of a Permanent FEPC. And it follows that the Democratic Party, under whose administration the FEPC was originated, will naturally include such a plank in its platform at its convention.

The mere establishment of the principle is only an opening wedge in the campaign for a Permanent FEP C with "teeth". We have only established the beachhead.....

WHAT THE HOUSE HEARINGS REVEALED

A saga of frustration and insecurity haunting millions of minority-group Americans was dramatically unfolded in the House Labor Committee hearings--June 1 through June 16--on the Permanent FEPC Bill.

FEPC Chairman Malcolm Ross, however, warned the House Labor Committee that the Negro is not yet secure in his new gains. "The Negro," he said, "has made practically no advance in any industry which is basic to the peace-time economy. The real problem is to see that the Negro finds employment in the new peace-time industries."

For Negroes particularly the FEPC has become a vital symbol of democracy in action. Striking evidence of the gains made in Negro employment was contained in a War Manpower Commission report that there were 7.2% non-whites employed in war industry in January 1944 in contrast to only 3% in 1941. FEPC helped make this possible.

Even now, though, as all proponents of the bill pointed out--despite the manpower shortage and the efforts of FEPC--discrimination persists because FEPC does not have enough funds to more than scratch the surface, and because FEPC does not have the power to enforce its orders.

Discriminatory Cutbacks Begin

Already the cutbacks have begun and the handwriting on the wall has become a living reality for Negro workers. As in the past, they were the last hired. And now again they find themselves the first to go.

Several examples which illustrate the trend were related by a

Detroit witness, Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby, Assistant Director of the City of Detroit Interracial Commission. We have lifted only one example from her testimony, but it is typical: "L, A. Young operates three plants. Plant #1 had been manned entirely by colored workers. When they were ready to lay off by seniority they transferred white workers with longer seniority to Plant #1 and then began the layoff. By the use of this process all of the layoffs were of Negro workers."

Discrimination Prevents Advancement

But it is not only in the matter of hiring and firing that discrimination exists. Data were submitted to show that Negroes and other minorities--the Mexican-Americans particularly--are often denied training and upgrading opportunities, and equal pay for equal work. Striking examples of such discrimination were included in the testimony of Ernesto Galarza, Chief of the Labor Division of the Pan-American Union. Mexicans, as well as Negroes, are restricted to the most menial jobs. "It is not an uncommon experience for Mexican workers," Mr. Galarza told the Labor Committee, "to see younger and less experienced men move into the better jobs in spite of the principle of seniority. I have noted cases of Mexicans in oil refineries who receive ten cents an hour less than Anglo-Americans doing the same kind of work."

International Implications of Discrimination

Mr. Galarza also urged consideration of the international implications of discrimination within this country. The status of people of Mexican origin in this country, he declared, "is the most sensitive test of good neighborly relations between the two countries." Strong evidence of Mexico's awareness of the situation, and its deep concern, was the recent establishment by the Mexican Chamber of Deputies of a special committee to investigate discrimination against Mexicans in the United States. South and Central American countries, Mr. Galarza added, are equally sensitive to the discrimination suffered by the 2,500,000 U. S. citizens of Latin-American descent, "which Axis agents are constantly stressing.....as a means of stirring up ill feeling on the part of the peoples of Latin-America towards the United States."

The danger of international repercussions was also analyzed by other proponents of the bill, among them Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. Study of Axis propaganda showed, Mr. Pickett reported, that "over and over again, and in hundreds of ways, the Japanese propagandists have said that there is no basis for hope for colored peoples as far as the United States is concerned; that they can expect no justice from us." They have gone so far, Mr. Pickett added, as to declare that minority Americans who are serving on the battlefields today may, when they come back, have to fight within this country for the rights they fought to establish throughout the world.

The Chinese, too, are sensitive to the discrimination in this country, Mr. Pickett said. Quakers who have been doing relief work in China report that "the treatment of people of color, not just Negroes but Orientals

as well, in this country is a matter of profound concern to the Chinese."

Social and Economic Effects of Discrimination

How propagandists may disrupt unity within our own borders was vividly described by another proponent, the Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., prominent Catholic clergyman who has for many years directed work in the field of pastoral ministration and educational work among colored peoples in this country.

"If such legislation is not provided," Father LaFarge declared, ".....the door will be laid wide open for the worst type of revolutionary agitation.....The social stability of the nation is, in the last analysis, the social stability of its individual families.....These employment discriminations on racial or religious grounds poison family life in its very foundations.....The unfair practices which this bill attacks are abuses which are laid squarely upon the threshold of the clergyman who attempts to grapple with the vast mass of disorder, crime, religious, and literary illiteracy and inward spirit of discontent and revolt which are the grim fruit of the seamy, undemocratic side of our democracy, the effects of racial and religious prejudice."

Other advocates of the bill who stressed the humanitarian, as well as the social and economic advantages of its enactment, included Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Dr. Emily Hickman, representing the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.; and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, spokesman for the American Jewish Congress.

Unions and Discrimination

That discrimination against minority groups is not confined to management was brought out in the testimony of several witnesses who appeared in support of the bill. Walter White, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Reginald A. Johnson, spokesman for the National Urban League, both stressed the necessity of governmental action to protect the rights of Negro workers who are today denied full membership rights and privileges in some 20 AFL and independent unions. Mr. White, who had just returned from a tour of the war fronts, reported: "Wherever I went the question most frequently asked by Negro soldiers--some of them now storming the beachheads of France as this Committee sits--is whether or not Negroes on returning home will continue to be confined to bootblack jobs."

Another witness, E. Vincent Suitt, spokesman for the Greater Kansas City Area Council for a Permanent FEPC, declared, "No longer than a week ago an owner of several plants and an employee relations secretary of another plant stated that they approved of the policies this bill embraces because of the protection plant management was given in resisting discriminations by some unions."

James Carey, National Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, predicted that the proposed bill would "insure in the post-war period of job transfers that minority workers get the same treatment as any other workers; that a man's seniority and ability are the yardstick of whether he holds a job or gets another." The experience of the CIO, Mr. Carey asserted, "has proved that the democratic process at work in the labor movement makes no distinction of race, religion, color, or nationality.....The enlightened labor movement considers this a workers' problem, instead of a minority problem."

Another large labor organization, and one which has done much to break down discrimination against women in industry--the National Women's Trade Union League of America--urged favorable consideration of the bill in testimony presented by its legislative representative, Mrs. Arthur J. Goldberg.

Community Approach to Discrimination

Community concern with the effects of job discrimination was expressed by members of mayors' interracial commissions of two of the largest industrial centers of the nation, who urged the establishment of the Permanent FEPC as "a bulwark against possible race riots in the post-war conversion period." Mrs. Boulah Whitby, of Detroit, also represented the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, of which she is National President. David M. Grant, who described the situation in St. Louis, is a member of the mayor's interracial commission there, and also represented the St. Louis March on Washington Movement.

The community point of view was also presented in a joint statement by E. Vincent Suitt and Mrs. Frances E. Hayden, of Kansas City, who were accompanied to Washington by Roy Kilbert, of the UAW, and a Kansas City delegation representing many civic organizations.

Government Experience with Discrimination

In order to benefit by the experiences of other government agencies, the House Labor Committee invited several to appear. The War Department, the Civil Service Commission, the U. S. Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration sent spokesmen. All expressed themselves, to quote Secretary of War Stimson, "in accord with the general purpose of prohibiting discriminatory employment practices."

Particularly to the point were the experiences of the U. S. Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration, as described in data submitted by Admiral Emory S. Land, head of both agencies. "Upon the promulgation of Executive Order 8802," said Admiral Land's statement, "the Maritime Commission joined with the War and Navy Departments in a letter to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, outlining the specific policy to be followed with reference to the application of the Order to matters coming within the operations of the Maritime Commission." Subsequently, "Shipyard Labor Relations Bulletins" were issued "which notified all of our shipyards of the terms of the Executive Order and the manner in which they were expected

to comply with its provisions" and which "set forth the procedures which thereafter should be used in processing complaints alleging non-compliance with the President's Executive Order 8802."

Then Admiral Land's statement went on to say, "As a means of making available to critical war industries the utmost utilization of available manpower, Executive Order 8802 has served its purpose. The Maritime Commission experienced, in the early days of the Order, some difficulties with shipyards, particularly in the south, but for the most part, these have disappeared and there is no present record of any violations of its terms."

The Problem is Nationwide

Still another significant fact brought out during the hearings, which has escaped notice because most of the bitterness against FEPC has been voiced by southern congressmen, is the fact that only ten per cent of the cases completed by the present FEPC originated in the eight states of the Deep South.

This fact has special meaning for the big industrial areas of the North, East, West, and Midwest. It is in these areas that great migrations of workers have changed the pattern of living. Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out recently in his challenging book, "An American Dilemma", what happened after the last war. ".....the homecoming Negro soldier," he said, "met the suspicion and fears of the southern whites. In the North, their new footholds in industry were contested by anxious white job seekers in the post-war depression. A wave of lynchings swept the South and even more bloody race riots swept the North."

Each of the House sponsors of the bill--Congressmen Thomas E. Scanlon (D.-Pa.), William L. Dawson (D. Ill), and Charles M. LaFollette (R. Ind.) --appeared before the Committee. The Chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Mary T. Norton, of New Jersey, has a long history of leadership in the enactment of labor and social legislation.

Not all of the proponents and none of the opponents had the opportunity to appear before the Committee was compelled to suspend hearings for the congressional recess.

The Opposition

Spearhead of the opposition within the Committee was Representative O. C. Fisher, of Texas, who, in the question period which followed the presentation of each witness, strove consistently to establish: first, that the proposed legislation was unconstitutional and represented a violation of the freedom of the employer to hire those whom he chose to hire; second, that Negroes were inferior to white people; third, that the aim of the bill's sponsors was to abolish segregation and to abrogate State segregation laws.

In a statement issued following the close of the hearings A. Philip Randolph and Allan Knight Chalmers, co-chairmen of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, declared, "Before the hearings are finally concluded and all the

testimony is in, we expect that Mr. Fisher will be convinced--if he is open to conviction--that the sole purpose of our bill is to insure equal job opportunities to all; that experience has demonstrated that a person's ability and physical wellbeing are determined not by the color of his skin nor by the God he worships nor by the geographical origin of his ancestors, but by the training and opportunities he obtains and by the wage he earns; and that the right to work is as constitutional a right as any other right of civilized human beings."

At the same time Mrs. Norton announced that hearings will be resumed when Congress reconvenes in August, and that she hopes to make time available to the scores of interested organizations and individuals who have requested an opportunity to appear in support of the bill. Opponents, too, will be given full opportunity to be heard before the hearings are closed.

SENATE ACTION ON THE PERMANENT BILL

On June 23rd, the last day of Congress, a companion bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Dennis Chavez (D. New Mex.) on behalf of himself and Senators Sheridan Downey (D. Cal.), James E. Murray (D. Mont.), Robert F. Wagner (D. N. Y.), William Langer (R. N. Dak.) and Arthur Capper (R. Kans.)

The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, chaired by Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah. Senator Thomas appointed Senator Chavez chairman of a sub-committee to hold hearings on the bill and Senator Chavez has indicated that he hopes to hold hearings in August.

A "THANK YOU" TO OUR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS ....AND A REMINDER.....

The "Thank You" space does not permit us, unfortunately, to list the names of the individuals and organizations who have contributed their energy so vitally and generously to the fight for the FEPC appropriation and for the Permanent Bill, both in Washington and throughout the country. The foregoing resume of those who came to Washington to testify before the House Labor Committee represents only a partial list of the many civic, church, and labor groups who have collaborated closely with the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and helped in the winning of a signal victory.

The Reminder: To date, we have won the appropriation and FEPC has another year of life. To date, we have only established the principle of a permanent FEPC. We do not yet have a permanent FEPC. We want a permanent FEPC with "teeth". That means we now enter the most significant and important phase of our campaign. That means that all of us must use all means available to us to convey to our Representatives and Senators that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country want them to enact into legislation--as soon as Congress reconvenes--the Permanent FEPC Bill now in the House and Senate Labor Committees.

* * * *

Washington Memo

By Charles Van Devander and William O. Player, Jr.

Washington, July 2.

The reaction of interracial interests here to President Roosevelt's final appointment of the six individuals who, under the chairmanship of Msgr. Francis J. Haas, now constitute the reorganized Fair Employment Practice Committee, has been, on the whole, quite favorable.

Three are holdovers from the old FEPC. Milton Webster, Negro vice-president of the Sleeping Car Porters' Union, was a full-fledged member and by all means the most militant and aggressive of the original committee. Boris Shishkin and John Brophy heretofore have served as alternates for William Green, of the AFL, and Philip Murray, of the CIO, respectively.

Of the three new appointees, only one is well known in Washington; that is Miss Sara Southall, who has been with the War Manpower Commission since last September, in charge of its "womanpower" program. Previously, she had supervised personnel for the International Harvester Co., Chicago, and had served as a consultant to the WMC in Chicago on minority-group problems.

The others are P. B. Young Sr., Negro publisher of the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide and a progressive racial leader, and Samuel Zemurray, of New Orleans, president of the United Fruit Co., who has a reputation for outstanding liberalism in Louisiana—where liberalism comes rather dear.

• • •

From the standpoint of personnel, the new setup looks OK and from the standpoint of policy, it will undoubtedly follow the same general lines as its predecessor agency.

The real question isn't whether the new members are properly qualified for their jobs or how they feel about discrimination—those things are taken for granted. The real question is how far they'll be allowed to go in their efforts to give all Americans an even break in employment, without regard to color, creed or race.

As soon as the original committee really started doing things it was transferred from its independent status to the WMC's jurisdiction and there was virtually smothered to death. Now the reorganized committee has been restored to independent status—and it'll be interesting to watch what happens, this time, when it starts doing things again.

If the length of time the White House has taken to complete the reorganization is any indication of the consideration it may expect in the future, the prospects are pretty dreary.

• • •

Father Haas is now in Detroit, looking into the possibilities of proceeding against some of the big auto plants there—as well as against the smaller concerns involved in pre-riot complaints.

(Continued from Page 1)

like the samples, and will never take any-
stock.
was not built for any such ungodly
Crowism in a Democracy is as incon-
in heaven. The promoters of Jim Crow-
the Negro is—
ally—Offensive.
y—Standardless.
ally—Superstitious and emotional.
ly—Deficient.
ly—Different and undesirable.
supreme task of the entire Negro race is to
opinion. The only way to do it is to live
endure, to those who make the charge
world to convince them of their error.

. . . As Hundreds Are Rounded Up After Riots

John Lewis, 15, was taken to the station house wearing a silk topper and a dress coat over his own coat. *Photo by John Albert, PM*

A woman sympathizer who refused to leave the corridor of Felony Court is hustled out by police. *Photo by John De Biase, PM*

Station house scene . . . a Negro taken in the roundup sits on the floor awaiting developments. *Photo by John Albert, PM*

An arrested man carries a case of wine—alleged to be his loot—into Felony Court. *Photos, John De Biase, PM*

MORE

. . . Window Washer Finds Himself Out of a Job

Jacob Watt, window washer, reacts to the situation he found when he reported for work at 6 o'clock yesterday morning at McCrory's 5-10-25c store on W. 125th St. There were few unbroken windows on the business block. *Photo by Morris Gordon, PM*

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

Founded December 4, 1909

C. B. Powell ..... President and Editor
P. M. H. Savory ..... Secretary-Treasurer
Dan Burley ..... Managing Editor
Julius J. Adams ..... Associate Editor

Owned and published every Saturday by Powell-Savory Corporation, publication office 208 West Fourth Street, Bethlehem, Pa. New York office, 2340 Eighth Avenue, ACademy 2-7800. Brooklyn office, 1600 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Telephone PResident 4-3070. Bronx office, 752 East 163rd Street. Telephone MOtthaven 9-2[illegible]. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Request for re-entry at Bethlehem, Pa., pending.

National Advertising Representative, W. B. Ziff Co., offices, 270 Madison Ave., New York; 540 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago. (The New York Amsterdam News assumes no responsibility for the return or safekeeping of unsolicited manuscripts and photographs, and cannot enter correspondence about them. Contributors are requested to enclose stamped self-addressed envelopes with their contributions.)

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Foreign	5.00	3.50

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943

The Detroit Story

These facts stand out beyond any possible doubt in the Detroit riots: (1) the white mob rode and walked miles to the Negro section of the city commonly spoken of as "Paradise Valley" to attack Negro people. (2) The police exerted practically no effort to prevent the white mobsters from brutally attacking helpless Negro citizens. (3) In fact, the police themselves not only failed to do their duty by not protecting Negro persons, but they actually did much more harm to them than the thousands of white mobsters.

In size, Detroit is a large city. And "Paradise Valley" is reasonably far removed from any white residential section. That the mob formed in the heart of the city's business section is proven by the fact that it marched up Woodward Ave., like New York's Broadway, to "Paradise Valley." During the march of thousands of whites up Woodward Ave., to the border of "Paradise Valley," the police had ample opportunity not only to break it up but also to save hundreds of hapless, innocent Negro people from its deathly grasp.

But the police didn't do it, On the other hand, they roamed the streets of "Paradise Valley" themselves, indiscriminately shooting and killing Negroes in virtual cold blood. Not a single white rioter was shot by a police officer. However, 23 of the 27 colored persons killed in the riot were victims of police gun fire. In fact the score of white and Negro citizens killing one another was a tie: four to four.

Therefore, if the police of Detroit had not themselves been even more bloodthirsty than the white mob it is possible that the riot death toll would have been fewer than 10.

Of course, the Negro mobsters were equally guilty as the whites whenever they committed acts of aggression against white persons. But the police were infinitely more guilty than the white and Negro mobsters combined because it is their duty to maintain law and order and not to break them. From all indications, the white mobsters were actually encouraged by the police to kill and assault colored people, since they set a perfectly gory example of how to do it.

The Detroit police give as their excuse for killing 23 Negroes that they were looting stores and other places of business in "Paradise Valley." This excuse cannot hold water because there's hardly a store or any other kind of business concern in "Paradise Valley" that the police of Detroit would have to protect by taking 23 lives. "Paradise Valley" is a slum section overcrowded as almost any thickly populated section of Harlem or Chicago's South Side. In the past, Detroit's police have not even bothered to protect much of anything in it. Therefore, it is indeed not easily believed that they were so zealous about protecting "Paradise Valley's" dilapidated stores and tenements during their pogrom against its citizens.

Because of what happened in Detroit, the city officials from weak-kneed, cry-baby Mayor Jeffries down to and including its moron, killer cops are guilty of most of thetragedy that occurred in the Motor City from June 20-22. Of course, the Kluxers and other native Nazis were expected to do exactly what they did; therefore, no one should be shocked about their deeds.

There is, however, no escape from the fact that it is the constitutional duty of city officials, including the police, to protect citizens first and then property from mob violence. Detroit's officials failed miserably the same as those in Beaumont and other American cities have flopped.

By moving in when it did with troops, the federal government did its duty. It's too bad that it didn't send in soldiers sooner, because it knew all along exactly the temper of the Kluxers and other mobsters in the city.

We hope, yes, we demand, that the federal government take immediate and resolute action anywhere else in the country, whenever mob violence is imminent. By so doing, the government will do much to preserve itself as well as protect the lives of its citizens.

The tra[illegible] America's catastrophe. It is [illegible]

FEPC Hearings Put Off; No Members Yet

By MARGARET LEWIS

WASHINGTON

FEPC hearings on job discrimination cases in Detroit, originally scheduled for June 28-29, were postponed by Msgr. Francis J. Haas, new committee chairman, to July 26-28, or earlier if possible, in a press release on Monday.

This move precipitated speculation in the capital as to whether Father Haas, well-known Catholic labor conciliator, was assuming a compromise role to avoid further alienation of Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans in Congress.

No personnel selections for the new FEPC have been announced but authoritative sources state that, as soon as Malcolm Ross, former OWI member, is approved by the Civil Service Commission, he will take office as special assistant to the chairman, virtually replacing Lawrence Cramer, former executive secretary.

Field Chief Mentioned

Also mentioned as new chief of field operations is Will Maslow, former chief trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board.

More speculation developed from reports of a confidential tentative agreement with the War Manpower Commission, which would return much of the new committee's authority to the WMC and Commissioner Paul V. McNutt.

Such an agreement was released to the staff on June 11, from the Bureau of Placement, but is said to have drawn so much opposition that a new plan was drawn up.

Keeps U.S. Job Power

Power to handle complaints involving Federal bureaus was left with the FEPC.

Eleven of the nineteen organizations represented at the February meeting on FEPC, again expressed disapproval of delays in the committee's action last week in telegrams to Chairman Haas and President Roosevelt, requesting an immediate conference.

The telegram protested the postponement of the southern railroad hearings, the delay in the appointment of new committee members, indications of the postponement of the Detroit hearings and the decision in the Mobile, Ala., shipyard case.

Detroit Visit Planned

In his press release of Monday, Father Haas announced he would visit Detroit to investigate the status of cases in that city and, upon his return, recommend action in line with his findings to the new members of the committee.

Of the eight impending Detroit cases, two companies last week declared their intentions of complying with the terms of Executive Order 9346.

Chairman Haas stated that during his visit he would examine the unresolved cases in order to determine when they might be given hearings, and also that he would study several more recent complaints involving large war industries.

Heavy Schedule Ahead

"When the new members of the committee for the first time," Father Haas insisted, "they will have before them several important groups of cases, including those in Detroit, those concerning alleged discrimination on certain railroads, and the Capital Transit case.

"I wish to give the committee the opportunity to decide the order in which it wishes to hear these cases. I can give assurance that every effort will be made to achieve quick disposition of cases now on the committee's docket."

Regional Offices Planned

This release also stated that a part of the reorganization of the committee will be the establishment of twelve regional offices responsible to the committee and located in the twelve regions of the War Manpower Commission.

Local sources interpreted this last bit of information on regions to mean that WMC was again being given jurisdiction over FEPC through some agreement.

heading, Es
...ation or Adaptation, is the discouraging title of an article b...
...Southerner in the June 26 issue of The Nation. Mr. Boyd...
...author, offers no choice between violence of submission t...
...justice. That seems to be the best the liberal South is willing...
...to give.

I, for one, refuse to believe that a nation which has within i... the genius for harnessing the Colorado River to the dynamos o... Boulder Dam; for burrowing 700 feet below the Hudson to con... nect New York and New Jersey with a six-minute ride; fo... creating the miracle of riding above the clouds — cannot apply... its science to social problems with equally marvelous results.

The South has given us notice that we can't find these... social technicians within its borders; but... we can certainly look elsewhere. After... Detroit, even the South will be willing to... say race relations are a national problem.

So will the March on Washington... Movement in its forthcoming "We Ar... Americans Too Conference" in Chicago... from June 30 to July 4th. The leadership... knows that within the nation there is the... genius with the willingness to apply fact,... wisdom and justice to the problems of... human relations.

That leadership, too, is determined... that the national government shift into high gear immediately... the only governmental machine, namely, the Fair Employment... Practice Committee thus far created for dealing intelligently... with the "black man's burden".

WILL THE CATHOLIC CHURCH PLAY THE ROLE OF APPEASER ?

The New Chairman of the FEPC is Father Francis J. Haas, a professor of Catholic University, Washington. Father Haas' appointment is a political one but because the church has always openly announced its interest in lay affairs, the appointment has a religious connection also. Consequently the church must bear the responsibility for the success or failure of the new FEPC.

So far, the prospect is all for failure. Father Haas has announced, according to Washington rumor, that he needs ninety days to study the situation before appointing any committee members. Then, too, the Mobile Shipyard settlement, if followed elsewhere, will put the stamp of government approval on segregation and therefore discrimination.

The attitude of Father Haas is even more clearly shown in his abrupt replies to a series of questions put to him by the Workers Defense League:

1. "I have not rescheduled the railroad hearings originally planned for January".

"Land of The Noble Free"

(Continued from Page 6)

2. "I am not familiar with anything in the records of the Messrs. Shiskin, Dickerson and Brophy which warrants any questions concerning their service on the new committee."

3. "Executive Order 9346, like Executive Order 8802, prohibits discrimination in employment in the Federal Government and in war industries. It is not my intention to make any recommendations to the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Secretary of the War Manpower Commission concerning matters which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice."

4. "I have given consideration to the suggestion that representatives of minority group organizations, who conferred on February 19 with Chairman McNutt of the War Manpower Commission and Attorney General Biddle be called together to confer with the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. I shall take up this matter with the Committee when its personnel has been selected."

5. "I am aware of the fact that those who are opposed to the enforcement of the policy laid down in Executive Orders [illegible] and 9346 will seek to delay hearings by the Committee [illegible] effective action by it."

[illegible] will not permit the Fascist [illegible] Washington

A World ...o Live In

...North and South Must Fight 'White Primary'

By Dorothy Norman

The nation is slowly becoming aware of the fact that the poll tax [illegible] still demanded from voters in some of our Southern states is not only un-American in spirit, but un-Democratic in practice.

What few northerners seem to realize, however, is the fact that the "white primaries" of the south are equally un-democratic and discriminatory.

Now that the long legal fight to outlaw the "white primary" has reached the Supreme Court of the United States, it would be well for all Americans to be clear about the issues involved in the fight.

* * *

Previous decisions of the Supreme Court have not been encouraging on this issue. It would therefore be well for organizations all over the country to apply for permission to file briefs, as friends of the court, to help win this extremely important battle for democracy.

Groups and individuals in America seem tragically unaware of the many ways in which they can use their powers to persuade, in such fights for civil and human rights.

The way the "white primary" works is this: primary elections in the south to this day operate in such fashion that the members of a political party select the candidates who are to represent their party in the general election. Since in the south Democratic candidates are the automatically successful candidates at that general election there is a one-party flavor that thus makes the Democratic primaries the true elections in the south.

* * *

As a matter of plain fact the southern primary system originated in Reconstruction days as a means of excluding Negroes from voting.

Listen to what one of our southern Senators, W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas, had to say about the "white primary" recently while condemning the anti-poll tax bill to his constituents:

"A general impression is held by a great many people that by abolishing the poll tax, the main gain would be to permit the colored people to vote. That is not the case at all. If Congress should enact this resolution abolishing the poll tax, it would have little effect on the elections in my State of Texas. The reason it would have little effect is because the elections in Texas are generally determined in the primaries, and not in the general election.

"Poll tax or no poll tax, colored people are not permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries of Texas. The Democratic Party of Texas is an organization which has members, the same as many other organizations, and consequently has the legal right to fix the qualifications of its own members, and this right has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Destroy that right and you destroy the right of every political, fraternal, civic, religious and all other organizations to prescribe qualifications of their members."

* * *

The "white primary" is enforced in all the southern states except Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina.

If this kind of discrimination is permitted to continue against the Negro in states in which there is a political monopoly of one party—the Democratic Party—then any other "qualifications," so called, can be set up for voters, for any other arbitrary reason, by any other party, in any other state.

Then as a party gains control in a state, we get not only the danger of Fascist control at the top, with free elections for no one, but there is the danger that we shall, to paraphrase Senator O'Daniel, do it in the name of democracy. God pity democracy if we are not careful!

JULY 2, 1943 NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY,

'I Covered the Riot' Is Clear Foto of Race War:

Death and Destruction Seen in Detroit Battles

By T. JOHN WOOD

EDITOR'S NOTE: Wood is author of the column "I Cover The Town" which appears weekly in the Michigan Chronicle. This and other graphic stories of the race riot in Detroit last week were written exclusively for The Associated Negro Press.

DETROIT—(ANP) This reporter has lived through two race riots in Detroit in less than two years, but the Sojourner Truth housing incident of February 28, 1942, wasn't even a good dress rehearsal for the bloody 30-hour race war that gripped the arsenal of democracy last Sunday night and Monday. In the first riot I escaped death only because I was able to "duck" in time, and I lived to write this story only because I was out of the danger zone on Woodward ave just seconds before white rioters took over downtown Detroit early last Monday evening. But now I am out of the "white" line and ready to take you on a tour of a city that has been rioting all night. Only a veteran war correspondent could describe the death and destruction you witness as you make your way up one street and down the other. First you are going up Hastings st in Detroit's famed Paradise Valley. It might have been a street in Nazi-ravaged city of Poland or a ghetto in Germany, for it is hard to believe that this destruction could have been wrought since you last walked through this same area less than 24 hours ago. Not a single white man's business property escaped the wrath of rioters bent upon expressing physical resentment of wholesale killing of Negro soldiers, the murdering of Negro men by white policemen, discrimination in jobs and homes and a thousand other injustices that are to blame for the destruction you are witnessing. Looting and destruction of property, killing and burning of automobiles, all this is still going on as you make your way up the street, walking ankle deep in glass from smashed windows, automobiles, streetcars, and show cases that have been hurled through open fronts of pillaged stores. . . . Your first glimpse of the real riot gives you a sickening feeling . . . you are at Vernor Highway and Hastings st . . . a white man is caught by a group of angry Negroes who block his way in the middle of the wide thoroughfare . . . he is set upon with bricks . . . there is a dull thud and a gush of blood from his head as a stone crashes home . . . by some miracle he is able to drive away but you see him crash into the curb less than a block away.

SCENE IS SICKENING

You are sick from this attack as you approach the corner of Division and Hastings where police killed two Negroes the night before . . . you spy an old woman with a small child, evidently a granddaughter, clinging to her torn skirt, looking up into her bedraggled face as the woman carefully selects canned goods from the shelves of a grocery that has been opened by looters . . . from another store across the street you see two looters in flight, one with a quarter of beef and the other with a large slab of bacon, making their way up an alley . . . you walk two doors up, picking your way carefully through the glass and timber . . . here you see the remains of a clothing store . . . merchandise scattered and equipment wrecked . . . from behind the wrecked iron grating put there to protect the owner, grotesque shapes modelling women's clothes seem to glare out at you.

On up the street you run into more destruction, for only those stores with the sign "colored," hurriedly written in large letters, went unharmed . . . you run into a man who had virtually gone into business, selling the loot from nearby stores. Ironically enough, he is trying to sell a watch taken from a pawn shop at the exact moment a policeman is shooting a Negro in a pawnshop a block away . . . canned goods and other food stuff, costly in ration points, is being auctioned off to anyone who bids over five cents . . . you notice that nobody is buying, then it occurs to you that nearly everybody is getting what he wants for nothing . . . across the street from you shoes are being sold for as little as 10 cents a pair and a bit of humor is injected into the picture for a brief moment as you listen to a "customer" complaining that "my shoes don't fit" . . . a block away you can buy a suit taken from nearby drycleaning shops and with each suit they'll give you a hat, with about a thousand to choose from. . . You walk a block farther and you see an old man with a pushcart piled high with groceries . . . you get your second laugh of the day when you hear him tell police "I bought these groceries" for there isn't a store open in the city. . . He is dragged to a call box and two other men grab the pushcart and run off up the alley . . . there are about a dozen shots fired by the policemen and one of the men is crippled. . . And a block away you see men cleaning out a tavern, passing out whisky, beer and wine . . . there is a loud crash and you look around in time to see a man with a sledge hammer wrecking about $3,000 worth of store equipment.

You get off Hastings st and go down St. Antoine which is fairly quiet except for looting of the few white-owned stores . . . you come back up Brush st and hear Rev. Horace A. White pleading with Negroes from a sound truck to stop looting and killing. . . But his pleas produce only negative results, for two blocks away you and other Negroes watch white rioters on Woodward ave drag Negroes from streetcars and murder them . . . you see Negro's automobiles stopped, the occupants beaten and kicked and the vehicle overturned and burned, and you know that it is impossible to reason with a people watching members of their own race murdered.

Now the crowd is running up Brush st. A white man is caught trying to escape through the line . . . he is dragged from the car, someone calls him a white so-and-so, his knees buckle from a blow from an iron pipe and he sags to the pavement covered with a thick coating of pulverized glass and dust from red bricks, both becoming pasty as the man's blood mixes with the powdered glass and stone . . . two feet land in his face and the crowd scatters on up the street where another victim has been caught.

Now you are at Eliot st where Negroes are driving back a mob of about 1,000 whites . . . they are pushed back to John R st but in less than 10 minutes they are coming at the Negroes again, this time behind two policemen with drawn guns, policemen leading the white mob against the Negroes . . . a bloody battle is prevented here by the providential arrival of a riot squad which begins to throw tear gas into both crowds . . . you go on up Brush st, glad to be able to stop the tears from the gas. . . At Willis you see a Negro stop a white man and tell him to turn back . . . you hear the white man tell the Negro "there ain't a 'n—r' in the world gonna lay a hand on me" and before he can shove his car into gear, the Negro's fist crashes into his sneering face, he is dragged from the car, beaten into a pulp and tossed onto the sidewalk. . . At Warren ave you see a colored man running toward a drycleaning shop and in a second you see a policeman running after him . . the policeman fires six times, the man halts, straightens up, grabs his groin, and starts spinning as he buckles in the middle and falls sideways to the pavement . . . the crowd is angry but helpless, for the revolvers of about a dozen police are menacing them.

MURDER AND VIOLENCE

The police take the dead man away and in a few minutes his murder is avenged only 30 feet from where it occurred. . . A white man is caught driving slowly by the corner . . . he is dragged from his car, beaten and kicked, and as one man stands in his face, another pumps six shots into his body which is left lying in the street for an hour. . . At the same time another body is lying stiff on Woodward ave . . . an aged Negro couple is caught leaving a store . . . the man is beaten and the woman told to run for her life, but before she has got 10 yards the mob grabs her . . . two white women start pulling her hair out by the roots and the strong hands of a big, brave white man circle her wrinkled neck and she is choked until she slumps in a pitiful heap to the sidewalk . . . while this crime is being committed an 18-year-old girl is watching from the attic window of the Roxy theatre . . . in the attic hideaway with her is a Negro policeman who has also been hiding out for 10 hours . . . he is armed and you wonder how he can watch the brutal treatment to this old woman without firing a shot. . . The police mill around with the white mobsters on Woodward ave, merely looking on as Negroes are dragged from streetcars and automobiles and murdered. . . From a close town car they drag an old man and his body is left lying in front of Wayne University where just this spring over 2,000 white people turned out to hear Langston Hughes.

BRUTALITY IS UNCHECKED

But over in the Negro district the police are on the job beating women, children and old men and shooting young boys in the back without asking questions. . . Down on Hastings at Adelaide a big brave, husky 200 pound policeman levels his gun and fires into the body of an 11 year-old Negro child . . . another slaps a woman's face and kills her brother who protests this brutality . . . in North Detroit two Negroes are killed by police looking for the killers of a white man . . . a white man is dragged from a streetcar and beaten into insensibility . . another is struck by a brick and his car crashes into a pole . . . a white doctor is struck by a stone and dies in the hospital. . . But these are minor incidents in the North End, for downtown police are opening up on Negroes with riot guns . . . one policeman is killed by a Negro protecting his home from white mobsters . . . police fire back into the house and two Negroes are sent to the county morgue . . . at another three-family house police lay a siege and smoke the occupants out with tear gas . . . the ambulances keep roaring and you know that more Negroes are being taken to the morgue.

AUTOMOBILES BURNED

You are tired and hungry and disgusted with the way police are conducting themselves during this emergency, but there is nothing you can do about it. . . the fighting continues and the whites keep surging toward the Negro sections . . . the police keep firing on Negroes and you wonder why they don't fire on the whites who have crossed the "dividing line."

Seek Rioters Arrest

NEW YORK—(FP)—Federal action against inciters of recent attacks on Detroit Negroes was demanded June 22 by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Intl. Labor Defense, the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the Greater New York Industrial Union Council (CIO). Before leaving by plane for Detroit, NAACP Secretary Walter White wired President Roosevelt personally to intervene and "arouse public opinion against these deliberately provoked attacks."

Attorney General Francis Biddle was asked by the ACLU to begin promptly a Federal investigation of the disturbances under the civil rights statutes "as in the Sojourner Truth cases, which we regret have not been pushed to trial."

The ILD, through its president, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, NY), placed the blame on the failure of the Justice Dept. to prosecute "in the open-and-shut cases of 34 indicted domestic fascists and seditionists." The Justice Dept., it said, "may have investigated but if has not indicted the leaders of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Committee of 1,000 in Detroit and others responsible for inciting outbreaks."

"The American people will back up President Roosevelt to the limit in any step he may take to restore order and wipe out the fifth column which is bent on the defeat of his country and will stop at nothing to gain its ends," Marcantonio said.

Immediate roundup and arrest of known fifth columnists and Ku Kluxers, not only in Detroit but in all centers where they are operating, was asked by the CIO council.

Beaumont to Detroit, Riots Told in Poetry by Hughes

By LANGSTON HUGHES
For ANP

Looky here, America,
What you done done—
Let things drift
Until the riots come.

Now your policemen
Let the mobs run free.
I reckon you don't care
Nothing about me.

You tell me that Hitler
Is a mighty bad man.
I guess he took lessons
From the Ku Klux Klan.

You tell me Mussolini's
Got an evil heart.
Well, it must-a been in
Beaumont
That he had his start—

Cause everything that Hitler
And Mussolini do,
Negroes get the same
Treatment from you.

You Jimcrowed me
Before Hitler rose to power—
And you're still Jimcrowing me
Right now, this very hour.

Yet you say we're fighting
For democracy.
Then why don't democracy
Include me?

I ask you this question
Cause I want to know
How long I got to fight

LIVING COST RISES

NEW YORK—(FP)—The cost of living for wage earners and lower-salaries clerical workers in May rose in 44 of 45 cities surveyed by the National Industrial Conference Board.

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE JULY 3, 1943

Ask FEPC Head To Receive Group

Monsignor Francis J. Haas, chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, has been [illegible] to discuss [illegible]

Dorothy K. Funn, Lester Granger, Abner Green, Dr. Willard John[illegible], Morris Milgram, [illegible] Pepper, A. Philip Randolph, [illegible]

What's Happened to the 'Southern Liberal

By CY W. RECORD

section of the country has the ch a heavy and volcanic impact South. This is true perhaps other section were the habits of and doing, so firmly implanted, practiced, or so encrusted with past. Much is happening now, Older industries—textiles, iron and lumber, have been rapidly expanded. plant facilities for the production of ships, and aircraft, have been constructed and manned with sharecroppers and day . New war-time wages are flowing into empty, lean hands. Hundreds of thousands persons have migrated from the rural to the an industrial centers—seeking jobs and find- them at heretofore undreamed-of rates of

They move from the plantations of the Mis- Delta into the shipyards of Pascagoula New Orleans; fro mthe red hills of West-

"Dixie"

"THE SOUTH" —the phrase is usually written in capitals and quotation marks—has been a unique factor in American life since the beginning of the colonies. Its culture has been of a different blend; its economy antagonistic to national interests; its politics separatist and reactionary, dominated by absentee industrial agents and ambitious politicians who play demagogic roles.

Over the past twenty years Southern intellectuals have sought to give a cultural unity to the loose, disparate and despairing mood of the South. In the early depression years a group of writers, headed by Herbert Agar, Allen Tate, Donald Davidson and others issued a manifesto called "I Take My Stand" which scored the evil effects of industrialism on Southern culture.

In later years, under the impact of the New Deal, the intellectuals' mood shifted to politics, and a new group arose, the Southern Liberals, composed primarily of newspaper editors and publicists, who sought to work out a policy which would harmonize race relations and swerve the South into a politically liberal course.

Among the moving spirits in this action were Jonathan Daniels, Virginius Dabney, John Temple Graves, Jennings Perry, Mark Etheridge,

But the war has moved too fast for them. A rapid industrialization has pitched the Negroes into the factories, given them a greater measure of economic independence and has tended to break down segregation barriers. The result has been friction and explosion.

In this crisis what has been the attitude of the potentially powerful group of Southern Liberals? Cy W. Record contends they have failed and tells the reason why. Mr. Record, a young Southern writer, was on the staff of the Manpower Commission in Atlanta. He recently entered the U. S. Army.

sphere, and many war-time practices in the domestic arena, threaten numerous customs in Southern life. The construction and operation of war production industries in this section superimposes a condition of rapid industrialization and relatively high wage rates upon an impoverished rural background. The intense demands growing out of labor shortages portend a further modification of employment policies and labor relations that has significent implications for the pattern of industrial paternalism. At the same time it gives the Negro new (but quite limited) economic opportunities and a growing sense of self-sufficiency that enables a severance of his close dependence on, and subordination to, the white community.

Many customs and traditions are thus challenged. The logic of things and events pricks an inflated Southern ideology, an ideology which was already suspect among many of its adherents who defended its virtues in the light of day, but wondered and doubted them in the long night. No one can read Dos Passos' account in Harpers of the Mobile shipyard workers, or Southern rural women on a bus, or his description of Negro laborers without realizing that the seemingly trivial and insignificant events of daily war-time living, work, and travel, are pregnant with many implicit meanings for which, for want of a better term, we summarize as the "Southern tradition."

And there is a Southern tradition whose origin can be traced and whose specific manifestations can be measured. This tradition had its earlier origins in the two centuries of slavery preceding the Civil War, while its more current aspects and practices derive from the Civil War and ensuing reconstruction period. Central in this tradition is the body of belief with reference to the role of the Negro in Southern white culture. White Southerners cemented in their beliefs and practices by common denial during the reconstruction period, hold certain unquestioned ideas on this matter. They may be untrue from a formal scientific viewpoint. They may be contradictory, and seemingly, mutually exclusive. But few white Southerners fancy themselves as practitioners of the methods of science.

* * *

THE white Southerner, for instance, believes that the Negro is harmless and childlike, needing the paternal guidance of the superior Anglo-Saxon. At the same time he believes that the Negro is vicious and cunning, quick to take advantage of the slightest opportunity along the road to "social equality." He sloganizes his beliefs by such phrases as "They are just like children," but follows it with "If you give one an inch, he will take a mile." He declares that the Southern Negro is "the happiest people on earth," and confesses his envy of his shiftless and irresponsible role, and yet he is

". . . The race issue has become explosive . . ."

completely consecrated, through violence, if necessary, to "keeping the Nigger in his place."

He believes that the Negro is shiftless and lazy, but he employs him to do jobs which he would not do because it is considered beneath his dignity as a white man. He believes that the Negro is diseased, yet trusts him with the most intimate task of keeping his house, preparing his food, or caring for his child. He believes the Negro is incapable of much educational advance, but he concedes the "smartness" of a young field hand who went East to college and became a successful lawyer. He decries the efforts of "Yankee reformers" and their programs to "uplift" the Negro and "disrupt" the Southern "tradition," but he feels deeply and defensively his own guilt and failure in having done so little. He castigates the Negro press for "agitating" the Negroes, but in his own mind he knows that the grounds upon which seed fall are fertilized by his own failure and indifference. He talks of solving problems of race relations in terms of generations and centuries by bestowing privileges, but he opposes the slightest self-directed effort in the present.

He proclaims his support of "equal but segregated" economic, political, and educational opportunities, but he restricts the Negro to the most menial and unskilled jobs and denies him training opportunities, denies him the right to vote and oppresses him with southern justice, provides three months a year elementary schooling for the black child, while lacking a first-rate Negro college in the whole section.

The White Southerner prayerful sends his son to war, takes seriously the aims of freedom for France and the principality of Luxembourg, hates Hitler with a deep and active violence, and buys War Bonds and Stamps. But France and Luxembourg are far away, and as far as he knows, all their people are white like himself.

He looks wide-eyed and mad at the newsreel account of the First Lady's greeting the President of the Liberian Republic, and then he scoffs at the almost unimaginable things required by the formalities of diplomacy, while consoling himself with the fact that none of his Congressional representatives listened to the Barclay speech in the House. In Birmingham, Alabama, the representatives of law and order arrest a young girl, a refugee from Hitler Germany, a Jew, for eating in a Negro café, and before being released after long hours of questioning she is told, "If Hitler ran you out of Germany for believing you ought to eat with Niggers, then Hitler ain't so bad."

THE war and certain promises of the peace to follow, emphasize the neurotic contradictions in the makeup of white Southern man. The dictates of manpower shortage require the use of Negroes in skilled high-paying positions and in ever larger numbers in unskilled jobs. The further exercise of the Federal power in matters

of race relations forces from him concessions in the form of job and training opportunities for Negroes; concessions which he insists are only temporary, and he looks forward, with the Governor of Alabama, to the end of the war and the day of violent reckoning.

He stands for the moment stripped of some of his traditional prerogatives as a white man, and he resents deeply the fact that Negroes are in their most strategic position in years able to accept or deny many types of employment, and no longer personal dependent upon him for economic and emotional security.

This feeling characterizes not only the hard-fisted industrialist or plantation owner, or the drawn-faced "red-neck" or the suspicious skilled white worker, but even the so-called "liberal" and "decent" Southern white people are participating in it in ever-increasing numbers.

"The "decency" of "decent" Southern white people about which too many "decent" Southern editors have written has been very shallow and narrow. Too often, what is merely indifference and mental laziness is interpreted as a genuine and sympathetic tolerance carrying a sense of social responsibility. But the moment that such "decency" admits of a modification of white, and a fundamental improvement of Negro, status, then the "decent" Southern white man sees the real implication of his beliefs. He is afraid, and is quick to recant.

The Southern "liberals" of which there are few, were among the first to show their true colors after the outbreak of the war. Their watered and unmuscular energies were quickly turned to denials of the aims and programs proclaimed during peace-time. And their actions suggest the instability of their attitude, along with either their naivete or cringing lack of conviction. When some of their programs of more equitable training and employment opportunities for Negroes approached realization in even the slightest degree in Southern war industries, they became apprehensive. They talked about the possibilities of violence and tension, and by their own talk and public display of doubts, lent aid and comfort to those who made no pretense of "decency" or "liberalism," to those who organized for a systematic denial of the implications of a democratic war as far as the Negro was concerned. Their proclaimed immediate interest was in making changes in the pattern of race relations "gradual," in avoiding violence between racial groups, and in "protecting" the Negro against the reactions of "ignorant" whites—by, in fact, "keeping the Negro in his place"—which was no different in its effects than what the most reactionary groups throughout the South proposed to do.

Their behavior throughout, from the early panicky chastisements of John Temple Graves in his well-circulated columns to Mark Etheridge's partially true, but appeasement-timed and appeasement-oriented, statement in Birmingham, and the more recent "view-with-alarm-and-regret" pronouncements of Ralph McGill, displays a fundamental inability to make up the mind, a confused failure to align themselves with new forces in Southern life—the ever-increasing numerical and political strength of industrial workers and the emerging aware and articulate Negro groups. For it is among these people that the aims of the liberals, if they are honest, will find support, and it is against them that the privations and violence which represent denials of the liberal's ends, will be practiced.

IT HAS never been an easy matter to be a liberal in the South. It is even more difficult at present. The liberal all too often has been forced to stand alone, isolated, and with no groups with which he could identify himself in an active way. He favored equal educational opportunities for Negroes, but he could only cast his vote for a Talmadge or a Rivers—or an Arnall. He opposed Governor Dixon's fanning the fires of race hatred, but he supported Governor Sparks. He cried out against the system of peonage and forced labor in Georgia, but his action consisted primarily in attending an inter-racial conference and passing a resolution. He opposed segregation in principle, but his program carefully and specifically called for its continuation.

When the war presented new but limited opportunities for a realization of his aims, he was tired and lacked imagination. He hesitated, stumbled, picked himself up and detreated into the folds of polite discussion. He was unable to locate himself among or identify himself with the new contenders for power. The opportunity which he had is now gone, and it will not come again—not for perhaps a long time. His function will now be a negative one—that of keeping "the lid on."

As much as this failure of the liberal South is to be regretted, it is not without its compensations. For one thing, the pointed issues emerging during the war have made immediate choices necessary, and the choices made have reflected the potentials among Southern liberals. In addition, the capacity of the liberal to act has been measured, and the air has been cleared of the smoky clouds of irrelevancy.

The new forces in Southern life which have emerged during the war will continue during peace time; not at the present rate, however, and only after a long, but temporary set-back in the post-war period. The number of industrial workers will not decline to the pre-war number, and among those who remain there will be the basis for a wider and more stable trade union movement, one capable of action on the political front that may eventually alter the very character of Southern politics.

The emerging groups of articulate Southern Negroes are not the "handkerchief heads" and "Uncle Toms" drawn from among the hat-in-hand ministers or college presidents. They are the younger intellectuals, the trade union leaders, the courageous organizers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They will not be downed by Southern fury, for already they have confronted it and stood firm. They will seek further ties with their fellow Negroes in the North and East, and will secure further use of the Federal authority in their behalf.

Southern liberals, in their failure to understand the potentials of these forces, have missed the boat. Or if very many of them did get aboard, most abandoned ship when the waters became rough. They may at some later time realize their error, and one can only hope that if and when they do, their vacillation will not have earned the disgust of those with whom they must ultimately strive for a better South.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1943

Labor News and Comment

Nye Runs True to Form —Attacks OWI for Riots

By Victor Riesel

From recently disclosed testimony before the Senate Appropriation Committee, it has been learned that Sen. Nye, on the basis of anonymous tips, had asked OWI Chief Davis whether he believed that OWI pamphlets had been partly responsible for the Detroit riots.

"I have had 25 anonymous contentions of that kind," Nye said to Davis. "I do not pay much consideration to anonymous letters or telephone calls, but in this instance, having acquainted myself with the contents of this ("Negroes in the War," an OWI pamphlet), I could not help but be aware of the fact that people were insisting that this had played a part in stirring up the strife that prevailed in Detroit."

Nye's reaction to a simple OWI booklet on tolerance and Negro equality is characteristic of the leaders of the isolationist-nationalist network which men such as Gerald L. K. Smith are now building throughout the Midwest.

Nye Addresses Firsters

Instead of urging a national investigation of the subversive and other outfits either opposed or cool to the war effort, Nye saw little wrong in intimating that an official government agency might have touched off the fatal street war.

However, Nye might embarrass himself if he succeeded in forcing Congress to look into the hate-peddling crowd. He is part of that network. Nye would find that the leading dispenser of hate in the Midwest is Gerald L. K. Smith, fuehrer of the America First Party. One of the organizations now serving as an America First Party outlet in Chicago is the Citizens U. S. A. Committee, formerly known as the Citizens' Keep America Out of War Committee.

On May 20 Nye spoke for this group, though its leaders, Capt. Earl B. Southard and William J. Grace, are working closely with Smith, who in turn has declared himself Charles Coughlin's successor. Grace himself introduced Nye.

Smith is the center of a new Midwest isolationist political movement which is supported by anti-Semites, haters of unionism and many Anglophobes. To many of them, support of the war effort means only "world control by internationalists."

Ties in Congress

These outfits are closely linked. Note that Earl Southard, who ranks second only to Smith in the America First Party, is secretary of Grace's Citizens U. S. A. Committee. These groups have their ties in Congress, as I have shown frequently in the past. Only last Thursday the Isolationist Citizens' Committee ran a meeting in Chicago at which Rep. Paul Schafer, Michigan Republican, spoke. Grace was chairman. The audience asked Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the isolationist Chicago Tribune, to run for President in 1944.

You will recall that last week I revealed that Schafer, and Rep. Clare Hoffman, another speaker for these groups, had co-operated closely with Joseph Kamp and his eastern Constitutional Educational League. Notice how the same names, the same isolationists, pop up wherever these hate-outfits are exposed. Notice, too, how they appear to be part of a central speaking group, part of a loose federation of men and organizations who exchange literature and information about liberals and union leaders.

No Boos for Hitler

I could, for example, show that Hoffman has spoken for a group which is the worst offender [illegible]

the Midwest Monetary Federation employed as a lecturer Joseph McWilliams, anti-Semite and former New York Mobilizer chief.

On May 28, Hoffman spoke before that group. Even Sen. Wheeler agreed to appear before it on June 17, but constant exposure in this column forced him to cancel that speaking engagement.

At many of these meetings observers have seen McWilliams and hundreds of known Coughlinites. They boo the New Dealers, especially those with Jewish names, and are silent when Hitler's name is mentioned.

So if Sen. Nye wants to find out who is peddling hate in the Midwest, he now has some good leads.

Labor Conference Lists 3 Post-War Objectives

To win the peace there must be an international order based on the supremacy of law, an economic system based on security of employment, and a social system based on respect for labor's rights and freedoms, the American Labor Conference on International Affairs, 9 E. 46th St., declared today.

Comprised of AFL and CIO unions, the ALC announced an intensive program of post-war studies would be undertaken by labor groups throughout the country "to guide American labor's participation in the formulation of post-war policies."

Mayor La Guardia Urged to Appoint Committee

DAWSON SPEAKS:

"New Declaration Should Free World from Tyrannies"

By WILLIAM L. DAWSON
Member of Congress from Illinois

CLIMAXING A BITTER revolutionary war to establish the principles of freedom in a new land, the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776, issued the Declaration of Independence, declaring the Colonies forever free from imperialistic domination. From every country came the men and women of every race, nationality and religion to these new shores, seeking to be a part and parcel of that new freedom.

Today that nation, the United States of America, the mightiest on earth, is engaged with her allies in a new war to establish new freedoms throughout the world, and the descendants of those who came from every country of every race, nationality and religion are fighting under the flag of the United States of America.

It is altogether fitting and proper that on this Independence Day we, the people of America, rededicate ourselves to the principles upon which this nation was founded; that we take a renewed determination to see that freedom from Want, Fear, and of Speech and Worship shall be the right of every person dwelling upon the face of the earth. Let us face the future confident in the knowledge that if we fight for the right of all peoples to be free, we win for ourselves in our fight for freedom at home the aid of all other free peoples.

Let us join hands with men of every race, color, creed and religion to the end that when this war will have ended, there will be born a Universal Peace out of which will issue a new Declaration of Independence, freeing humanity forever from the tyrannies of dictatorship.

Philip Murray:

PRESIDENT, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

THE C.I.O. from its inception has resolutely set its feet against discrimination on grounds of creed, color or nationality. Much of our success in organizing millions of American workers, white and Negro, is due to this basic tenet expressed in our constitution and in the constitution of our affiliated Union.

In a war for the freedom and for the very survival of all our people it becomes even more necessary to preserve the basis of all democracy, not alone as a matter of justice, but as a measure essential to victory. For these reasons the C.I.O. joins with all true Americans in condemning discrimination against the Negro people and in expressing its loathing of mob violence practiced against them.

Dean Dixon:

FAMED SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA LEADER

OURS IS NOT the voice in the wilderness anymore—it is the voice touching every home in America today, crying out for JUSTICE.

There is no longer time to sidestep the racial question. In a democracy every life is precious. I therefore call upon you, Americans, to stop this horrible, inhuman bloodshed and killing. You can't stop the Axis except by guns and death, but you can stop, by righteous indignation, unthinking Americans from committing these barbarous acts.

Let every American take a solemn oath, an OATH OF SANITY, not to be drawn into any act of racial violence.

Lester Granger:

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY NAT'L URBAN LEAGUE

EVEN MORE shameful than the riots in Detroit is the fact that similar riots might break out any moment in anyone of a dozen American cities. This is a damning commentary on the present state of race relations in a country engaged in a war for Democracy. It will be a test of white and Negro leadership as to whether enlightened, unselfish and courageous action can be taken to the end that Detroit will not happen again.

Around the country Negro and white citizens must join hands immediately to remove present causes, riot-making material, and to build a kind of unity that will remove the very possibility of future riots.

C. L. Alexander

USO SECRETARY
HARLEM CENTER

My Number One recommendation would be for the Federal Government to take the initiative and start with the Army and Navy. Create a mixed regiment of volunteers, including officers and enlisted men, and follow the same pattern with the Navy.

Vito Marcantonio:

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM NEW YORK

THE RESULT of anti-Negro riots in various sections of the country in the last ten days could not have been more disastrous if planned by Hitler himself. The Domestic Fascists who incited these riots have helped Hitler by retarding vital War Production, impairing the morale of our armed forces and injuring National Unity.

The attempt of Martin Dies and some misguided Department of Justice officials to find the cause for these outbreaks in pro-Japanese activity among the Negro people is dangerous hooey. It is an excuse for not dragging the real culprits into jails and before the courts and punishing them for murder.

The American people, in the interest of winning the war, must tolerate no such excuses. We must urge the Commander-in-Chief of our nation to speak out against racial intolerance, to guarantee full protection of the Negro people. This is essential to winning the war.

We must redouble our energies to pass the anti-poll tax bill, the anti-Lynching bill and to make FEPC work effectively and speedily to accomplish full utlization of Negro manpower for Victory.

The Home Front is in danger. Every American must rally—as did the Russian people at Stalingrad—to strike down the Fascist enemy within our borders.

Channing Tobias:

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY YMCA COUNCIL

RIOTOUS ATTACKS upon Negroes in America are directly traceable to a double standard of citizenship that is officially recognized by our Government, and notably illustrated in the complete and unique segregation of Negroes in the armed forces.

This creates a depreciated personality on the part of the Negro, who is one-tenth of the nation. As long as this is true, lynchings and mob attacks will continue to flourish.

Radical as it may sound, there is only one way to reach this situation, and that is by insisting upon a single standard of citizenship, officially recognized and enforced by the Government.

The time to insist upon this is right now, because the effort to crush the forces of fascism throughout the world is being thwarted by these outbursts of fascism at home. Extraordinary measures are possible now that may not be possible later.

A. Philp Randolph:

INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, BSCP OF AF OF L

I CONSIDER that the official Jim Crow of the Negro by the Federal Government itself in the armed forces, the Government Departments and Defense Industries is the major cause of the wave of race riots sweeping the Country . . . The basic remedy lies in bringing this whole question of race into the open by Radio, Movie, Page Advertisements, Editorials, Special Articles and Public Forum.

Negro and white citizens should hold Mass Meetings and set up People's Committees, to wait on the mayors and governors and demand the creation of Commissions on Race . . .

When Race riots break out Negro and White citizens should demand that the President send Negro and white troops to the riot area, since more Negroes have been killed by the police in every riot than by any other means.

The failure of the government to take strong measures now to stop Race Riots is a blow to the cause of the United Nations' fight to destroy axis-fascist slavery.

James S. Watson:

JUSTICE OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

THE ENEMY inspired race riots have larger aspects than diversion of manpower from vital war production and destruction of morale. They are designed to embarrass this nation in regard to its contention that together with the other United Nations it is fighting to preserve the principles of democracy.

Every agency of the government and every believer in true democracy should cooperate to eradicate this pernicious evil to the end that the war may be speedily won and an early and enduring peace attained.

"Act Together Now for Unity, Protection, Victory"—Yergan

CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

THE ANTI-NEGRO, anti-war riot in Detroit hold one clear lesson for New York City. That foul bout of murder and destruction must not fall upon this city.

The best interests of the Negro people as well as continued unity for production to win the war all demand that any outbreak of violence be prevened in this city.

Negro and white working people have common interests. They must not permit themselves to be made the cats paw of the vicious enemies of Negro and white unity. To my fellow Negroes I say that this is the one purpose of those who have made the riots in Detroit and elsewhere.

New York City is overwhelmingly filled with decent people—white and Negro. The Mayor should immediately call a most representative number of them to assist him in the task of preventing the disruptive fringe of Hitler from accomplshing their foul and murderous purpose of defeat and destruction in our midst.

Let the city authorities at once take firm action against the known Fifth Columnist inciters of violence,

Let employees and others, aided by public opinion, rise to the occasion and remove all discrimination against the Negro people. Instead of violence, New York City can demonstrate the greatest unity between whites and Negros. Intesad of disruption, defeat and destruction, New York City can build greater production and effort to win the war.

Citizens, Negro and white, labor and all, and also Mr. Mayor, it is for us to act together now for unity, for protection and rights for all, and for our common victory.

Compromise Trend Seen In Who's Who Of FEPC

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON— The membership of the new Fair Employment Practice Committee on whose names the Defender "scooped" all other daily and weekly papers, will bear close watching, according to the consensus of observers here.

Generally, there is a tendency and willingness to give the committee a chance to demonstrate its caliber —but under cautious watchfulness of the public.

The strength of the committee, according to these observers, is in two men who have demonstrated their strength and stature—John Brophy of the CIO and Milton Webster of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who were retained from the "old" committee.

The third member of the labor group, Boris Shishkin, though representing the American Federation of Labor whose policy has been none too strong on the Negro question, has stood up very well on the FEPC. Observers believe he may be counted on to support the views of the other labor members whenever the management and labor groups may differ on policy and procedure.

Young Not Strong

There is a lack of enthusiasm over the appointment of P. B. Young Sr., publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, chairman of the Southern Conference on Race Relations, and chairman of the board of trustees of Howard university. Mr. Young, say these observers, has not been too strong on matters of segregation. The issue of segregation, they point out, will undoubtedly arise in the committee's deliberations, especially since the FEPC approval of the Mobile plan at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding company.

Samuel Zemurray, president of the United Fruit company of New Orleans, is the unknown quantity on the new committee. He came to America as a young boy, a Polish immigrant. From that status as a steerage immigrant, he has risen to become a millionaire and the "banana king" of America. During his rise to power, he is reported to have been not very sympathetic with labor.

Sara Southall is the third management representative on the committee. She is supervisor of employment and services for the International Harvester company, which position carried her throughout the Harvester units in the United States and Canada. A complaint against the Philadelphia branch of the International Harvester company is now pending in the FEPC, charging submission of a discriminatory order for "white workers only" to the U. S. Employment Service in Philadelphia.

More recently, Miss Southall has been working in the government as consultant to the War Manpower Commission on the utilization of women in war production. Prior to that assignment, for a year and a half, she was exposed to the Rosenwald influence by working on the

FEPC—

(Continued from Page 1)

staff of Dr. Will Alexander—who still draws his Rosenwald pay while serving as chief of the minorities section of the War Manpower Commission—as regional consultant on minority problems.

She was born in Columbia, Tenn., moved at an early age to Birmingham, Ala.; graduated from Vanderbilt university, and taught school in Birmingham. She went to Chicago in 1917 to attend the School of Service and Philanthropy, and also attended Chicago university. During the summer of 1918, she worked for the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago. In January 1920, she became connected with the International Harvester company.

In her own biographical statement furnished the WMC, she says her outside activities have been in the field of race relations. She was on the board of the Chicago Urban League, worked with the Industrial Division of the Y.W.C.A., and with the Council of Social Agencies in Chicago.

The public will be watching closely, say these observers, as to how this heterogenous group carries out the President's mandate to "eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin," as stated in the revised Executive Order No. 9346.

No Funds

Meanwhile, it was learned as of July 1, beginning of the new fiscal year, the Fair Employment Practice committee is totally without funds to operate. Unless funds are secured FEPC literally faces extinction.

Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P., scored the failure to reappoint Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago as a member of the committee. "We cannot escape the conclusion that Mr. Dickerson was not reappointed because of his extremely aggressive position on the committee," White declared.

The N.A.A.C.P. also made public a memorandum it had presented to Msgr. Francis J. Haas, chairman of the FEPC, following a conference held with him by Mr. White, Judge William H. Hastie, and Leslie Perry, administrative assistant of the Washington Bureau on June 16.

The association's memorandum pointed out that the FEPC could not function effectively unless it got information and advice from those familiar with the problem instead of the "white cabinet;" had its own field staff instead of depending for its investigations on the War Manpower Commission field staff; took an unequivocal position against segregation instead of approving it as in the case of the Alabama Shipbuilding and Drydock Corporation at Mobile; had qualified Negroes on its staff at the policy-making level; and immediately re-scheduled the cancelled railroad, Latin-American and Detroit hearings.

Other points stressed by the N.A.A.C.P. as being of fundamental importance were adequate sanctions in the form of money penalties and liquidated damages to enforce its findings as well as public hearings, and also giving the committee adequate staff and budget.

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1943
THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943

Japanese To Blame, Not Ku Kluxers

It Took A Race Riot In Detroit To Make Mr. Martin Dies Talk

DETROIT, Mich., July 1—For years, Negro leaders all over the country have been trying to get Representative Martin Dies (Democrat of Texas), chairman of the well-known Dies committee, to do some investigating about conditions all over the country which affect Negroes. They have wanted him to probe the numerous lynchings which have swept the country, particularly those in Mississippi and Florida.

They have wanted his committee to ferret out the causes underlying the waves of economic and industrial unrest, which have made defense plants growing cancers.

TO PROBE DETROIT RIOT

They have wanted him and his committee to check into the activities of the notorious Ku Klux Klan, which is being revived in many sections of the country.

MR. DIES AND HIS COMMITTEE HAVE DONE NOTHING ABOUT THESE EVENTS . . . WHICH POINTED UP TO THE TROUBLE HERE EARLY IN THE WEEK!

But now, Mr. Martin Dies wants to spend some of OUR MONEY to investigate the Detroit Riots.

HIS REASON?

Oh, yes, he's heard that the Japanese promoted the race prejudice that led to the Detroit rioting.

Of course, you can see the picture: According to Mr. Dies and his purported evidence, the Japanese were busy. With whom? Negroes, of course!

So . . . Mr. Dies is going to try and prove that Negroes, working for Japanese agents, were the actual cause of the riot. He's going to fly in the face of the facts.

He'll ignore the number of Negro dead.

IGNORES UAW STATEMENT

He'll ignore the number of Negro wounded.

He'll ignore the photographs which ran in all the daily papers, and tended to show beyond dispute just who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

He'll ignore the statement of Mr. R. J. Thomas, of the UAW-CIO, who says he has "irrefutable evidence" that the Ku Klux Klan started the trouble which led to the vicious strike at the Packard Motor company.

No! . . . Mr. Martin Dies, of Texas, who said nothing during the recent trouble at Beaumont, now sees an opportunity to put Negroes on the spot.

So, he and his committee are coming into Detroit . . . to show that the Japanese . . . not the German influence, the Polish influence, the Detroit police department or the large influx of Southern whites . . . started the trouble.

FOR SHAME, AMERICA!

would be found among these centers of rioting."

Walter Winchell summed it all up this way:

"That was a brave guy, huh? I mean the louse in that photo from Detroit socking a man whose arms are held by cops. Made me ill."

Riot Victim's Body Sent To Arkansas

DETROIT, July 1—The remains of John L. Jones, one of the many citizens killed in last week's race riot, were shipped to Little Rock, Ark., last Friday morning.

Mr. Jones was the only employee of the Detroit Street Railway that lost his life in the riot. He was a graduate of the Dunbar High school of Little Rock, and came to Detroit two years ago. He is survived by a wife, Mrs. John L. Jones Jr., a daughter, Ann Maria, and parents, Mr. and Mrs. John L. Jones Sr.

Save Fats and Greases. They make munitions.

Randolph Blames Roosevelt For U.S. Wave Of Rioting

A wildly enthusiastic audience which jammed the Dusable high school auditorium to capacity, heard A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, blast the Roosevelt administration for its "cold indifference" to the pleadings "of 13,000,000 black citizens crying for equal justice and opportunity," in the climactic address of the "We Are Americans, Too" conference, Sunday afternoon.

Randolph's stirring oration brought to a close the fiery five-day convention which drew hundreds of delegates from the Eastern seaboard, the far South and the Rocky Mountain region in a convergence on Chicago. Sharing the speaker's platform with him for the final session were Milton P. Webster, recently named to the reconstructed Fair Employment Practices committee, and Dr. E. Stanley Jones, evangelistic missionary to India.

The speaker laid the blame for the Detroit riots, as well as those in Beaumont and elsewhere, directly at the door of the White House in Washington, charging that Roosevelt's timidity and the "hands off" attitude of other government law enforcement agencies are giving anti-Negro elements in this country the green light.

Gov't Segregation Basic Cause

"Riots are the result of the government policy of segregation of and discrimination against Negroes," he declared, "and they will continue long after Htiler is dead and forgotten, if our government does not stop the jim-crow treatment of Negro citizens and begin to integrate them into the government and

See RANDOLPH On Page 4

(Continued from Page 1)

war and peace time industry on a basis of equality.

"The Negro is the only person subject to jim-crowism and it is up to him to take the initiative to abolish it. This is not a war for freedom, it is a war to maintain the old imperialism. It is a war to continue white supremacy and the subjugation, domination, and exploitation of the peoples of color."

Clarifying the action taken earlier in the week when the body voted to ban white memberships, Randolph declared:

"While this is an all-Negro movement, it is neither anti-white, anti-labor, anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic. It is simply pro-Negro."

Blaming both parties for present unsatisfactory conditions, Randolph asked five questions:

Blames Both Parties

"What will the Republican party and its representatives in congress do to enforce that provision of the constitution which reads 'no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law?'

"What will the Republican party and its representatives in congress do to cut down the representation in congress of those states which discriminate against Negroes in voting?

"What will the Republicans and Democratic parties do to abolish jim crow housing, transportation, education, recreation and other social services?

"What will the Republicans and Democrats do to insure the permanency of the Fair Employment Practices committee?

"What will the Democratic and Republican parties do to break down discrimination in the armed forces?"

Earlier in the day, members of the group had unveiled and dedicated a scroll at the Negro soldiers' monument at Thirty-fifth street and South Parkway.

The scroll set forth: "Right here in our own country is one of the great issues of the war. Shall we have democracy for all of the people or for some of the people? An all-out war against fascism cannot be fought on a jim crow basis."

Election of officers found the entire panel retained in office. Randolph was reelected to the directorship, B. F. McLaurin was renamed national secretary and Aldrich Turner was held over as national treasurer.

March on Washington Delayed

Plans for the proposed march on Washington were placed in the hands of the executive committee for consideration, it being agreed that the decisions to march en masse on the capital would not be practical at this time.

The group was urged in a speech by Edgar G. Brown, National Negro council to promote an active participation in the 1944 Presidential campaign. It was recommended to the convention that it support the nationwide effort of the National Negro council to nominate delegates to be seated in the next Republican National convention and also direct the selection of some 60 Negroes to run for Congress in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina Virginia, Texas and Oklahoma.

Dr. Jones, the only white speaker on the Sunday morning program, outlined a seven-point plan for solution of the race's problems through "non-violence."

The conference was brought up to its climactic session with a series of heated meetings, during which many noted speakers appeared. Chief among the Friday addresses was that by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party of America.

Raps Negroes' Disunity

He denounced Negroes in general for their poor organization. In part, he said:

"You have done an awfully bad job of organizing. The colored race holds enough balance of power to get anything if it would just stick together. The vote is its power. The race has done well but not well enough.

"To my way of thinking, the na[illegible]

"A jim-crow army is to be expected when there is jim-crow in the schools, jim-crow in the streets, jim-crow in the trains and everywhere else you turn."

Vincent Baker, director of the National Modern Trend, in a speech Friday night asked: "Must prejudice follow the American flag wherever it goes?

Second Attack on FDR

"Ours," he said, "is the only country of all the united nations that enjoys the questionable distinction of having two armies, one white and one black."

President Roosevelt had come in for severe criticism earlier in the week when his "wishy-washy" attitude toward FEP and his appointment of Msgr. Francis Haas as chairman of the committee were attacked.

The President was accused of "selling out" to the reactionary elements of the country, and of weakening, rather than broadening, the powers of the FEP. The new chairman was criticized for acting in the Mobile riots without consulting with members of the committee, in accordance with regulations governing FEP.

The charges against President Roosevelt and Monsignor Haas were flung during the session which had been set aside for a discussion of "The Outlook and Future of FEPC." Participating were one member of the committee, Milton P. Webster; a recently deposed member, Earl C. Dickerson; two attorneys, Harold Stevens and Thurman T. Dodson, the latter from Washington, D. C.

March-On-Washington Votes Jimcro of Whites at Confab

CHICAGO—Just prior to turning down plans for an immediate visit to Washington, the Nation's Capital, the March-On-Washington Committee at its convention at Metropolitan Community Church here, stunned the entire company by adopting a resolution limiting membership in the organization to Negroes.

The self-imposed jimcro immediately aroused a storm of controversy all over the country. Dr. George E. Haynes, inter-racial secretary of the Federated Council of Churches of Christ in America, in an impassioned plea, argued that the move was in opposition to all anti-jimcro principles and was a direct negation of the movement to abolish segregation.

AMENDMENT LOST

His amendment was voted down, 103 to 2.

The rejection of the proposed mass appeal to the White House was voted down for the time-being, but did not stop the March-On-Washington activities entirely. The execution of further plans is being left to an executive committee of the naitonal organization.

Both civic and labor leaders were at a loss to understand how A. Philip Randolph, who has cried out year after year at AF of L conventions against jimcro, and for the inclusion of Negroes in all aspects of labor and unionism, could be party to such an obviously disunifying move coming at a time when race leaders are pleading for unity.

Race relations were defined by Adam Powell jr, in a recent Madison Square Garden address: "We must be One People, black, white, brown, or yellow—fighting One Fight at home and abroad in labor and government for One Victory over fascism wherever and whenever found. This is the American Way."

leased by M. Moran Weston, secretary of the meeting.

The Golden Gate rally will demand that an "ounce of prevention" policy be adopted by the NYC administration to prevent any outbreaks of violence against Negro residents in the city.

It will show how organized labor and the Negro people are working together to smash the American fascists.

What They Said and Did at March-on-Washington Confab

By B. M. PHILLIPS

CHICAGO — A silent memorial for Odell Waller, who was executed by the State of Virginia for a crime which has never been proved against him, was observed for one minute during the Friday session of the five-day meeting of the "We Are Americans Too" convention sponsored by the March on Washington Movement.

William McDaniel, star of "Porgy and Bess," sang Malotte's "The Lord's Prayer" during the Friday evening public meeting.

MRS. CORDELIA JOHNSON

Mrs. Cordelia Green Johnson of Jersey City, N.J., president of the Beauty Culturists League Inc.: "We're not asking to sit at the banquet table of white people but we are asking to sit at a banquet table and eat of the Bill of Rights. It is not necessary to have freedom in heaven, we won't need it there. We want freedom here and now when we can enjoy it.

"If this is not the time to demand full and equal participation, there never will be and there never was a time," Henry (Hank) Johnson, a representative of the United Mine Workers said on Wednesday. Mr. Johnson suggested that the committee maintain a 24-hour pressure lobby in Washington and if necessary follow representatives to bed until they promise to pass measures which would benefit colored people and end jim crow.

DR. ARCHIBALD CAREY

"If this is to be one world, it will be one world with colored people in it," Dr. Archibald Carey Jr., told the MOW convention here Thursday.

Dr. Carey rapped columnist, Westbrook Pegler who blamed the colored press for causing the Detroit riots. Mr. Pegler, he said, does not know the difference between an occasion and a cause.

The cause of the Detroit riot, he charged, are the poor housing conditions, discrimination in jobs, the un-American policy of the Red Cross, the segregation in the army, the back-door policy of the navy and the other un-democratic practices in America.

AUGUSTUS JOHNSON

Augustus J. Johnson, NY delegate, chased out white members of questionable organizations who sought to distribute literature in the lobby of Metropolitan Community Church where the convention was held. "You people" he said, in addressing the whites, "can cooperate with us by going downtown and telling the white people about the necessity of practicing democracy. We want to keep this a real black movement."

DR. J. H. SMITH

Dr. James Holmes Smith, white, former missionary to India: "My most embarrassing moment was when Indians asked me why do you com out here to tell us about Christianity when in your country they lynch colored people?"

B. F. McLAURIN

B. F. McLaurin of NY, national secretary of the MOWM reported that from September 1942 to July 1, 1943, the committee had rereceived a total of $10,286.15 in contributions and memberships and that expenditures for this period totaled $8,029.01.

Members of the Chicago local raised a total of $1,327.09 during mass meetings and benefits from May 31 to June 28 in order to entertain the convention.

The mass meeting held Sunday at the Du Sable High School was scheduled to have been held at the Chicago Armory but at the last minute, the management of the armory refused to keep its promise. A. Philip Randolph said no reason was ever given to the committee and till yet it has been unable to get in touch with the management to ascertain reason for the last minute change.

THOMAS BURTON

In welcoming delegates to the convention at the opening session on Wednesday evening, Thomas Burton, chairman of the Chicago unit, said: "We especially want to welcome members of the FBI staff who may be in the audience. We have nothing to hide. Our cause is just. That goes also for Martin Dies and any member of his staff who may be here.

T. D. McNEAL

T. D. McNeal of St. Louis told the convention of the successful work of the St. Louis unit in forcing war plants to employ all qualified persons without regard to race, color and creed.

He told of the campaign in St. Louis against the Bell Telephone Co. which has refused to employ colored girls as telephone operators. Latest action in this fight was an appeal to public sentiment by picketing of company headquarters by 300 members of the unit. He recommended this procedure for securing public support to other cities.

MRS. SENORA LAWSON

Mrs. Senora B. Lawson of Richmond, Va., said that she was backing the movement because "it remembers the forgotten men, the men of the street and gives them a chance to work and exercise their talents."

MILTON P. WEBSTER

The Fair Employment Practice Committee had some opposition from colored people in addition to reactionary Southerners, Milton P. Webster, a member of the committee, said during the discussion on FEPC.

"I read an editorial in one of our weekly Chicago papers calling on the colored members to quit in self-respect. Here was a committee on which colored people had depended, we (Earl Dickerson and Webster) were the colored members and along comes some intellectual and says we should leave. That's what I'm talking about when I say there was some opposition from other sources, a division of opinion among colored people."

Mr. Webster pointed out that the last hearings held by the committee in Birmingham were the most successful and secured "the best results" but he added "all you heard about the Birmingham hearings was that Talmadge called me a "black tar baby" and that Mark Ethridge said the South would never give up segregation.

"Still more important, however, was that the president of the Central Trades Union said that anyone would be hired where his union was in charge, without regard to race, color and creed."

HAROLD STEVENS

Harold Stevens of NY, who is also a Catholic, said of the appointment of Monsignor Frances J. Haas as chairman of the new FEPC committee:

"No religious group has taken such a fortright stand against racial discrimination and persecution as the Catholics," he said. He urged the convention, which was inclined to call on President Roosevelt to remove Monsignor Haas from the chairmanship because of his approval of the Mobile, Ala. shipyard segregation, to "give the new chairman a fair chance before you condemn him. Let us be as fair as we ask others to be to us and as honest and just," he pleaded.

LAYLE LANE

Miss Layle Lane, NYC school teacher, told the convention "this is not a white man's country, it is man's country, a country of human beings."

She said that colored people have tools with which to work to bring about complete equality.

Some of the tools she said are numbers, 13 million colored people who need to be organized; purchasing power which is about 7 or 8 billions annually and that care should be taken to see to it that more of this money is spent with colored people and the right to vote which is not exercised as thoroughly by people of the North who have no restrictive devices to keep them from the polls.

CARL HANSBERRY

Carl Hansberry, Chicago, urged the delegates to know the civil rights laws in their States, and other delegates who have no civil rights laws in their own communities to know the Federal law which is applicable in many Southern States and take steps to force the powers that be to enforce them."

Cablegrams to Haile Selassie and Felix Eboue informing them that the March on Washington Committee was 100 per cent behind them in their fight for justice and freedom were authorized to be sent by the convention at the request of George A. Weston, New York delegate.

F.D. Scored for Not Fighting Fascism in U.S.

CHICAGO—The failure of President Roosevelt and his supporters to take a moral stand against the "native forces of fascism in this country" while 600,000 colored men in uniform fight for freedom abroad was denounced at the March-on-Washington's We-Are-Americans-Too Convention here last week.

Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, Eastern regional director, in a talk before delegates Wednesday evening, said that the majority of colored people are "bewildered" by this laxity on the part of the administration and are crying out to the March-on-Washington group to "show us the way and point us the path."

"Under a democracy," he said, "we cannot have a first- and second-class citizenship. Either colored people of America enter into the pattern of American life on a plan of complete, perfect, and unlimited equality, or they don't enter.

Fight Now or Never

"Unless colored people contend and fight, and fight like hell, now during this war for their democratic rights, we will never get them," he told the cheering audience of 600 persons.

He charged that the people who deny colored citizens their rights are "the Rankins and Bilboas of Mississippi, the Talmadges and Coxes of Georgia, and the Cotton Ed Smiths of South Carolina," who think the Four Freedoms are for white people only.

Non-Violence Policy Urged to Get Rights

CHICAGO — Unqualified support of the non-violent, goodwill direct action non-cooperation technique to secure equal rights was given by the "We Are Americans Too, Convention" sponsored by the March on Washington Mvement here last week.

In its resolutions passed at the closing session, the delegates voted to use this method to fight discrimination in employment, transportation, civil rights violations, segregation in the armed forces, and constitutional injustices.

Delegates also agreed to set up educational institutes in various sections of the country to educate the people on the technique.

The MOWM agreed to start this mass action fight in Richmond, Washington, New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles.

In discussing the program, James Farmer of NYC, national president of the committee on race equality and race secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, told the delegates "each time we as colored people submit to jim crow we are perpetuating those practices we seek to destroy.

This method—the method of non-violent, goodwill, direct non-cooperation action—is a renunciation of jim crow not only with words but with action."

Urges Peaceful Picketing

Bayard Rustin, NYC, field secretary of the Fellowship, outlined ways to use the non-violent, good will direct action method of fighting for rights.

Peaceful picketing, use of handbills, parades, letters, training in taking blows which may be aimed without striking back and in holding your tongue when insulted, and in failing to obey jim crow laws and even the U.S. Government if it is wrong.

He told the convention that the campaign is designed to overcome jim crow by changing attitudes of people. Miss E. Pauline Myers, executive secretary of the MOWM, told the delegates "colored citizens have a right to disobey unjust laws" and urged that they take advantage of the nonviolent, goodwill, direct action program to abolish race hate.

Stanley Jones Speaks

Dr. E. Stanley Jones, white, former missionary to India, in discussing the move said persons who follow this technique say—"I don't hate you but I won't obey you. This law or order is wrong and unjust. Do what you may. I won't strike back and I won't obey."

MOWM Heads Re-Elected

CHICAGO—A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington Movement was unanimously re-elected for a two-year term during the closing session of We Are Americans Too Convention, Saturday evening.

Other national officers re-elected were: B. F. McLaurin, secretary and Aldrich Turner, treasurer.

Named to the executive board were the following:

NORTH ATLANTIC REGION

Miss Layle Lane, Jesse Taylor, both New York.

SOUTH ATLANTIC

Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, Richmond; Samuel Harper, Jacksonville, Fla.; A. L. Thomas, Macon, Ga.

SOUTHERN

Mrs. George Phillips, Nashville; David Grant, St. Louis; E. Benson, Suitt, Kansas City;

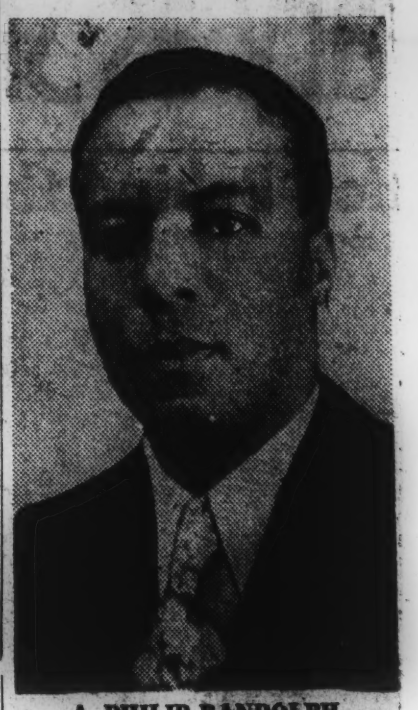
MIDWEST

Charles W. Burton, Chicago; Benny Smith, Detroit; Theodore Brown, Chicago;

PACIFIC

C. L. Dellums, Oakland, Calif.; Miss Almena Davis, Los Angeles; and the Rev. Leggins, Denver, Colo.

Re-elected



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Army Jim Crow Draws Fire

By B. M. PHILLIPS

CHICAGO — America's celebration of the Fourth of July reveals to the colored soldier more than anything else the injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim, Colden Brown of New York City told the March-on-Washington Convention Friday.

Speaking during the Town Hall meeting on "Jim Crow in Uniform," Mr. Brown, who is chairman of the Winfred Lynn case committee, said:

"America, your celebration to the colored soldier is a shame, your boasted liberty an unholy license, your national greatness swelling vanity, your shouts of rejoicing empty and heartless, your denunciation of fascism brass-fronted impudence, your prayers, hymns, sermons, and thanksgiving, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombasts, fraud and deception, a thin veil to cover up crimes that would disgrace a nation of savages."

Discusses Lynn Case

In discussing the Winfred Lynn case, Mr. Brown told the convention that Mr. Lynn's refusal to serve in a segregated army is important. The fight will be taken to the Supreme Court this fall.

If the Supreme Court rules agaist Mr. Lynn, he said, it will in effect, say to thirteen million colored people that America does not believe in the principles for which we are allegedly fighting.

If, on the other hand, the Supreme Court agrees with Winfred Lynn that he should not be forced to serve in a jim-crow army, it will mean, Mr. Brown pointed out, that the army, navy and their auxiliary services must end segregation and admit all persons without regard to race, color and creed.

Vincent Baker of NYC, director of the National Modern Trend Movement, told the convention that if Americans are to get aroused over the slaughter of their troops by the Japanese they should also get emotional over the slaughter of colored American troops in U.S. army camps.

U.S. Working for Axis

Discrimination of men in the uniform of the U.S., he said, is "a betrayal of American democracy, a bar to the war effort and a menace to any kind of just and lasting peace."

F.D. Urged to Form Group to Avert Riots

March Movement Also Asks Mixed Military Guard

CHICAGO—President Roosevelt has been called upon by the We Are Americans Too Convention, sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, to appoint an interracial commission aimed at preventing future race riots.

The commission would make a nation-wide study of problems affecting colored people and suggest methods for handling them effectively.

The convention also urged that, whenever racial violence breaks out, both colored and white troops be sent to the areas to insure order and protection of both colored and white workers going to and from their war jobs.

Blame Government

The resolution adopted by the convention, after presentation by the director, A. Philip Randolph, asks Congressmen Rayburn and Martin to unite in calling for a Congressional investigation of the riots and eventual legislation to deal constructively "with this disease of racial prejudice."

Further, the convention charged, the cause of race riots cannot be placed upon Hitler but rather "at the door of the present government—its policy of jim crow, segregation and discrimination in and by the government, in education, housing, recreation, amusement, before the courts, in the armed forces and defense industry."

Riots, Lynchings Before Hitler

Race riots and mob law, lynchings and racial terrorism obtained long before Hitler was ever heard of and, the convention warned, "will continue long after Hitler is dead and forgotten unless colored people receive the status of first-class citizens in America."

Telegrams urging appointment of a national commission on race to study the riots were also sent to Senators Barkley, McNary, Robert Wagner, C. Wayland Brooks and to Representatives Joseph Gavagan, William L. Dawson, Hamilton Fish, and George H. Bender.

109 Delegates from 14 States

CHICAGO — There were 109 delegates from 14 states and the District of Columbia attended the We Are Americans Too Convention, sponsored by the March on Washington here at Metropolitan Community Church last week.

Largest delegations were from Chicago and New York. There were no representatives from Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, South Carolina, and other Southeastern states. Miss E. Pauline Myers, executive secretary, told the AFRO that an organizer has not yet been sent into these areas but that after the convention steps will be taken to organize locals in these sections.

Names of the delegates according to states folow:

ILLINOIS

Chicago—Milton P. Webster, Charles W. Burton, Theodore Brown, Mrs. Annabelle Wilburn, Miss Ethel Payne, Mrs. Georgia Eason, Mrs. Elizabeth White, the Rev. Thomas B. Chapman, Lovey Alexander, Mrs. Helena Wilson, Miss Wyllie Eastman, Mrs. Frieda Scott, Merritt Williams, Mrs. Josephine Dunlap, Mrs. Adline Terrell, Miss Rita Baham, Henry C. Bennett,

James A. Martin, T. J. Walker, E. Leon Ramsey, the Rev. Herbert Jones, D. B. Giddings, Mrs. Jesha Flemister, Mrs. Ernestine Boatwright, H. J. Jones.

NEW YORK

New York—A Philip Randolph, Miss E. Pauline Myers, B. F. McLaurin, Maurice Dawkins, Alden Brown, Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, Noel Scott, Ronald Walters, Miss Lavia Lewis, Miss Dollie Lowther Robinson, Herring, Ray Solan, Burton Sandle, George A. Weston, J. A. Rogers, A. J. Johnson, Bayard Rustin, Larry J. Foster, Mrs. Mattie Foster, Vincent Baker.

Albany—Osmond Cole.

Buffalo—Jesse Taylor, Miss Louise Alexander.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington—Thurman L. Dodson, Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Mrs. Mazie Sandle.

MISSOURI

St. Louis—T. D. McNeal, E. J. Bradley, Miss Nita Blackwell, Miss Rosie Johnson, Frank P. Townsend, Booker T. Washington, Miss Marie Pace, Mrs. Thelma Grant, Miss Thelma Haywood, David Grant, Harold W. Ross, Leighton Weston.

Kansas City—The Rev. F. W. Haynes, E. Benson Suitt, the Rev. Joseph E. Lackett, John E. Fegan, Miss Frances Hayden, Andrew Johnson.

Randolph Says That Demonstration May Be Necessary Soon

(Continued from Page 1)

The resolution condemning the Communists said:

"Whereas the Communists have no idea what they can do or believe from day to day because of the control of Soviet Russia and since their primary interests are to sacrifice labor, colored people of America for the benefit of Russia, we go on record as opposed to cooperation with the Communist party or communist-front groups."

The resolution added that this denunciation was not to be construed as an expression of opposition to Russia "in her heroic fight against Hitler."

Other resolutions adopted by the convention in the closing session which ended Saturday evening put the movement on record as:

1. Backing and endorsing the fight to wipe out the Axis menace.
2. Endorsing the policy of a mixed army on the grounds that it is a negation of demorcracy to segregate soldiers who are fighting for the same cause.
3. Calling for representation of colored people of America on the committee appointed by the President to sit at the peace table to map post war plans.
4. Condemning segregation of workers in war industries as undemocratic.
5. Urging Congress to pass the tanti-poll tax bill which would give the franchise to 10 million citizens.
6. Calling for cooperation with other organizations which have sound democratic standards and no totalitarian ideals.
7. Urging publication by Army and Navy of a pamphlet for white soldiers on achivements of colored people and information acquainting them with terms insulting to colored people, similar to booklet prepared for U.S. troops on understanding English soldiers.
8. Indicating the goals and aims of the March movement to be abolition of discrimination in army, government, trade unions, war plants; organization of millions of unorganized for the purpose of pressure ad endorsement of mass action in the form of large public meetings, marches on city halls, picketings and other gatherings.
9. Approving adoption of the method of non-violent, goodwill direct action to be developed in specific areas of injustice in protest against employment, transportation discrimination, civil rights violations, armed forces segregation and constitutional injustices and approving setting up of institutes in various locals to educate pepole to this program.
10. Demanding revision of the Atlantic Charter to include darker races and asking President Roosevelt to extend the Four Freedoms to colored people.
11. Calling up the United Nations to give freedom and independence to the peoples of Africa, India, West Indies and other colonies.
12. Condemning the policy of President Roosevelt in refusing to meet with colored leaders to discuss problems of colored people in this emergency and urging members to send letters and telegrams to the President urging that he meet with a committee selected by the March on Washington movement.
13. Approving unqualified support of the fight of Wnfred Lynn against fighting in a jim crow army and urging that ... conduct meetings, sponsor essay contests in high schools and otherwise publicize the case and urge others to follow his example.
14. Condemning the action of Father Francis J. Haas, chairman of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee in sanctioning and approving a segregated work agreement on the Mobile, Ala., shipyard dispute; for ignoring the existing members of the committee when he was appointed.
15. Demanding the immediate re- ...

Leaders Unite to Extend, Hold Jobs for Race

CHICAGO—(ANP)—Efforts to extend present employment opportunities for colored people in American industry and protect those gains after the declaration of peace were intensified at a conference here recently.

The meeting created a Chicago Charter Committee on Employment to impress uppon colored workers the importance of personal appearance and conduct on the job, the necessity for work efficiency and cutting down of absenteeism.

Franklin Heads Group

The conference set aside the week of September 13, as Hold-Your-Job Week in which appeals will be made to workers to increase their efficiency and maintain good conduct, and in which employers and government agencies would be urged to extend employment opportunities.

C. A. Franklin, publisher Kansas City CALL, was elected chairman of the committee, and Horace Cayton, director Parkway Community Center here, was elected secretary.

to insure permanency of FEPC and sponsor its introduction and passage in Congress.

17. Calling for setting up by the WOMW a national conference of interested groups and individuals to sponsor a national Federated group to safeguard the FEPC and that this group distribute 200,000 leaflets of informative nature advising citizens of the true status of the FEPC.
18. Setting up in each local community of the March an FEPC committee to stimulate mass pressure upon various issues relative to FEPC and to direct the sending of communications to the President and other responsible officials.
19. Providing for the executive committee to underwrite for 12 months the operation of the national office in N.Y. at a cost of $12,000.

Chicago Convention Votes for a New March on Capital

Randolph Says It's Necessary; Resolutions Hit Communists, Poll Tax and FEPC

By B. M. PHILLIPS
Editor of the Baltimore Afro-American

CHICAGO—The March-on-Washington Committee at the closing of its We-Are-Americans-Too convention, Saturday, voted to take immediate steps necessary for a "national, disciplined and non-violent march on the nation's capital to demand action of the national government and authorized the executive committee to set the time and the date.

This action, taken in the form of a resolution, said:

"Whereas the march was organized for the specific purpose of applying more dynamic techniques to the struggle of colored people for full equality, and

Whereas the march was planned to obtain an executive order outlawing discrimination and was postponed after securing Executive Order 8802, and

Whereas the continued indignities to colored soldiers, the appeasement policy toward Southern reactionaries by the administration and the recent riots in Los Angeles, Beaumont and Detroit indicate reaction is fastening its grip upon the nation to the detriment, not only of the colored man, but also to the disadvantage of labor and to progress generally, and

Whereas a march on the nation's capitol at any time, especially during war time, for the protection of minority rights, requires the most careful planning, organization and discipline, therefore, be it

Resolved that the MOWM in convention here unequivocally approve the march and take immediate steps necessary for a national disciplined and non-violent march of colored people to demand action of our national government, and

Resolved that the national executive committee is herewith authorized and directed by the convention to settle upon the date of the march."

Several delegates argued that a march on Washington now would be "impractical" and "ineffective" and urged that the committee defer use of this strategy."

However, the convention passed the resolution calling for a march and A. Philip Randolph, after the passage of the measure, remarked that he believed "we'll have to march soon."

The convention also adopted twenty-one other resolutions, one of them opposing the Communist party and Communist-front organizations, and another calling for a boycott of all movies which hold colored people up to scorn and ridicule, and four condemned status of the FEPC and action of its new chairman, Father Frank J. Haas.

(Continued on Page 7, Col. 3)

Whites Barred from March on Washington Movement

By B. M. PHILLIPS

CHICAGO—After nearly two hours of debate, the March on Washington Committee, at the closing session of its five-day We Are Americans, Too, Convention on Saturday morning, voted to adopt a constitution which confines the organization's membership to colored people.

Opposition was expressed by members and delegates to this article 5 of the constitution because such an exclusion clause was discriminatory and the type of thing the March movement was attempting to abolish.

Article Passed

An amendment which would eliminate the exclusion clause was voted down 102-2. After further discussion, the entire article was carried.

The constitution provides for an executive board of 41 members; division of the organization in five areas, the North Atlantic, South Atlantic, Southern Midwestern and Pacific; annual dues of $1; convention at least every two years, and formation of new local units by written permission to the national office in New York City after 15 persons have indicated in writing their intention to form a local.

Object of Organization

It also sets forth that the prime object of the March organization is to "awaken, teach, organize, mobilize, direct and lead masses of colored people to fight and struggle for their own liberation from racial discrimination, segregation and jim-crowism;

"To obtain complete recognition and enjoyment of their citizenship rights and to co-operate with progressive movements, to help build a free world without regard to race, color, creed or national origin", the constitution stated.

Buffalo—Jesse Taylor, Miss Louise Alexander.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington—Thurman L. Dodson, Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Mrs. Mazie Sandle.

MISSOURI

St. Louis—T. D. McNeal, E. J. Bradley, Miss Nita Blackwell, Miss Rosie Johnson, Frank P. Townsend, Booker T. Washington, Miss Marie Pace, Mrs. Thelma Grant, Miss Thelma Haywood, David Grant, Harold W. Ross, Leighton Weston.

Kansas City—The Rev. F. W. Haynes, E. Benson Suitt, the Rev. Joseph E. Lackett, John E. Fegan, Miss Frances Hayden, Andrew Johnson.

OHIO

Columbus—Mrs. Melba Wilson.

Cleveland—John O. Holly, Robert A. Pinn, E. S. Wells, Moses Land, Walter Green, C. M. Smart.

COLORADO

Denver—Miss Minnie Payne, Miss Thelma S. Freeman, Berry J. Slater.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles—Miss Erna P. Harris.

NORTH CAROLINA

Rocky Mount—G. A. Dawson.

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga—Alex F. Carney, O Lowery, R. H. Craig.

Nashville—Mrs. George Phillips, Miss Mabel McKay, James Gilmore, Mrs. James Gilmore, Paul Harrington, Mrs. Panthea Harrington.

FLORIDA

Jacksonville—R. Elwin Lamb, Samuel Harper.

Tampa—H. N. Reddick, J. W. Daniels, L. J. Randolph.

Sanford—A. A. Fields.

ALABAMA

Montgomery—Edgar D. Nixon.

Birmingham—William Patton.

Mobile—Inell Richarson.

MICHIGAN

Detroit—Benny Smith, Eugene Butler.

VIRGINIA

Richmond—Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, Roscoe C. Mitchell.

MISSISSIPPI

Meridian—George Sams.

GEORGIA

Macon—A. L. Thomas.

example.

14. Condemning the action of Father Francis J. Haas, chairman of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee in sanctioning and approving a segregated work agreement on the Mobile, Ala., shipyard dispute; for ignoring the existing members of the committee when he was appointed.

15. Demanding the immediate rescheduling of the firemen's hearing by the FEPC and reappointment of Earl Dickerson, Chicago, to the committee; retention of the technique of public hearings by the committee; demanding that FEPC maintain its jurisdiction over all discrimination in employment and not surrender its authority to the War Manpower Commission; demanding a budget of 5 million dollars so that FEPC may maintain an adequate staff and investigation.

16. Providing for formation of a National Committee on FEPC within the March movement to draft a bill similar to the National Labor Relations Act

Generally Speaking

By S. W. Garlington

ALL THINGS MUST CHANGE . . . to something strange . . . to something new. Hence, it should not seem odd that with this issue "Generally Speaking" changes its title to "Pointed Points."

Mr. Garlington

As one of my readers pointed out, this column has been "digging 'em deep" since it first appeared. All right, if you want to make something out of it, I was not attempting to dwell in generalities, but was trying to "dig 'em deep." So, in keeping with the demand of my readers (what am I saying?) from now until the NYAN editor-in-chief stops me, my weekly reflections and interpretations will be known as "Pointed Points."

• • •

WHEN A. PHILIP RANDOLPH was awarded the highly prized Spingarn Medal (for 1941) for distinctive contribution to the welfare of the Negro race, he then stood head and shoulder above our lot of so-called leaders. At that time he had a progressive program—an organized threat to march on Washington and embarrass the government with demands for a square deal for America's largest exploited minority. This brought about a pacifying result known as Executive Order 8802 which created the nice sounding but do-nothing President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC).

But all of this happened before Pearl Harbor. Now a march on Washington would hardly be tolerated by federal officials. Seemingly APR realized this fact, because there has been no march. Johnny Q. Public did not hold this against Randolph. Yet, he could not understand why Randolph did not abolish his National March on Washington after Order 8802 or change its name to fit its program. NMOW seems to have done nothing since then in keeping with its original purpose except talk and overlap the functions of specialized organizations with little or no results.

• • •

THE DEATH OF NMOW seemed to have taken place last year when it promoted the largest mass meeting ever held by Negroes. But march boys let an outsider (Opportunist A. C. Powell, Jr.) steal the show. Director Randolph did not even get a chance to deliver his lengthy speech for the occasion until months later at a smaller hall before a sparse audience. Seemed like NMOW was on its way out as a top flight organization with national significance.

Rather than admit this "handwriting on the wall" and devote his full time to his strong sleeping car porters group (which made him what he was), Randolph concocted a suicidal civil disobedience program for NMOW. It received a nice plug in the papers at first, but could not gain enough support to be put into oeration. Thanks to the high heavens! It is impractical to subject the Negro to attack and to sit and think he will only turn the other cheek.

• • •

THE LAST FACE-SAVING attempt of NMOW grew out of its confab in Chicago a fortnight ago. At this meeting it was decided that no whites will be allowed to gain membership in this body. One must admit that it seems a bit screwy for a group to practice Jim Crow while at the same time attempting to fight discrimination and all of its evils.

As this columnist sees it, this is a definite step backward. One of the best ways to eliminate the so-called "race problem" is through interracial co-operation which makes way for the integration of Negroes into all phases and levels of American life. To purposely ignore this technique for unity can only be conscrued as retrogression.

• • •

WHY DOES NMOW JIM CROW? If one is to believe the words of Neil Scott, NMOW Public relations Director, this latest discrimination move is justified. He points out that there are several specialized race organizations among the Catholics, Jews, etc. He thinks that the Negro was driven to form an all-Negro group, yet admits that all types of Jim Crow must be wiped out. But, Mr. Scott says that when whites are in a group they prohibit all-out effort in pushing claims for the Negro. Too, he points out that the move is to keep communists out, because they usually gain admission into a Negro group and by various tricks take control. This NMOW does not want. (An unanswered question is: "What of the Negro communist?")

• • •

TWO PERTINENT QUESTIONS: Do we need a distinctly all-Negro body to espouse the Negro cause? The answer is an undisputed "Yes." Is NMOW the body to carry out this assignment? The answer here seems to be "No." As long as NMOW insists on parading under a misnomer—a National March on Washington, which the boys on Capital Hill will not allow—it will be only partially effective and will be living on borrowed time.

• • •

WE MUST meet our problems on basis of reason.

• • •

CONSCIENCE—not greed—should guide our every act.

THE Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1943

A REPLY TO MY CRITICS

Randolph Tells Program To Win Full Race Equality

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

This is the fifth of a series of articles by A Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington, in reply to a number of criticisms of the tactics of the movement. In publishing these articles, the Defender's editor in no way endorses the views expressed by Mr. Randolph but believes they are of sufficient public interest to merit the attention of our readers. At the conclusion of the series, the editors will comment on the articles and give the views of the Defender.

Before a program for any oppressed minority or majority can be formulated, it ought to be determined what the group needs and wants. A discussion of needs and wants is timely because a group may need what it does not want and it may want what it does not need.

Since Negroes in the United States of America live under a democracy — though limited — especially in terms of race, where public opinion — the most powerful single force in modern society, is created, or rather ought to be created by the free interplay and free competition of ideas in the arena of public discussion, they, the Negroes, need the status of free and equal citizens. They must be free and equal in order to participate in and help shape and determine constructive and creative human action and human institutions.

Negroes must be free in order to be equal, and they must be equal in order to be free. These are complementary and supplementary rights and conditions. The existence of one is a condition to the existence of the other. Under the terms of our liberal democratic traditions, the absence of freedom or equality means the absence of democracy. Men cannot win freedom unless they win equality. They cannot win equality unless they win freedom. Men cannot remain free unless they remain equal. They cannot remain equal unless they remain free. These are axioms of a democratic, progressive society. Their validity and verity are as unquestionable as the mathematical statement two plus two equals four.

Negro Not Free

But the Negro is not free. He never has been free. He is not free because he is not equal to other citizens within the framework of the laws, institutions, customs and practices of our so-called democratic government.

Why?

The answer is: the Civil War, the American liberal bourgeois, democratic, socio-economic, political revolution failed to complete its basic historical mission.

Unlike the European liberal, bourgeois, socio-political revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries in France, England, Italy and Germany, the Civil War or the American Revolution, was aborted. It did not run its course. It was of the pattern of the Russian Revolution under the Czar of 1905.

What is the path of history of the liberal bourgeois democratic socio-political revolution?

What are its objectives?

They are as follows:

1. The overthrow of the old slave or feudal governmental regime and the establishment of a democratic republic.

2. The breakup of the slave or feudal economy and the creation in its stead a free, competitive capitalist economy.

3. The conversion of the slaves or serfs into free workers and independent peasant proprietors.

5. The creation of an economic stake for the former slaves or serfs in the new social order.

6. The adoption of a universal free suffrage.

7. The establishment of a free public school system.

8. The recognition not only of the right of the former slaves or serfs to vote but to be voted for and to share in the operation and direction of the governmental apparatus and to rule.

9. The economic unification of the national community.

10. The transformation of political democracy into economic democracy.

Now, the Negro problem is the problem of the failure of the democratic revolution to complete its historical mission. The Negro problem is the problem of the failure of the democratic revolution to complete its historical mission. The Negro problem is the problem of the failure of the democratic revolution to complete its historical mission.

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9. The economic unification of the national community.

10. The centralization of political power in a strong, federal or national system.

Task of Negro

Only a casual examination of the historical, political and social economy of the United States of America will reveal that the American Revolution was arrested and only those aims were realized that contributed to the consolidation of the power of the new ruling class, namely, the capitalists.

What then, is the immediate task of the Negro?

It is to complete an uncompleted liberal bourgeois democratic socio-political revolution — commonly known as the Civil War.

What does this involve?

It involves giving life, reality and force to those basic, substantive, organic, social and political principles of freedom, equality and justice, set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, and, especially, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, the Proclamation of Emancipation and the recent Rooseveltian Four Freedoms, in relation to the Negro.

While the slave power was broken, the slave masters were not eliminated. They rose and seized the reins of state rule and served as industrial and plantation padrones or an absentee owning capitalist

And the major and paramount form of economic action is the building of trade and industrial unions and the employment of the technique of collective bargaining.

Why?

Because well-nigh 99 9-10 per cent of the Negro people are workers — who sell their labor power in the market for wages. Hence, the biggest business of the Negro is to sell at the highest price that which he has the most of — namely, his ability to work.

But labor, through trade unions, may win decent wages at the point of production and lose them at the point of consumption, when, as a

Negroes, like white men in business, have a right to choose whomever they wish as partners.

Employment for Negroes

Concerning the employment of Negroes:

The March On Washington Movement takes the position that Negroes should fight for integration on a basis of equality in all American businesses and into all categories of work, skilled, unskilled, technical and professional. This may be effected through various forms of pressures, such as: mass marches, picketing and the boycott, following systematic efforts at negotiations.

Of course, the M.O.W.M. [illegible]

cates the matter and creates a new problem.

The M.O.W.M. will continue to press for the immediate rescheduling of the railroad hearings, an adequate budget and office and field personnel, rescheduling of the Capitol Transit hearings, the hearings in Detroit, St. Louis, El Paso, Baltimore, Buffalo and Cleveland. The March On Washington Movement will also project a fight to secure federal legislative sanction and permanence for F.E.P.C.

Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY
CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JULY 17, 1943

A REPLY TO MY CRITICS

Need For Race Political Bloc Seen By Randolph

This is the last of a series of articles by A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington, in reply to a number of criticisms of the tactics of the movement. In publishing these articles, the Defender's editor in no way endorses the views expressed by Mr. Randolph but believes they are of sufficient public interest to merit the attention of our readers. A discussion of some of the points raised by Randolph is a feature of this week's column by John Robert Badger, "World View."

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

As a major strategy for the effective employment of Negro political power, the March on Washington advocates the building in every local community and also on a national scale a powerful non-partisan political bloc.

This does not require that Negroes come out of either the Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Communist parties. But it does require that when a crucial question of universal concern and importance to the Negroes arise, that Negroes will express their united political strength regardless of party politics on the issue.

When this is done, it will strengthen the position of the Negro leaders in the Republican and Democratic parties and make the white boss politicians more disposed to give serious consideration to all questions affecting the interests of the Negro. Negroes as Democrats are not so strong. Negroes as Republicans are not very strong. Negroes as Socialists or Communists are helpless.

But when Negro Republicans and Democrats step forward face to face with a powerful political boss or mayor, governor, President, Senate or House committee and **demand consideration for the Negro or ELSE, they will get consideration.** For politicians and office holders respect nothing but VOTES.

They are seldom moved by questions of principles, ideals, human justice or injustice. Politicians are hungry for power and jobs. They fear votes and the righteous wrath of the people. They will only do the right thing for the people when they are made to do so by pressure-power, public opinion and votes.

Therefore, upwards of 15 million Negroes don't need to beg anybody for anything. They have power if they will mobilize it by registering and organizing it into one powerful non-partisan political bloc which can be thrown against or for a public official or measure.

Financed by Negroes

Such a political bloc should be financed by Negroes entirely, for he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. Such a bloc should not accept any money from Republican, Democratic, Socialist or the Communist parties.

This political bloc should send speakers into districts to oppose the enemies of the Negro and support their friends on a basis of their record in office. This piece of political machinery could have experts draft campaign literature on the issues and the candidates and distribute it widely throughout the country, expressing the position of the Negro on vital questions and men seeking office. It could take whole page advertisements in strategic papers, white and colored, at the strategic time during a campaign to let the world know that the Negroes are not asleep or dumb.

If such a powerful non-partisan political bloc was honestly, courageously and intelligently directed, it could transform the political status of the Negro people; put a Negro on the U. S. Supreme Court, on federal courts, in the Cabinet, on policy-making commissions, get Negroes their rightful share of jobs in government agencies, abolish anti-Negro legislation, reverse anti-Negro court decisions, eliminate discriminations in administrative agencies and secure for Negroes the respect enjoyed by other citizens.

How can this bloc be built?

It could be set up by a federated body of religious, fraternal, civic, labor, educational, woman, business political groups that would agree upon a minimum program.

Labor is now in the process of building such a bloc through the [illegible] CIO.

The farmers already possess a powerful non-partisan political-bloc.

So has big business.

And it works.

Meanwhile, Negro political leaders could continue to carry on their activities in the respective parties and in a more effective way.

Social Action

M.O.W.M. advocates and practices the following forms of social action precedures and techniques:

1. Social pressure through mass action: mass marches, mass picketing, mass boycott, mass letter writing, mass telephoning, mass telegraphing, to public officials concerning vital social issues affecting the Negro.

2. Pressure through organized, disciplined, non-violent, good-will direct action.

3. Social pressure through giant public mass meetings.

The immediate, positive and direct value of mass action-pressure consists in two things: one, it places human beings into physical motion which can be felt, seen and heard. Nothing stirs and shapes public sentiment like physical action. Organized labor and organized capital have long since recognized this. This is why the major weapon of labor is the STRIKE. It is why the major weapon of business is the lock-out—the shut-down.

All people feel, think and talk about a physical formation of people, whoever they may be. This is why mass grip the imagination of man. Mass demonstrations against jim-crow is worth a million editorials [illegible] orations in anybody's pa[illegible] any platform. Editorials and orations are only worthwhile when they are around and on actual human struggles for specific social and racial rights and against definite wrongs.

Awaken America

Mass social pressure in the form of marches and picketing will not only touch and arrest the attention of the powerful public official but also the little man in the street. And, before this problem of jim-crow can be successfully attacked, all of America must be shocked and awakened. This has never been done, except by race riots that are dangerous social-racial explosions. Mass efforts are a form of struggle for Negro rights in which all Negroes can participate, including the educated and uneducated, the rich and poor. It is a technique and strategy which the little Negro in the tavern, pool-room, on the streets, jitterbug, store-front preacher and share-cropper, can use to help free the race.

While constitutional obedience or non-violent Good-Will Direct Action cannot be executed through the mass action technique, it tends to arouse and educate mass interest and thinking.

Now, the March On Washington Movement is an all-Negro movement, but it is not anti-white, anti-American, anti-labor, anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic. It's simply pro-Negro.

Why?

Because jim-crow is primarily anti-Negro.

Since no other group in the country is jim-crowed but the Negro, it seems to be as simple as water tends to run down hill that the Negro must take the initiative and [illegible] the responsibility to abolish Jewish, labor and business groups of white people to help them win this fight. While labor unions are only composed of workers, they seek the help of clergymen, housewives and liberals who may be non-workers. During strikes, unions form citizens committees to help the workers but they do not take the citizens into the unions.

It is well-nigh axiomatic that white citizens may sympathize with the cause of striking miners or auto workers or lumber-jacks, but the fact remains that the miners, auto-workers and lumberjacks must take the initiative and assume the responsibility themselves to win higher wages and shorter hours.

By the same token, white liberals and labor may sympathize with the Negro's fight against jim-crow, but they are not going to lead the fight. They never have and they never will. The fight to annihilate jim-crow in America must be led by Negroes with the cooperation and collaboration of white liberals and labor.

Black Bourgeoisie Scared

But the black petit bourgeoisie and intelligentsia are scared. They write about a struggle in which they have never participated. Columns of words are written about the Negro problem and the writer assumes that a great and satisfactory job has been done. Newspaper labor experts who have never organized the first couple of workers into anything, talk omnisciently about labor strategy and presume to tell the workers what to do. But fortunately, the workers follow their own mind.

They, the intellectual with white-collaritis, magnify the dangers of any proposal for action against jim-crow. They want to abolish it with words, that is, some of them do and some of them want to keep jim-crow to continue to shoot at. They advise the use of the type of technique which involves no personal risks and requires nothing more than ink and paper. They always seek an escape mechanism in ponderous, wordy and clever defeatist dissertations. And they always attempt to get solace for the avoidance of action techniques by viewing with alarm any forward, aggressive program which may be branded as out of the framework of the so-called American way of life, whatever that is.

The petit black bourgeoisie whose proud vocal representative is the Pittsburgh Courier which is likely to be on anybody's side at any time, regardless of the principles involved, are like one of two mules of an old farmer. One mule was willing to pull the load and the other old mule was willing to let him pull it. The petit black bourgeoisie are always hunting for some **white angel** at whose feet they may place the Negroes' problems. At one time they unloaded on the G.O.P. on the grounds that it was the party of "Father" Abraham Lincoln. Then when the political pickings got kind of slight they fled to the Democratic Jackass. Ere long they will learn that there is no fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans either with regards to Negroes or labor, that they are like two peas in a pod, two souls with a single thought—tweedledee and tweedledum.

The Courier's reacion to suggested policies and forces with a view to making recommendations to the mayor and governor to take measures to prevent riots and to stop them promptly and effectively when they start.

These public meetings should also call upon President Roosevelt to appoint a National Commission on Race to perform the aforementioned task on a national scale. They should also call upon Congressman Sam Rayburn, Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Congressman Martin, Republican Minority Leader, to set up machinery for a Congressional investigation of the Detroit race riot and the riots in Beaumont, Texas; Mobile, Ala.; Los Angeles, Calif., and other places.

The public meetings should also plan the formation of city-wide interracial-interfaith committees, composed of trade unionists, business, educational and political representatives to serve as a public group of citizens to cooperate in the study and maintenance of law and order and to cooperate with all public officials.

Such meetings should also call upon the President to send Negro and white troops into riot areas and to keep them there to insure the right and opportunity of the Negro workers to continue with the white workers in the production of war materials, ships and planes to enable the United Nations to win the war and destroy Axis tyranny.

Negroes must not be deceived into thinking that Hitler caused the Detroit race riot or any other riot. These riots are the result of our government's policy of segregating and discriminating against Negroes for decades, long before Hitler was ever heard of, and riots will continue long after Hitler is dead and forgotten if our government does not stop practicing the segregation of Negro citizens and integrate the Negro into the government and war and peace time industry on a basis of equality with the white brothers and sisters. O[illegible] these riots help the cause [illegible] and fascism.

Let the Negro masses [illegible] mand[illegible]nized labor [illegible] fight to abolish the cause [illegible] riots and fascism.

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crow. They want to abolish it with words, that is, some of them do and some of them want to keep jim-crow to continue to shoot at. They advise the use of the type of technique which involves no personal risks and requires nothing more than ink and paper. They always seek an escape mechanism in ponderous, wordy and clever defeatist dissertations. And they always attempt to get solace for the avoidance of action techniques by viewing with alarm any forward, aggressive program which may be branded as out of the framework of the so-called American way of life, whatever that is.

The petit black bourgeoisie whose proud vocal representative is the Pittsburgh Courier which is likely to be on anybody's side at any time, regardless of the principles involved, are like one of two mules of an old farmer. One mule was willing to pull the load and the other old mule was willing to let him pull it. The petit black bourgeoisie are always hunting for some **white angel** at whose feet they may place the Negroes' problems. At one time they unloaded on the G.O.P. on the grounds that it was the party of "Father" Abraham Lincoln. Then when the political pickings got kind of slight they fled to the Democratic Jackass. Ere long they will learn that there is no fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans either with regards to Negroes or labor, that they are like two peas in a pod, two souls with a single thought —tweedledee and tweedledum.

The Courier's reacion to suggested new ethnic techniques is like that of the old ape preceding the age of the Piltdown Skull Man, who in a convention of anthropods, woke up in time to hear one young radical ape proposing that all apes henceforth stop hanging by their tails and walking on all fours like they didn't have any sense but that they stand up erect on their hind legs and walk. He let out a squawk that no good would come of this new fangled notion because any ape with two grains of brains could see that it was easier to walk on four legs than on two. But the anthropods that became man and built a civilization, as bad as it is, stood on their hind legs and walked forward. That is the admonition of the March On Washington Movement to the Negro: STAND UPON THY FEET AND THE GOD OF JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS WILL SPEAK UNTO THEE.

Race Riots

The March On Washington Movement urges Negroes to hold public meetings and discuss the epidemic of race riots now sweeping the country to bring the issue intelligently into the open.

Peoples committees should be picked in the meetings from the floor by the people and given a mandate to go to see the mayor of the city — and to join with other committees of similar cities to see the governor to urge and demand that commissions on race relations be appointed to study the labor, economic, housing, recreational, educational and law enforcement

In The Nation

The President and Mrs. Roosevelt Can Help

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—When two groups of different ethnical origins seek out each other and come together in violence, that, strictly speaking, is a race riot. It is race riot whether one group invades the neighborhoods populated by the other or both go out for trouble. By this definition, the Sunday disturbances in Harlem were not—as Mayor La Guardia has said—"race riots."

But, in the opinion of officials and investigators here, the seeds of race riots were in all the recent disorders; these seeds have not been extirpated; they abound in other civic soils throughout the United States; and the condition is one of deep and troubling importance, especially in time of war. While these officials and investigators hope that quick and forceful action by municipal and military authorities will hold the disorders to a minimum, they do not question that the outbreaks are outward signs of an inward sociological and economic sickness in this country which will require the wisest of post-war solutions.

For various reasons many Negroes in this country are more restless and dissatisfied than ever before, according to reports that have come to Washington, and more than before are responding to the urgings of hot-heads and outlaws among them to try to get rapidly and by force improvements in their condition which politicians long have promised them, and something extra beside. Some investigators believe that Axis propaganda has had a part in accelerating this state of mind. But not a very important one. What is held to have disposed to violent assertions many citizens, both Negro and white, who have lived near each other peacefully for a number of years, are these factors:

Sources of Trouble

Negroes, being American citizens like any others, have been requisitioned for military service in the defense of the country. In this service they have lived where no such social exclusions are practiced against them as in most parts of the United States; and, as soldiers and sailors, they have enjoyed living conditions superior to those which they have been able to obtain out of their share of the national economy. These experiences have aroused feelings which, transmitted to their families and friends at home, have brought about an urge for more rapid improvement in their way of life at home than is practical or feasible.

Ever since Negroes got the vote, and began to live in concentrations in the Northeast and the Middle West that have given them a political balance of power, many politicians have sought their suffrage by making promises they did not intend to, and were unable to, fulfill. Instead of pledging themselves to help assure that Negroes should receive, as rightfully they should, as good facilities in living, education, employment and recreation as the white majority, these politicians have pandered to those colored leaders—often demagogues themselves — who demanded that all such facilities should be mixed and shared. Since in most parts of the United States the majority is unalterably opposed to this, Negroes have found the promises hollow, and this fact has been used to stir up resentment among them.

Negro leaders like Booker T. Washington and the late Dr. Carver, whose counsel was that their people should recognize the facts of nature and prefer to exist socially apart—so long as their existence was on an equitable economic and political plane—have been ridiculed as "Uncle Toms" by the political demagogues of both colors. This has made poisonous and explosive doctrine among a people so lately free from bondage, despite the fact that American Negroes have made progress in those eighty years never exceeded by a race so long and cruelly oppressed.

Assurances Needed

Negroes in this state of mind are likely to become as resentful over being denied equal patronage privileges with whites in hotels, restaurants and theatres as over denials of fundamental rights. It is reported here that there is unrest also (1) among whites who say that draft boards are more lenient in exempting Negroes; (2) among the latter who say that their men in the services are held to menial and non-combatant tasks by the prejudice of white officers, who in return say that many Negro troops do not measure up to combat qualifications.

Whatever the facts as to this, it is certain that the restlessness is deep. One of the most important post-war tasks of representative white citizens will be to adjust the condition by the light of the lamps of justice, common sense and the general welfare. Meantime some assurances (which can surely be redeemed) should be given that will enable the best Negro leaders to exert an influence that is greatly needed. Students of the problem here think the President and Mrs. Roosevelt can do very much in this respect.

[This column will be suspended for a part of August while Arthur Krock is absent from Washington.]

HARLEM'S TRAGEDY

Mayor La Guardia was correct in the literal meaning of his words when he said that the disturbances which began in Harlem Sunday night were "not a race riot." There were no clashes between gangs of different races. But every one knows that there would have been no trouble in Harlem if race feeling in that district had not been tense. The rioters who looted stores and attacked police were a very small minority of Negroes in a large and race-conscious Negro community. Behind that situation were generations of history of which the white man as well as the Negro is a victim.

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said truthfully that there is "a great difference here from the conditions in Detroit." One difference lies in the prompt and more effective action of the Mayor and the police. We do not suppose Mr. White meant to justify, without investigation, every act of every policeman on duty in Harlem. It must be clear, however, that Mayor La Guardia and Police Commissioner Valentine intend to deal with lawbreaking in Harlem as they would with lawbreaking elsewhere, without discrimination except against the lawbreakers themselves.

No friend of the Negro will defend the Harlem rioters. The overwhelming majority of Harlem's law-abiding people, who are as good and useful citizens as can be found anywhere, do not defend them. We do have to ask, as we have to ask in instances of white hoodlumism, what produces such outbreaks. Immediate causes for it can be found in a sense of grievance fanned into flame by sinister agitators, in lies deliberately spread, in an ignorance that might be diminished if white people in this city took a more friendly interest in the welfare of the newer additions to our Negro population. Some of the ultimate causes have been explored again and again. Bad and costly housing, lack of recreational facilities, the failure to give equal economic opportunities—these things corrupt the weak and unstable among the Negro population just as they do among other varieties of population. Hoodlumism is not racial.

To say this is not to say that it doesn't have to be suppressed. It does have to be, and primarily for the safety and welfare of the good people of Harlem itself. When this has been done we should have an inquiry, participated in by the Negroes and white people who for a long time have been working for a better understanding—and so quietly that their names seldom appear in the newspapers. Can the police system in Harlem be improved? Can more Negro policemen be appointed? In deputizing Negroes to patrol the streets yesterday Mayor La Guardia recognized the significance of such appointments.

We cannot wipe out race prejudice or race jealousy in a day, among masses of people. But the individual citizen can go far in wiping those emotions out of his own heart. He can recognize that this is everybody's city, not the white man's, not the Negro's, not any one race's city. He can learn the lesson that if there is discrimination against any one on account of race or religion, then no one is secure. He can practice, on his own account, courtesy and fair play. We are all neighbors in these five boroughs, and much dependent on each other. The wise citizen knows this and the good citizen acts accordingly.

500 Police Sent Into Harlem as Riot Threatens

Negro Military Policeman Shot by Patrolman Who Was Hit With Own Club

Five hundred extra police were sent into Harlem last night to quell incipient rioting that followed the shooting of a Negro military policeman by a patrolman he had beaten with the officer's own nightstick. Mayor F. H. LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine went to the scene.

A woman passenger on a Fifth Avenue bus was struck on the head by a missile thrown from the street, and several store windows were reported broken on West 125th Street, a principal crosstown street with businesses owned chiefly by white persons and patronized by Negroes.

Centers of the disturbance were the Hotel Braddock, 272 West 126th Street, where the shooting occurred, and Sydenham Hospital, Manhattan Avenue and 124th Street, where the Negro soldier, Private Robert Bandy, twenty-six years old, of 135 Mount Vernon Street, Middletown, Conn., was treated before being transferred to the prison ward at Bellevue Hospital.

The extra police detail, comprising 300 patrolmen and 200 detectives, were commanded by Deputy Chief Inspector John J. DeMartino, in charge of Manhattan East, and Deputy Chief Inspector John W. Conway, in charge of Manhattan West. They were supplemented by military police who patrolled the area in jeeps.

Woman Treated at Hospital

The injured bus passenger was Mrs. Ethel Cain, sixty-two, of 240 Demarest Avenue, New Milford, N. J., who was treated at Sydenham Hospital for lacerations and bruises. She was struck as the bus passed northbound at St. Nicholas Avenue and 124th Street.

The disturbance started at 9 p. m. when Patrolman James Collins, of the West 123d Strest station, arrested a Negro woman, Margie Polite, thirty-three, of 368 West 127th Street, for disorderly conduct because, he said, she was using loud and boisterous language in the lobby of the hotel.

She struggled, and a knot of twenty-five persons gathered, among them Private Bandy, who, according to Patrolman Collins, seized the officer's nightstick and knocked him down with blows to the head. As he started to run, the patrolman drew his revolver and fired once. The shot inflicted a flesh wound below Private Bandy's left shoulder.

Before the soldier was removed to Sydenham Hospital, a crowd of several hundred had gathered in front of the hotel and followed the ambulance to the hospital, growing in size. The crowd milled around in 123d Street, Manhattan Avenue and Hancock Square, while the police detail lined up in front of the hospital, but made no effort to disperse the crowd, which included many women and children.

Bottles Thrown

Police said two bottles were hurled in the direction of the hospital, but fell short of their target. The crowd thinned out in front of the hospital, but other groups gathered on West 125th Street, where a few instances of broken windows were reported.

Patrolman Collins remained at Sydenham Hospital for treatment of lacerations. Private Bandy, who is attached to the 730th Military Police Battalion at the Jersey City Armory, was charged with felonious assault.

The last serious disturbance was in March, 1935, when a sixteen-year-old Puerto Rican boy was caught stealing a knife in a store on West 125th Street, and the rumor was circulated that he had been beaten to death. In the ensuing riots one person was killed

MAYOR IN COMMAND OF HARLEM FORCES

Kept Busy All Day in Tour of Trouble Area, Conferences and Five Broadcasts

FULL COOPERATION ASKED

He Emphasizes That It Was Not a Race Riot and Pledges Maintenance of Order

Ordering all key police officials to get some sleep during the day preparatory to resuming their duties in Harlem last night, Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, himself sleepless since 7:30 o'clock Sunday morning, broadcast five appeals yesterday in which he declared law and order would be maintained in the city.

He conferred with Army, police and other city officials and with representative citizens of Harlem; he toured the trouble area in his police car observing the damage done to shops in the outbreak of hoodlumism Sunday night, and he assumed active command of the forces mobilized to keep the peace in Harlem last night.

In all his broadcasts the Mayor emphasized that the outbreak of violence was not in any sense a race riot but was an internal upheaval on the part of "thoughtless hoodlums" who in many cases smashed windows and looted stores belonging to their own people.

Harlem Leaders Back Plea

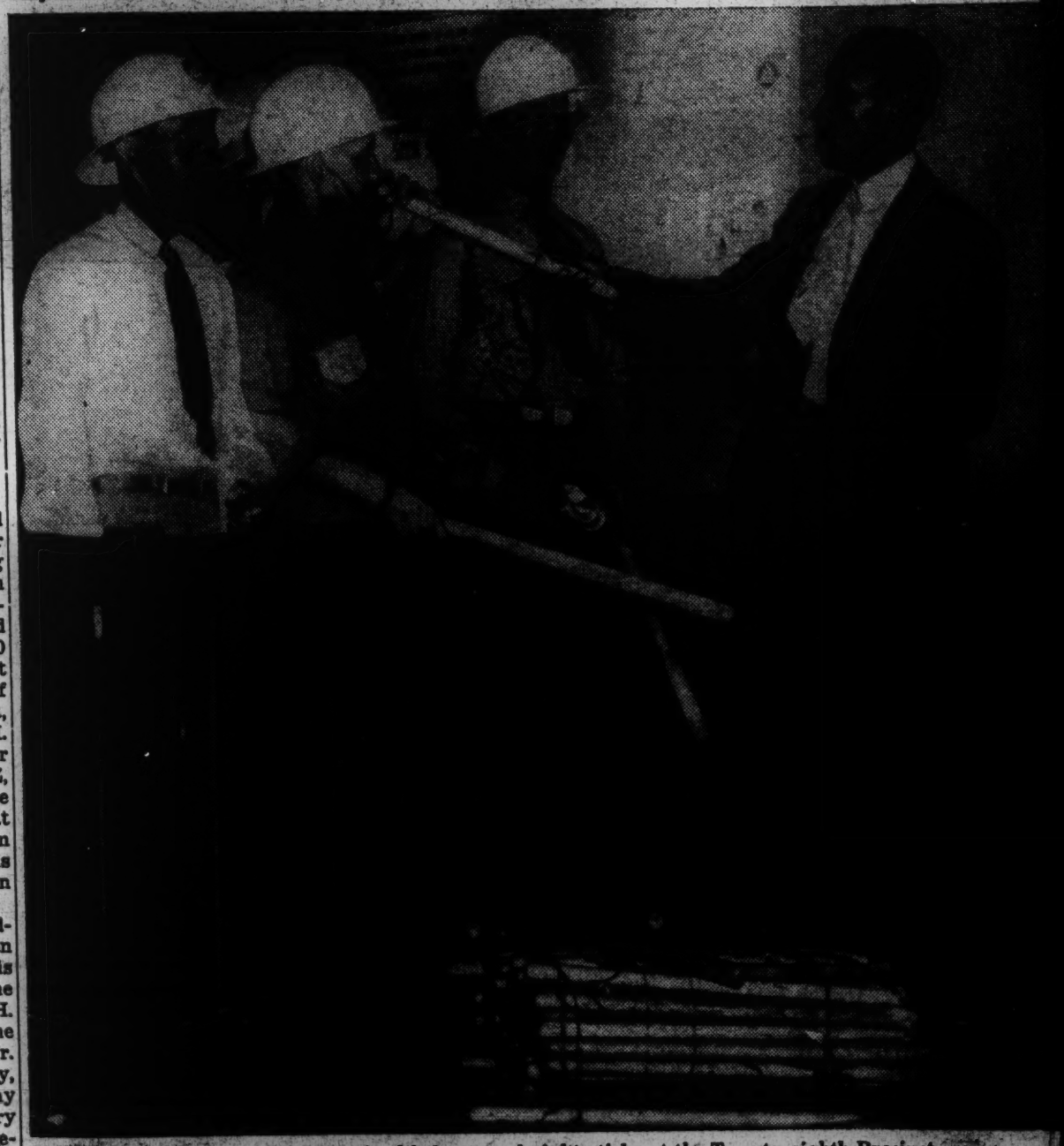
"Shame has come to our city and sorrow to the large number of our fellow citizens, decent, law-abiding citizens, who live in the Harlem section," the Mayor said in prefacing his third broadcast, delivered from his desk at City Hall at 9:50 A. M. The Mayor had broadcast at 1:05 A. M. from the studio of Station WOR, over stations WOR, WJZ and WABC, and at 8 A. M. from the 28th Police Precinct over stations WOR, WEAF, WJZ, WMCA, WNEW, and WNYC. The Mayor made the 28th precinct at 229 West 123d Street, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, his headquarters, shuttling between there and City Hall.

The Mayor in his 8 A. M. broadcast from the Harlem police station asked and received backing for his measures from two leaders of the community. The Rev. Dr. John H. Johnson, police chaplain, said: "The measures you have outlined, Mr. Mayor, are absolutely necessary, absolutely fair, and I appeal to my fellow citizens in Harlem to carry them out in the spirit of your request and in the very letter of it."

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Mayor: "I approve most emphatically every word you have stated. The decent people of Harlem will stand by you and back you to the limit to restore order immediately to Harlem and to New York City."

HARLEM'S RESIDENTS PREPARE TO MAINTAIN ORDER

Maj. Samuel Battle addressing a group that met yesterday to make plans to cooperate with the authoriti



Auxiliary police received helmets and night sticks at the Twenty-eighth Precinct

The New York Times

Harlem Quiet, City Tapers Off Its Precau[illegible]

(Continued from page one)

the Police Department's Civil or emergency plan, under which policemen work eight hours, are relieved for eight hours and then return for another eight-hour tour. This will remain in effect in Harlem for the augmented force, totaling 3,550 policemen, until everything is back to normal, the Commissioner said.

Eight thousand members of the New York Guard, who on orders of Governor Thomas E. Dewey remained on the alert in their armories throughout the metropolitan area, were released at 6 a. m. yesterday when the alert was ended, and the Fire Department, also on an emergency footing since Sunday night, reverted to its normal schedule at 4 p. m. yesterday. This released 500 men specially assigned to Harlem.

Effects of Looting Seen

Throughout the district, though, streets where looting had been rampant during Sunday night and Monday morning still looked as if a tornado had swept through the [illegible] ing, its preparatory to reopening for business. Some stores, principally those which were left with only [illegible] were jammed with customers when the doors were opened. Vehicular traffic barred since Sunday night, was expected to be back to normal by this morning.

Meanwhile Commissioner [illegible] in answer to a question [illegible] that Red Rose Riley, [illegible] had gone more from the [illegible] the rumor [illegible]

"There will be no further [illegible] until the investigation is completed," he said.

Food shortage [illegible] also arose in considerable quantities yesterday, with truck drivers [illegible] instructions to proceed to the [illegible] district, [illegible] the point where they entered Harlem to get a police escort. Many chain [illegible] were also [illegible] to replenish their looted stocks from warehouse supplies, were back in business yesterday, but the smaller independent grocers, with some exceptions, were still closed ing up and the Associated Grocers of Harlem were considering asking Mayor LaGuardia for help in refinancing grocers in the area whose stocks and fixtures were completely wiped out during the rioting.

Loss Placed at $5,000,000

Matthew J. Eder, executive secretary of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, estimated that the [illegible] which are [illegible] entirely with [illegible] and [illegible] 200 [illegible] establishments.

After the 1935 riot in Harlem several merchants and [illegible] members of the [illegible] Bar Association [illegible] during the riot [illegible] constitutionality [illegible] Section 71 of the general [illegible] provides that [illegible] political [illegible] for damages [illegible] incurred in riots.

[illegible] Section 40, Subdivision 2 of the state war emergency act specifically states that provisions of Section 71 of the general municipal law shall be inoperative and shall not apply with respect to [illegible] damages [illegible] during [illegible]

The Uptown Chamber of Commerce, many of whose members have their places of business in Harlem, surveyed the damage yesterday and announced that [illegible] actual count 1,234 stores on 125th Street and on the north and south arteries running through the section had their windows smashed by the rioters. Most of them were plundered as well. The count did not include damage on any cross-town streets other than 125th Street. Almost all the 125th Street stores are operated by whites and, according to Mr. Eder, not more than 20 per cent of all the stores in Harlem are operated by Negroes.

O. P. A. Aides on Patrol

Frank C. Russell, New York district director of the Office of Price [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Council Urges Playground Aid In Harlem Area

Riot Is Laid to LaGuardia's Policies, but He Is Hailed for Handling of Disorders

The City Council, after a long debate in which Mayor F. H. LaGuardia was praised and blamed for affairs in Harlem, adopted unanimously yesterday a resolution urging the Mayor and the Board of Estimate to provide more money for playground supervision in Harlem and other parts of the city.

There was little or no criticism, however, of the way the Mayor and the Police Department handled the rioting in Harlem Sunday night and Monday morning. The attacks that were made on the Mayor were based on his long-standing policies, which, it was argued, failed to correct conditions that finally led to the outbreak.

Councilman Walter R. Hart, Brooklyn Democrat, charged that the Mayor, practicing false economy, had kept the uniformed police force undermanned for years.

"If we had an adequate police force in this city," Mr. Hart said, "there would have been no $5,000,000 damage in the Harlem riot, there would have been no five dead and hundreds injured."

If the city should be held liable for the damage in Harlem because of inadequate police protection, Mr. Hart added, savings made in successive Police Department budgets would quickly be offset. Mr. Hart declared that it is often difficult to find police in New York when an emergency occurs.

Isaacs Cites Background

Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Manhattan Fusionist, said that the present administration and previous administrations are to blame for not providing more recreational and welfare facilities in Harlem.

Councilman Joseph T. Sharkey, Brooklyn Democrat and majority leader, said that during Mayor LaGuardia's years in office the Federal government has poured huge public works funds into New York for use in correcting unsatisfactory neighborhood conditions and that if these conditions have not been corrected "you know where the finger should be pointed."

Several members, including Councilman A. Clayton Powell jr., Negro clergyman from Harlem, and Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist, praised the Mayor.

"I want to openly commend the Mayor and the police force," Mr. Powell told the Council, "for the most excellent handling of the most difficult situation that has confronted the city in many years. I also want to commend the marvelous editorials in this morning's papers."

Powell to Step Down

Alluding to a remark by a previous speaker that the Harlem riots probably would produce a flood of pre-election legislation, Mr. Powell announced that he will not be a candidate for re-election to the Council in November. While he declined to say any more about his plans for the present, it has been reported that he will be a candidate for Representative.

Mr. Powell's praise of the Police Department drew from Councilman Anthony J. Digiovanna, Brooklyn Democrat, a sarcastic retort that after the Detroit race riots "you practically charged that the police in this city were in cahoots with subversive elements."

The resolution asking the Mayor and the Board of Education to provide funds to keep all the playgrounds open under supervision all day long had been introduced a few weeks ago by Mr. Isaacs and the Democratic majority. Its appearance on the calendar yesterday touched off the Harlem debate with members rising to argue whether the riots were due to lack of playgrounds.

Tug Explodes in Balboa Harbor

BALBOA HEIGHTS, C. Z., Aug. 3 (AP).—The 125-foot American tug Chagres, towing a mud barge, exploded in Balboa Harbor, Pacific entrance to the Panama Canal, today. The tug master and seven crewmen were reported missing

Harlem Quiet; City Tapers Off Its Precautions

State Guard's Alert Ends; Looting Cost $5,000,000; Klan Influence Is Hinted

Precautionary measures put into effect in Harlem on Monday following the widespread rioting of Sunday night and Monday morning were relaxed slightly last night as the teeming area gradually returned to normal.

Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, returning to the scene of the disorders yesterday afternoon, found everything quiet and, as an indication of his satisfaction, turned the maintenance of order in the neighborhood back to Edward M. Butler, deputy chief inspector in charge of the area. Prior to that the Mayor himself had been personally in charge, maintaining an almost constant vigil at the West 123d Street police station since the outbreak of trouble Sunday evening.

After conferring with the Mayor, Inspector Butler moved the modified curfew, which started at 10:30 p. m. Monday, up to 11:30 p. m., after which time all public assembly in the district remains banned.

Relaxation of the war dimout remained in effect from 110th to 155th Street and from Fifth Avenue to St. Nicholas Avenue, and John F. O'Connell, chairman of the State Liquor Authority, announced that the ban on the sale or dispensing of liquor will remain in effect until further notice in the area from 100th to 170th Street from the Hudson to the East River.

Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine kept in effect last night

(Continued on page 10, column 1)

OPINION

It Has Happened Here

It *did* happen here. And—up to the time of writing, at least—we have reason to be thankful for the forms it did *not* take. There were no wholesale clashes between Negroes and whites. Whites in Harlem, other than those in uniform, were in general not molested. Negroes did not seek to break out of Harlem's boundaries into "white" territory, or whites into Harlem.

It is emphatically true that, on the surface at least, what happened in Harlem Sunday night bore more plainly the marks of common hooliganism and vandalism than of racial feeling.

But it would be dangerous for us to judge the comet by its tail alone.

I walked through Harlem this morning, talked to Negroes, loitered near discussion groups, questioned white shopkeepers—most had been in business there for years—as they swept the sidewalks clear of their own windowglass. Everywhere I heard two simple statements iterated and reiterated:

¶ "A white cop shot a Negro soldier."

¶ "Them cops got it coming to them."

In these two statements is the link between Harlem and Detroit, Harlem and Beaumont, Harlem and Mobile, Harlem and Los Angeles. It is not a question as to whether the statements are true or false. What is important is that they epitomize what Negroes are feeling, not only in New York, but everywhere throughout the country. They reflect the racial basis of the disorders.

The Origins Are Elsewhere

In this sense the Harlem disorders did not begin in Harlem Sunday night. They began a long time ago and far away. They began at the obscure moment in our history when the Negroes, as a people, began to sense that they were outcasts, that they could not expect justice from our police or from our courts, that they were alone in an inimical world.

"Them cops got it coming to them."

Resentment of police brutality as a general concept is part and parcel of Negro psychology. In large measure the brutality is real enough. It is a point which has been made so often, it ought not to need repeating. It is a part of the Negro's everyday life throughout the South. In lesser degree, it is a part of his life in the North.

The point to be made here is that the club of the policeman wherever he may be, Beaumont or Detroit or Birmingham, falls not upon one victim alone. It falls upon a race. The bell tolls for all.

That's one factor. The other factor uppermost in the minds of Harlem residents is our treatment of Negro soldiers. It oughtn't to be difficult to grasp the fact that among Negroes, as among all people, the willingness to risk life is accepted as the ultimate sacrifice. That, quite simply, is how the Negro feels about his co-racialist in uniform. He sees the Negro soldier as willing to make that ultimate sacrifice in a cause which has been advertised to him as standing for freedom and democracy. And he sees this Negro in uniform shot to death, as recently happened in Arkansas and Texas; discriminated against in buses and restaurants and stores, as is happening today in a thousand communities; insulted and humiliated and beaten by fellow-Americans who are themselves in uniform, as happens whenever Negro troops are quartered near Southern white troops for any length of time.

The Dilemma Facing the Negro

From this point of view, Harlem's disorders find their roots in the South, where the soil feeds prejudice as swamp muck nourishes fungi. And from this point of view, the Southerners' resentment of Northern "interference" with their race tradition dissolves into dangerous nonsense. We in the North are not "interfering." We are seeking to protect ourselves and all of society. The beating of a Negro in the South, the killing of a Negro soldier, has a direct physical relationship, as well as a moral one, with the race situation everywhere.

The bell, I repeat, tolls for all.

We come now to the specific Harlem situation.

Harlem has been torn, as every Negro community has been torn, between the fight they are asked to wage against strangers for what the white man tells him is freedom, and the concrete discrimination they are asked to endure from neighbors.

This is not an easy decision for the Negro to make. What has happened in Beaumont, Mobile, Detroit, has made it more difficult. The attitude of the police in New York has not helped. The attitude of the people of the city—distant, neglectful, passive, where we should have been eager and active in our sympathy and assistance—has not helped.

It is no good putting exclusive blame on the police for the hatred they have undoubtedly engendered in Harlem. A policeman on a Lenox Ave. beat is in an unfriendly and dangerous world, and he knows it. His reactions are human and instantaneous. He will hit first, and it is only afterward that he may learn his victim didn't intend to strike at all. He finds hmself somewhat in the position of the lone sentry of an occupying army, sensitive to a thousand imaginary dangers as well as the real ones that may beset him.

The Dilemma Facing the Police

It is not the fault of Patrolman X, on Lenox Ave., that housing is bad in Harlem, that the disease incident rate is high, that Negro youngsters have been permitted, criminally, to roam streets without constructive effort to harness and channel their energies along social lines.

Certainly it is not the fault of Patrolman X on Lenox Ave. that ignorant, ill-paid Southern policemen, themselves the victims of broad social forces, have helped to build a reputation for evil around every bluecoat; that prejudices which he may not even share have brought humiliation and suffering to a tenth of the nation.

You cannot, in short, expect Patrolman X, armed with a gun and a badge, single-handedly to alter the course of a complex social and economic development which has been growing like a tidal wave. All you can expect of him is that he take out his billy and hit.

And, as a matter of fact, all reports from Harlem are that Patrolman X, and the police force as a whole, bore themselves with extraordinary restraint during a long and difficult night, using every artifice to avoid violence.

But whatever we could expect of policemen, of ourselves as citizens, and of our City administration as our leaders, we should have expected more.

No one questions Mayor La Guardia's good intentions. He rode through Harlem last night, his small face gray and lined with worry, his manner displaying the deep pain he felt at the shame that had been brought upon "our fair city"—his own words.

The Mayor Failed to Act

Yet we have every right to ask the Mayor to look at certain facts:

More than a year ago, representative Negro groups asked him to do something about Harlem's semi-homeless youngsters, sons of war workers or of parents who, for one reason or another, could not or would not assume the normal responsibilities of parenthood.

Last June 24, shortly after the Detroit riots, he issued a commendable statement on the need for coolness and cooperation in a time of crisis. But he issued this statement not to the city as a whole, but to the Negroes, through the *Amsterdam News*, as if race tension were a purely Negro affair with no relation to whites at all.

On the same day, PM published an editorial by Max Lerner calling for the establishment of a citywide "committee of whites and Negroes, which will concentrate on this problem and nothing else, which will sit in continuous session when necessary and which will mobilize all the resources in the city for influencing opinion."

Mayor La Guardia has done nothing along these lines since June 24. Subsequently he told a PM reporter that the city had every right to be proud of its housing projects, its recreational facilities, its school system, emphasizing that the Negro has shared in these benefits.

It is easy to look at records. It is harder to look up from records and look at facts, and the facts are that all our schools and playgrounds and housing and speeches have not been enough.

Perhaps, in the last analysis, it is not the Mayor's fault. Perhaps we, the citizens of this city, have been guilty of a criminal isolationism. We have been turning our back on Harlem as something unpleasant and difficult and distasteful. We cannot afford isolationism, not behind the Atlantic or the Pacific, and not behind W. 110th St. or Morningside Ave.—Victor H. Bernstein.

Dim-out Deadline Tonight . . . 9:11

NEW YORK

Dewey Orders State Guard to Stand By; Riots Leave Harlem Stores in Shambles

By Kenneth Stewart

Harlem throbbed today with a hideous hangover. The clink of broken glass, the tattoo of hammers on boarded storefronts, little knots of policemen and watchful residents of the area—this was the outward aftermath of one of the city's worst nightmares of violence.

Six persons were dead, at least 300 and possibly 600 injured, about 450 arrested and four to five millions of dollars worth of property destroyed or lost after a night and a morning of rioting and looting.

State Guard Ordered Out

Last night, Gov. Dewey, in the city on State business, directed that the 8000 members of the New York State Guard be kept on hand in case they are needed. Maj. Gen. Ottman, commander of the State Guard, ordered the men to report immediately to their respective armories for drill. Some 1500 of the men are now at Camp Smith, Peekskill, for their Summer encampment. They will remain there for the time being, but emergency transportation has been arranged for them. The order explained that the men were not being called for riot duty. Those told to stay at their present posts included men from these counties: Suffolk, Nassau, Queens, Brooklyn, Staten Island, New York, The Bronx and Westchester. The Guard units include the 15th Regiment, composed entirely of Negroes.

At the 123d St. Precinct, nightsticks were issued to 300 Negro civilians, many of them volunteers requested from trade unions, who were given OCD armbands and told by the police to stand by.

'Not a Race Riot'

Mayor La Guardia, in a series of radio appeals for calm, and other officials, kept repeating: "This is not a race riot." In a sense, but a minor sense, they were correct. It was not like Detroit. No whites roamed the streets clubbing Negroes, overturning and setting fire to cars. Signs of open hostility between Negroes and whites were rare. Larceny seemed to be the main motive; the protest was against property—whole blocks of store windows along W. 125th St. and along Lenox Ave. were shattered and stripped of their stock. Most of the prisoners were young, in their teens or just beyond.

The incidence and underlying causes of the outbreak, however, were racial. It was touched off Sunday night when a white policeman shot and slightly wounded a Negro Army MP who had interfered with the policeman's attempt to arrest a woman for creating a disturbance in a hotel lobby.

The woman, Margaret Polite, of 368 W. 127th St., was held yesterday in $10,000 bail in Felony Court on an assault charge. Mrs. Florine Roberts, of Middletown, Conn., mother of the wounded soldier, Pvt. Robert Bandy, was also held in $10,000 bail on a similar charge. She was accused of striking Patrolman Collins of the 135th St. Station. Collins is the man who shot Bandy in an altercation that started the riot.

A rumor spread wildly north from 110th St. to Harlem River that a policeman had killed a Negro soldier in the presence of his mother.

"The mistreatment of Negro soldiers, particularly in the South," said Walter White, secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, "is a terribly sore point with Negroes. This was the beginning of the trouble. Had it been a Negro civilian, however prominent, who was shot, there would have been no riot."

This, and resentment of police treatment of Negroes in the past, justified or not, the disproportionate rise of food prices in Harlem, the absence of a public market and adequate school, recreational, housing and health facilities, were among the explosive ingredients of the mass madness which was fed by quantities of liquor that poured from broken windows.

"You can't continue to discriminate, humiliate, starve an underprivileged class without expecting a blowoff," said Stanley Isaacs, vice president of the Citywide Citizens Committee on Harlem. "This is a manifestation of conditions not only in New York but throughout the Nation."

Report Recalled

A few hours after the widespread destruction became known, the Committee called attention to a report which was submitted to the Mayor more than a year ago, making specific recommendations of steps that might be taken by the City administration—particularly in the field of juvenile delinquency.

"The failure to provide necessary recreational facilities, proper school accommodations and playgrounds to some extent may be reflected in these current outbreaks," the Committee said.

"While we support the measures the Mayor has taken to quell the outburst, our Committee is urging a full-scale investigation of the causes that precipitated the trouble. An investigation was made of the circumstances surrounding the 1935 riots (when four were killed) but the findings were suppressed. We are urging that any official investigation be given earliest and fullest publicity."

7500 Mobilized

Unofficially, the Committee and other critics of the City's handling of Harlem, paid tribute to the way the Mayor had handled the situation once it exploded, noting that he had held consultations with representatives over a wide range of thought and activity.

Meanwhile, the Mayor had mobilized 6000 policemen and a civilian committee of 1500, composed mostly of Negroes, to enforce order in the shamble left by Sunday night's and Monday morning's roving bands.

A 10:30 curfew was ordered for last night, and the dimout was lifted in the Harlem area to bring any lurking looters out of the shadows. Liquor sales were banned.

The People's Committee of Harlem, meeting late yesterday in the Abyssinian Baptist Church on 138th St., commended the Mayor on restoring order and pledged their support to him in a telegram to Gov. Dewey.

The Committee, however, voted to ask that Harlem rent prices be rolled back to Jan. 1, 1942 levels, appointment of Negroes for Harlem rationing boards, and a better system of education for housewives in the buying of food under the rationing system.

Food Conference

Immediately after making his second broadcast, at 8 in the morning after an all-night vigil, the Mayor, looking tired and haggard, but determined, went to City Hall to see Markets Commissioner Woolley and others to plan for getting food into Harlem.

The total property damage was five times greater than that of the 1935 outbreak, Matthew J. Eder, executive secretary of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, estimated after conferences with the Mayor, Army and Police officials. Of the 17 pawnshops from 110th to 145th Sts., eight reported losses up to $25,000. Of the two score liquor stores in the area, 25 said their total losses, too, exceeded $25,000. Window damage was estimated at from $600,000 to $1,500,000.

Cops Praised

All of those killed were Negroes. Forty-seven of the injured were policemen, including two captains, who were seriously hurt.

"The only whites injured were policemen," said Commissioner Valentine. "It was out-and-out hoodlumism and vandalism."

There was praise everywhere for the way the police conducted themselves after the trouble had broken. They joked, chatted or talked calmly with the residents of Harlem, taking anything that came their way.

"The police have acted most admirably," said City Councilman Adam Clayton Powell. "They have proved themselves New York's finest."

Robert Bandy, the soldier whose shooting by Patrolman Collins in the Hotel Braddock in Harlem precipitated the riot and looting, shakes hands with Ferdinand Smith, vice president of the National Maritime Union, in Bellevue Hospital. The question of who is to blame for the shooting remains unanswered. Bandy's version of the incident differs in major respects from the policeman's story. *PM Photo by Morgan Smith*

18 Pages on the Harlem Rioting

The first 18 pages of today's paper are devoted to telling the whole story of the Harlem riot. To make this complete coverage possible, other departments have been reduced to a minimum and Frank Sullivan and the V-Mail Babies are being held over until tomorrow. This and the next six pages contain news and eyewitness stories, pictures and a map of the riot. The next 10 pages, 10-19, show the rioting and its after effects in pictures. Other departments will be found:

National News	20	Food and Shop News	24
Scuttlebutt	21	Sports	25
Foreign News	21-22	Radio	26
Max Werner	23	Comics	27

'Rioters Had Larceny, Not Murder in Hearts'

Negroes Hope the Violence Is Over; Police Say It Wasn't a Race Riot

By Joe Cummiskey

They told me to talk to people . . .

Come then to Harlem, that teeming section of the city which ordinarily is alight with dark laughter and the inborn rhythm of the Nego race; that section of the city which bubbled and burst with lightning suddenness Sunday night and early yesterday, that segment of squalor and hope, life and despair that every day is with us but is spotlighted now by what has come to pass.

I leave the cause to deeper thinkers than I, to those who must now be worried deeply by the growing succession of such outbreaks, be they race riots in Detroit, Jim Crowism in Army camps, mob violence in the guise of a "zoot suit" catch phrase or the larcenous looting by youngsters ranging from 16 to 21, boys and girls alike, who seem to have been chiefly embroiled in the Harlem blow-up.

The first policeman I saw watched three children about 10 load their arms with shoes from the window shelves of a store on 125th St. He went to them as they walked away and said:

"You can't take that stuff, kids. Put it back."

They did, flashing him a wide grin.

The same cop stopped two young boys who had taken their Airedale for a walk down the debris-littered street.

"Better take the pooch out in the road, fellas, he'll cut his foot pads on that glass."

And after they did, he turned to me:

"Their own shoes don't look any too thick, either," he said.

Little Talking

The bright sunshine of mid-morning streaked Lenox Ave. and 125th, people by the thousands—mothers with their children, fellows with girls, soldiers who had been indoors through it all—walked the sidewalks, looking at the gaping holes in store fronts and saying very little.

Police, who were posted in front of each broken front, kept the crowds moving with a wave of the hand; but it wasn't necessary very often.

I stopped one fellow about 20 who wore a blood-spattered white shirt and whose right ear was piled high with banadages.

"I was walking along during the rumpus when something hit me. It was a broken bottle. My ear started to bleed and I started to run and a cop told me to wait a minute he'd get me to a hospital and they put five stitches in my ear and that's all I know about it."

Then I came to a drug store. The proprietor had been in business for 20 years, had most of his friends right there in Harlem, had dispensed a service that often is the difference between life and death.

"Look, not a bottle on the shelves, not a show case left. No insurance. Can't get it for riots. What'll I do? What could cause such a thing—why should it happen to me?"

No Rough Stuff

A young policeman, worried because he hadn't been able to telephone his wife and baby since he went on duty at 4 a.m., said:

"This ain't no race riot. Those kids who steamed through here had larceny in 'em, but they didn't want to kill anyone. Look at that window there. It isn't broken. Know why? The store's empty, that's why . . . Treat 'em rough? I should say not. If someone come up to me this minute and spit at me I'd turn away. But they won't. Jeez, I'd like to get to a phone to call my wife."

Two members of the civilian patrol walked by. They were broad-shouldered Negroes who had American Legion buttons from World War I. They, with many of their fellows in that service, had done a great job during the touch-and-go hours of early morning. I heard a scrap of their conversation:

"Worse than if we'd been bombed by Hitler. Lookit those stores, lookit the glass. God, I hope it's over . . ."

At lunch time it was hard to find a place to get a sandwich. One eating place—the Solar restaurant at 116th St., a truly cosmopolitan meeting spot of people of all races and creeds—had its front windows smashed in early in the fracas, but kept going somehow.

In the afternoon, various community leaders spoke to the crowds from the loud speaker truck wheeled into the district by WNYC. Listeners were politely silent.

Leaflets Given Out

Adam Clayton Pewell, City Councilman, jumped into action to cover the area with leaflets which said:

¶ Stay off the streets.
¶ Keep children indoors.
¶ Cooperate with the police and the civilian patrol.
¶ Stop looting.
¶ Return to work.
¶ Check every rumor and bring all complaints to the People's Committee or call AU dubon 3-1210.

I stopped an aged citizen of the community who quickly outlined what he thought should be done:

¶ Pay for the goods.
¶ Kill the idea now—once and for all—that Harlem is a crime center.
¶ Provide some play streets for the kids.
¶ Fight the war—not our own people.

"Hitler hates the Negroes more than he hates the Jews," he said, "and it would mean extinction of our race if he ever got over here."

He walked slowly away, muttering: "It's a disgrace . . ."

As I headed home, I wondered what all these hundreds of thousands of people were going to do for food—milk, potatoes and bread. No stores were open.

There wasn't much laughter yesterday—and I wondered in my heart how there ever had been in the first place.

This cash register was found by its owner a block away from the cigar store at 116th St. and Seventh Ave. from which it was taken. The cash drawer still is missing.

'Race' Riot Decried

George Edmund Haynes, executive secretary for race relation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, urged that newspapers and radio stations discontinue the use of the phrase "race riots" in connection with the Harlem disorders.

Just Before Riot Started: Happy, Peaceful Harlem

By Evelyn Seeley

I was in Harlem Sunday night before the trouble started. I went up to call on an old friend, a girl who used to work for us, to see her 10-month-old baby and ask her advice and help in finding a maid now.

Just back from Washington, where race relations are tense and anti-Negro talk is on every taxi driver's tongue, Harlem seemed remarkable.

It was lusty and lively and spontaneous. It was full of talk and music and laughter and intense life. In other parts of the city people stayed in their houses and kept cool. In Harlem everybody came out into the street to meet their friends, or went in and out of neighbors' houses, or sat in windows to watch what went on outside.

Soldiers walked with their girls, arm in arm, giving them a hug once in a while. Whole family groups walked with a service man home on furlough. Girls in gaudy prints and bright colors looked like passing exotic bouquets. Others were dressed with exquisite restraint.

Mothers wheeled their babies out in carriages because it was too hot for them to sleep. Older children played in the street because they would not go to bed anyway if they called them in.

A wide circle gathered around to listen to a small Negro playing a guitar and singing blues in a low moan. Another crowd listened respectfully while a young girl stepped out of a religious band to implore them to repent. Passersby paused to listen to child musicians in a street-stand shriek off-kev songs.

I saw one zoot-suited boy and he simply looked uncomfortably warm in his finery.

Nobody paid any attention to me because I was white. When I asked directions, I got friendly helpful answers or suggestions where to find out.

At our friend's house they were gracious and hospitable. They told me of two girls who had found hours and conditions at a factory and a laundry bad and therefore might be willing to "go back" to domestic work in case hours and conditions were good.

There seemed to be dignity, self-respect, deep loyalties and a great capacity for fun in Harlem last Sunday afternoon. You felt—this is New York, where life is a little better for Negroes. They themselves go more than half-way toward the improvement of race relations. Their self-respect has not been battered down quite so much as in many places. They are not sullen and afraid.

That was Sunday, when the Negroes could relax and be themselves. And at 8 o'clock it was a reassuring picture.

Self-Assaulted

Special Correspondence

BATAVIA, N. Y., Aug. 3.—Dorothy Watt, of Buffalo, who reported she was assaulted by a "tall Negro" near Colden last Friday, has signed a statement admitting her story was false.

State Police said the young woman revealed that bruises and scratches on her body were self-inflicted and that she tore her own clothes.

We first published A New Yorker's Pledge a month ago after the Detroit riots. We are republishing it now because of what happened in Harlem. Sign the pledge and send it to Mayor La Guardia.

A similar pledge, being distributed independently by the Pledge of Unity Campaign, 8 W. 40th St., already has 25,000 signers.

A New Yorker's Pledge

To Mayor La Guardia:

In this hour of danger, when every great city is threatened by race riots, I want to join you in doing my share to keep New York from being a house divided against itself.

I pledge you my aid, as a New Yorker and an American.

I will under no circumstance allow myself to be provoked to disorder.

I will denounce and discredit all rumors that seek to divide and confuse the people of New York.

I will resist every attempt to set me against my fellow-New Yorkers, no matter what their color, religion, or race.

To this task I pledge my energy and my honor.

Name .....

Address .....

(Sign your name, clip out and mail to Mayor La Guardia, City Hall)

Albert Deutsch's Report on the Riot:

Riot Was Inevitable Result of City Inaction

Disorders Confined to Young Hooligan Element

I. Harlem Scene: Monday Morning

Harlem yesterday morning resembled a bombed-out city wherein destruction miraculously stopped at the first story. Virtually every show window along the main shopping districts was shattered, their contents cleaned out or in disorder. Plate glass littered the sidewalks and gutters; trampled clothes, canned goods, bric-a-brac and every conceivable item of goods were strewn about the area.

I walked through Harlem streets alone and unmolested early yesterday morning. The occasional sound of crashing glass indicated where the roving bands of hooligans had struck. Once a bottle thrown from a window or roof crashed about 15 feet from me. At first I thought it was aimed at me, but when I looked back I saw a helmeted policeman, who was the obvious target.

The 28th Precinct Station on W. 123d St. was jammed with lines of incoming and outgoing helmeted cops. The lockup was packed with rioters and looters, mostly people in their late teens and early twenties. In grotesque piles on the outside were articles of clothing, groceries and meats taken from the pilferers.

What impressed me most about the Harlem debacle was:

¶ The youthfulness of the rioters. There can be little doubt that the rioting was almost entirely confined to the hooligan element in Harlem.

¶ The restraint of the overwhelming majority of Harlem citizenry. Most Harlemites went peaceably about their own business, as far as disrupted traffic and suspension of some cross-town bus lines permitted.

¶ The restraint of the police under extreme provocation. A false move, a trigger-quick finger, might have precipitated a bloody disaster that would have made the Draft Riots of 1863 pale into a Sunday-school picnic by comparison. The Mayor deserves high commendation for putting the police under wraps, and for his prompt and efficient handling of the situation in other respects.

¶ The atmosphere of high tension that still persists in Harlem. This tension has been chronic in Harlem for years. It was allowed to reach the breaking point yesterday in the face of repeated warnings that hell might break loose if drastic action weren't taken to prevent it.

II: The Causes

The City and Nation would make a grave mistake if they try to shake off this incident as just another riot. It is not a race riot in the strictly technical sense of physical conflict between two races. But it stems from essentially the same sources as created the bloody outbreaks in Mobile, Beaumont and Detroit. It is, in part, a reaction to these outbreaks. In part, it climaxes the mounting tensions within the Harlem community itself, the piled-up resentments against segregation and discrimination, against the pushing around the Negro has been getting in civil and military life.

The solution to this riot, as to the dangerous tensions accumulating in hundreds of Harlems throughout this land, must be sought in reason, not force; in justice, not repression; in understanding, not blind hate and/or fear.

The 1935 Riot

The Harlem riot of 1935, which resulted in the death of four persons, was likewise touched off by a false rumor based on an actual incident. A 16-year-old Negro boy had stolen a pen-knife in the Kress five-and-dime store on 125th St. He grew hysterical when caught, cried wildly and bit the hand of his captor.

When an ambulance pulled up with an intern to treat the captor's bitten hand, word went around that it had come for the "badly beaten" boy. In no time, rumor had it that the boy was dying. By an odd coincidence, an empty hearse belonging to a nearby garage was parked in back of the Kress store. Now the rumor had the boy dead. (He was later found sleeping blissfully in his aunt's home, unharmed.)

A wild night of store-wrecking, looting and assaults on passersby ensued, with a huge toll of dead, wounded and property damage.

At the insistence of perturbed citizens, Mayor La Guardia created a Commission on Conditions in Harlem to study the outbreak and to report with recommendations to avert future ones.

This Commission, headed by Dr. Charles H. Roberts, made an exhaustive survey and submitted its report to the Mayor in March, 1936. The Mayor suppressed that report, and has never released it. Why? Manifestly because it criticized the City administration and especially the Police Dept.

Had the Mayor acted on that report, drafted by the eminent sociologist, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, the present outbreak might have been averted. His commendable handling of the present riot does not relieve him of responsibility for failing to put into effect the Commission's proposals for preventing it. Nor does it make up for his almost unbroken record of inaction in the face of repeated appeals by responsible civic groups during the years that followed the suppressed report of his own Commission.

Many stores like this were wrecked in the Harlem riot of 1935, also precipitated by a false rumor in the same setting of racial discrimination and segregation.

Predicted Riots

The masterly report of the 1935 Commission, with few changes, is just as valid today as it was when it was submitted.

"Why did the mere detention of a boy for pilfering a knife become the signal for a general alarm throughout the Harlem community?" it asked. "Why did large masses spring up spontaneously and spend their fury in the demolition of property?

"The explosion of Mar. 19 (1935) could never have been set off by the trifling incident had not exciting economic and social forces created a state of emotional tension which sought release upon the slightest provocation. As long as the economic and social forces which were responsible for that condition continue to operate, a state of tension will exist in Harlem and recurrent outbreaks may occur."

Here are some of the main underlying factors of the 1935 disturbance listed by the Commission:

¶ Discrimination against Negroes in employment, which was acutely felt in the sixth year of the Great Depression. The principle of "last to be hired, first to be fired" was generally the rule regarding Negroes. They were mainly confined to unskilled, low-paid jobs—usually menial—where they had jobs.

¶ Overcrowding in Harlem tenements, and rampant rent-gouging of Negro tenants by landlords. The housing preblem was aggravated by the tremendous rate of population increase in Harlem. There were 23,000 Negroes in Harlem in 1910; 204,000 in 1930.

¶ Appalling lack of adequate school, recreational and health facilities in Harlem. This lack was reflected in a high delinquency and disease rate in the area.

¶ Harlem Negroes regarded themselves, with some reason, as particular objects of exploitation by public utility companies.

¶ Discrimination against Negro doctors and nurses in New York hospitals and training schools.

¶ Discrimination in many small things, with accumulating irritations and resentments. For example, when a Harlem block was inhabited by whites, garbage collections were made in rear courts of houses. But when Negroes moved in, they were compelled to place their garbage receptacles in front of buildings.

¶ Instances of police brutality and alleged instances of unlawful entry and search of Harlem homes, without warrants.

In view of the Harlem emergency Albert Deutsch's fourth and last column on Army Psychiatry, scheduled for today, will appear in a later issue.

Protest Reaction

The Commission advanced a series of recommendations aimed to alleviate these conditions in Harlem, insofar as the City administration had it in its power to put them into effect.

The matter of police aggression was particularly stressed in the Commission's report as a source of community resentment in Harlem. Among its recommendations, the Commission included a plan whereby the Mayor would create a committee of from five to seven prominent citizens, Negro and white, to handle complaints against police by Harlem residents.

Proposals Scrapped

The report pointed out that Harlem people were reluctant to complain directly to the Police Dept. for fear of reprisal. It added that tension could be relieved if complaints could be channeled through a citizen's committee.

The Mayor never acted on this proposal. He scrapped many other sound recommendations of his own Commission. Several minor proposals—such as elimination of discrimination against Negro girls in nurses' training schools attached to City hospitals—have since been carried out piecemeal.

But the important ones—such as extension of school, recreational and health facilities—have been largely overlooked.

Little Change

Since 1935 many civic groups, notably the Citywide Citizens Committee on Harlem, have proposed specific measures toward solving the problems of this underprivileged area. With few exceptions, these proposals have been ignored by the City fathers.

No essential reforms have been introduced to alleviate Harlem conditions. The racial tensions, the resentment, the insecurities remain as before.

Economic discrimination and insecurity remain the basic sources of racial tensions in Harlem. For this, the Mayor cannot be blamed. It is primarily a national, not a local problem, and certain City and State laws have been enacted in recent years tending partly to alleviate the condition.

But the Mayor, by acts of commission and omission, has helped aggravate the explosive situation in Harlem. For example, had he refused to permit the city to become a party to the obnoxious Stuyvesant Town project planned by Metropolitan Life, with its publicly announced intention of barring Negroes from tenancy, he would have contributed an ounce of prevention worth all his measures after the riot broke out.

Contempt for Advice

The Mayor is certainly not anti-Negro. Nobody could accuse him of racial intolerance. He has done much to manifest his friendship for the Negro minority. He has appointed a number of qualified Negroes to high office. But individual appointments won't solve the Harlem situation. They don't build schools, playgrounds and other bulwarks against social disorganization. Mayor La Guardia has shown a strange contempt for the sound advice and warnings of experts with a right to be heard and heeded.

Nothing can condone the anti-social acts of the Harlem hoodlums, who destroyed and pillaged other people's property and created trouble for the already heavily burdened decent citizens who make up the bulk of Harlem's population. But we won't get anywhere by contenting ourselves with righteous and smug condemnation. Basic causes must be studied and eliminated.

TOMORROW: How War-Created Tensions Aggravated Harlem Conditions Leading to Riot.

Police Chase Rioter From Harlem Store Window . . .

Motorcycles snorting, police crash over the sidewalk at the corner of 137th St. and Lenox Ave., where a store was being looted. One man is still in the store window, while others dash madly for safety. The man in the white shirt and felt hat in front of the store scooted across the street, only to be felled by a passing car. The police drew their guns and fired a few shots in the air. *Photos by John Albert, PM*

Same scene five minutes later: Pistols still drawn, police have restored order and form a cordon to make sure rioters don't return

CONTINUED

Negroes Guard White Man's Restaurant . . .

These Negroes kept their heads when wild rumors began to race through Harlem. They calmly stood or sat in front of the Lincoln Restaurant to protect it for the white owner, their friend. The proprietor is shown standing in the doorway. *Photo by John Albert, PM*

Pvt. Allen H. Wheeler, Negro, was shot in the foot. He is shown in an ambulance on the way to a hospital. *Photo by Wilbert H. Blanche, PM*

CONTINUED Women Loot 133d St. Dress Shop . . .

Women help themselves to dresses and other articles of clothing from a bashed-in shop at 133d St. and Eighth Ave. *Photos by Hugh Broderick, PM*

Policeman looks over recovered loot in the W. 123d St. Station House. It includes a rack of lamb, liquor, typewriter, groceries.

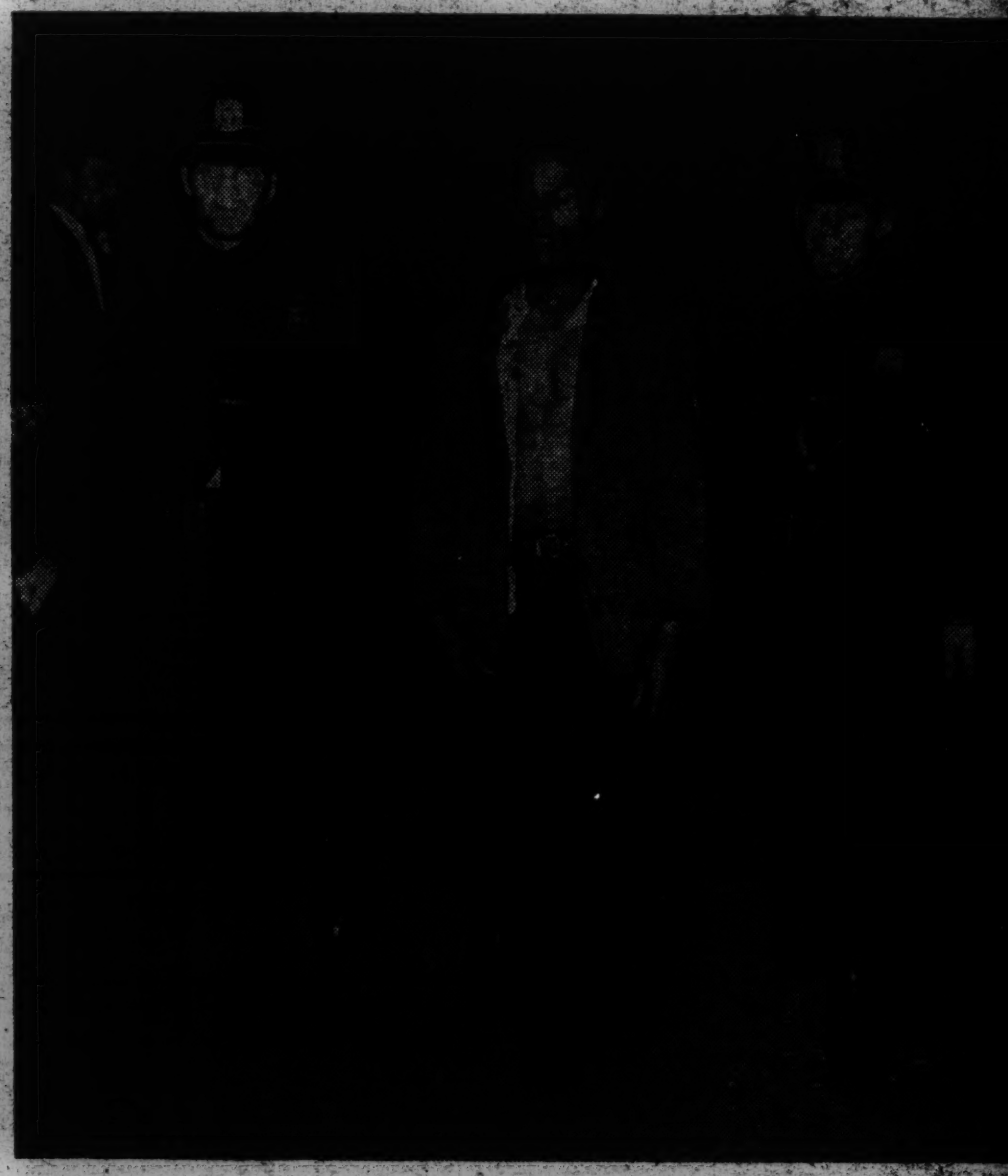
Police reinforcements from downtown leave in commandeered truck from Second Ave. and W. Houston St. *PM Photo by Wilbert Blanche*

CONTINUED Hospitals and Police Stations Jammed . . .

A Negro, bleeding from head wounds, walks away from the scene of the rioting in Harlem. *Photo by John Albert, PM*

A man caught by police is removed through the window of a looted tailor shop at 2044 Seventh Ave. *Photo by Morris Gordon, PM*

With bandaged heads, two women walk away after being treated for injuries received in the riot. *Photo by John Albert, PM*



Policemen lead a Negro, who has suffered head injuries, to the 28th Precinct Station. *Wilbert H. Blanche, PM*

OPINION

Krock of Brass

Arthur Krock of the *Times* devoted his Tuesday column to the Negro question. He begins by viewing with alarm. This is an entirely unexceptionable, one might almost say a mandatory, approach to the question. But I now go on to his fourth paragraph:

"Negroes, being American citizens like any others, have been requistioned for military service in the defense of the country. *In this service they have lived where no such social exclusions are practiced against them as in most parts of the United States;* and, as soldiers and sailors, they have enjoyed living conditions superior to those which they have been able to obtain out of their share of the national economy. These experiences have aroused feelings which, transmitted to their families and friends at home, have brought about an urge for more rapid improvement in their way of life at home than is practicable or feasible." (*Italics ours.*)

The paragraph makes me wonder what Arthur Krock does in his spare time. Or, for that matter, during his working hours. Does he ever, for instance, read a newspaper? I don't mean PM, I mean his own paper, the *Times*. I have before me a *Times* dispatch dated May 7, this year, telling of the killing of a Negro private by a white colonel at Selfridge Field.

I must presume that, under Krock's theory, Negro soldiers are so elated at their opportunities for getting killed by fellow Americans that they are now urging their families back home to demand equal opportunities.

What else, besides neglecting newspapers, does Krock do in his spare and working hours? Does he ever talk to people who know something about anything? I don't mean Negro leaders like William H. Hastie or Max Yergan, whom Krock might consider to be slightly biased. I mean men like Sen. Bankhead of Alabama.

Last August, Bankhead grew so fearful of the tension between Negro and white soldiers in the South that he urged Gen. Marshall to stop sending Northern Negroes down there for training. What was this tension of which Bankhead spoke? Was the tension aroused by Negro soldiers so overwhelmed by the lack of discrimination, the better living conditions, the general advancement of their status that they now enjoyed in the Army, that they simply couldn't stand it any more?

I could go on like this for a long time, but I will spare Krock's feelings. I will simply point out to him some elementary facts which he could have gotten by walking or telephoning from his office to the War Dept. There they would have informed him that Negro soldiers, aside from being victimized by the fixed Jim Crow practice in the Army itself, are deliberately fettered by the same civil laws and local traditions which apply to the community where they are stationed.

This is not accidental. It is deliberate Army policy. To make things a little clearer for Krock, I quote now from a document entitled *Instruction, Memorandum No. 5*, issued by the War Dept. at Camp Lee, Va.:

". . . . Attention is called to the laws of Virginia requiring the segregation or separation of the white and colored races in RAILROAD TRAINS . . . ELECTRIC RAILWAY CARS and BUSSES. . . .

". . . . Attention is also called to the laws of Virginia requiring the segregation or separation of the white and colored races in public halls, theaters, motion picture shows or any place of public entertainment. . . ."

I go on to Krock's sixth paragraph:

"Negro leaders like Booker T. Washington and the late Dr. Carver, whose counsel was that their people should recognize the facts of nature and prefer to exist socially apart—so long as their existence was on an equitable economic and political plane—have been ridiculed as 'Uncle Toms' by the political demagogs of both colors."

What "facts of nature" is Krock talking about? Does he mean that the adrenalin glands of the white infant begin to work overtime when a Negro infant is placed within view, and that the white infant thereupon howls lustily: "Lynch him! Lynch him!" Does he mean that brown bears by instinct don't like white bears, or that Rhode Island Reds instinctively dislike White Leghorns? I doubt very much whether Dr. Carver, who was a scientist, or Booker T. Washington, who was an educator, ever used the phrase "fact of nature" in connection with racial discrimination. The only people I know who habitually talk about "natural" discrimination are Hitler's overworked scientists.—VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN.

THE NEW LEADER
Saturday, August 28, 1943

Negro Labor Acts on the Harlem Riot

The Negro Labor Assembly, composed of delegates from unions both AFL and CIO affiliated with the Negro Labor Committee, meeting in an emergency session Friday evening, August 13, in the Harlem Labor Center, unanimously adopted and sent to Mayor La Guardia resolutions on the Harlem riot, a partial text of which follows:

1—That the Mayor call upon the President of the United States to issue an executive order abolishing all forms of segregation, racial discrimination and jimcrowism in the various governmental departments and in the armed forces of the United States.

2—That the Mayor appoint a commission on race relations consisting of all races, creeds and colors and including representatives of organized labor both A. F. of L. and CIO.

3—That the Mayor appoint two Negro citizens, one as a member of the Board of Education and the other as a member of the Executive Administrative Staff of the Board of Education. Also that the Mayor appoint a Negro to serve as one of his ranking secretaries, and that a Negro be appointed as a deputy police commissioner.

4—That steps be taken at once to hold down rents and that all rules and regulations effecting repairs, upkeep and sanitary conditions in the homes be rigorously enforced.

5—That the Mayor instruct the Department of Weights and Measures to pay more attention to the conditions in Harlem over which that department has jurisdiction.

6—That the city of New York secure available buildings to be used for indoor concerts, skating rinks and other recreational and cultural activities; and that such buildings be placed under the supervision of the appropriate department of the City Administration.

Members of the assembly were warm in their commendation and satisfaction with the service given the Mayor and the community by their chairman, Frank R. Crosswaith and by their vice chairman A. Phillip Randolph, who addressed the rioting addressed crowds on the streets and

(Continued on Page Seven)

Negro Labor

(Continued from Page Two)

ver the radio, in an effort to restore and maintain order.

A resolution was adopted approving the establishment in Harlem of a branch of the Office of Price Administration.

The assembly went on record as being strongly opposed to the proposed Austin-Wadsworth "draft labor bill" as a "dangerously broad step toward the Fascist and Nazi concept of compulsory labor," pointing out that only free and unfettered labor can maintain the already brilliant record of the highest production output in the world. It was pointed out that the skill of the vast number of available Negro men and women were not being used to ease the so-called manpower shortage.

A statement was authorized sent to Attorney General Biddle deploring the shocking proposal in his report to President Roosevelt that Negroes be restricted or denied their constitutional rights to migrate to certain cities and defense areas. The assembly characterized this proposal an "un-American, illegal and unjust" and will do much to aggravate racial tensions. It was also pointed out that the recommendation could easily become a precedent for the restriction of rights of other or all minority groups.

The delegates also expressed great concern and disappointment that Mr. Biddle had not included representatives of labor on his private committee to carry on educational and publicity activities in various communities, since no group named by him is in such close touch with the problems involved or possessed with such first hand knowledge as are the laboring people.

Saturday, August 28, 1943
NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS

FEPC to Check Kaiser's Action

Msgr. Francis J. Haas, Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice this week stated that the Kaiser Shipyards in the Portland-Vancouver area and the Boilermakers Unions-AFL, which hold closed shop contracts covering 75% of the 80,000 workers employed in these yards, have been "requested to restore the status of discharged workers and efforts are now being made by the committee to bring about the reinstatement of these discharged workers pending full investigation and final action by the committee".

Msgr. Haas' action was revealed in his response to a letter from Charles A. Collins, in which the Negro Labor Victory Committee charged that the Kaiser Co. "has continued to discharge Negro workers for the reason that they are not members of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers". Mr. Collins' letter followed a special report received from the Shipyard Negro Organization for Victory of Portland, Oregon, which stated that dismissals had continued up to August 4th.

NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 2, 194

PRESIDENT ADDS TO C.F.E.P.

Three Each Named From Labor and Industry to Aid Msgr. Haas

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 1—President Roosevelt named today six members of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, of which the Right Rev. Francis J. Haas is chairman.

The members are as follows:

Representing Labor — John Brophy, CIO? Milton P. Webster, international vice president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Boris Shishkin, AFL.

Representing Industry — Miss Sara Southall, supervisor of employment and Service, International Harvester Company; P. B. Young, publisher, Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, and Samuel Zemurray, president United Fruit Company.

The committee is planning to hold hearings in Washington and

Army Jails, Demotes Defender of Negro Soldiers

Liberal Leaders Appeal His Case to Roosevelt

By Gordon H. Cole
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—Alton Levy of the Bronx is in the guard house today at Lincoln, Neb.

Pvt. Levy didn't like the discrimination against Negroes at the Lincoln Air Base, and because he had been an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers, AFL, he said so—in staff meetings and out. He was a staff sergeant then.

Levy was recently charged with conduct unbecoming a soldier, court-martialed, reduced to the rank of private, and sentenced to four months in the guard house at hard labor with an $18-a-month forfeiture of pay.

A group of 20 liberal leaders headed by William M. Agar, director of Freedom House, and Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Morris Milgram, of the Workers' Defense League, appealed Levy's case to President Roosevelt today.

Investigation Asked

In a letter to the Chief Executive, these men reported:

"In view of the fact that the major charges against Levy seem to have been his criticism of the treatment of Negroes in the camp, we feel that it is extremely important that you conduct a full review of this case and a thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding it."

The Army's side of the case can't be told today. Capt. Carroll West, public relations officer at Lincoln Air Base, explained that the findings of the court-martial have not yet been published and until they are, Army regulations forbid comment.

The other side, Pvt. Levy's, can be told now from letters he wrote his girl friend before and during the court-martial.

Tells of Conditions

Levy, who is 29, attended De Witt Clinton High School and night classes at City College of New York. He is an amateur writer of songs and skits some of which have toured Army posts. His biggest hit is *G I Love You*.

Here is his story:

"July 28, 19[illegible]

"I told you, I think, that we have about 300 Negro inductees we are training. Well, they originally segregated them in barracks about two miles from where we live.

"Most of the officers in charge of them are Southerners. Naturally, as a result, they are treated like dogs. They are kept in camp while the others are allowed out. They sleep on old canvas cots while the others sleep on the new Army cots with mattresses and 'all the trimmin's.' And they are hounded and harassed and yelled at and cursed and insulted and generally treated abominably.

"They're afraid to move. They get no sympathy and no help. It's unbelievable. I have had ever so many fights about it. I've argued and protested but all in vain. Today, the commanding officer asked me if I wanted to take charge of the office they've set up in the Negro area. I immediately said yes and was assigned there.

"I have moved down here and am, so far, the only white living in the area. I don't know how much good I'll be able to do for them. I may be able to get them more passes and a recreation hall for themselves. Treatment is usually a reflection of the officer in charge so changes will depend upon his attitude.

"I have been protesting against the treatment they have been getting ever since I arrived here. At staff meetings and in sessions with the officers I have made my criticism clear. In fact, while I have not been the only one to feel this way, I have been the only one to make my feelings public to officers and enlisted men.

"Already I am called 'nigger lover,' etc."

• • •

Groups Battle

"Aug. 5, 1943.

"As I feared, a blow-up finally did take place. The other night a group of our boys tangled with a group of Mexican illiterates in the latrine. Knives were used and when they proved insufficient they broke toilet seats in half and beat each other's brains out.

"Four men were seriously hurt—in the hospital. Scores more have bumps, bruises, black eyes and sundry marks of battle. At 2:30 in the morning they found a staff sergeant unconscious on the road, his face and body slashed and his head battered. He's not expected to live.

"It was quite a row! It took a major, two captains, three lieutenants and 15 MPs with machine guns to break it up finally. This time, it just so happens that it was a fight between the Negroes and Mexicans. The next time the whites will be involved. It must be. The treatment they get has so aroused them that some slight incident will set off the sparks . . . ."

• • •

Quizzed by Army

Early in August, shortly after the riot, Levy wrote that he had been examined by Intelligence officers about objections he was supposed to have made to the treatment of Negroes.

Levy admitted that he had made the statements about the Negroes, but denied other charges which included an allegation that he had termed the general a "drunkard." On Aug. 13, Levy was tried. Chief testimony against him was given by Cpl. Helen Perkins of the WAC, and another girl, whom Levy and other soldiers had met socially. Cpl. Perkins also gave evidence against four other soldiers she had "dated." The others turned in were named Rothman, Greenbaum, Josephson and Bolton.

Cpl. Perkins testified that she had been shocked at the "unpatriotic" and "reprehensible" statements of Levy about the treatment of Negroes.

Levy denied all the charges except the statements about mistreatment of Negroes. As to them, Levy said: "I wouldn't deny them if I could. I said them and I still say them."

The court-martial found Levy guilty of all charges.

Rivers Appointed a Judge, But ABA Still Bars Him

Assistant DA Says His Application for Membership 'Still Pends'

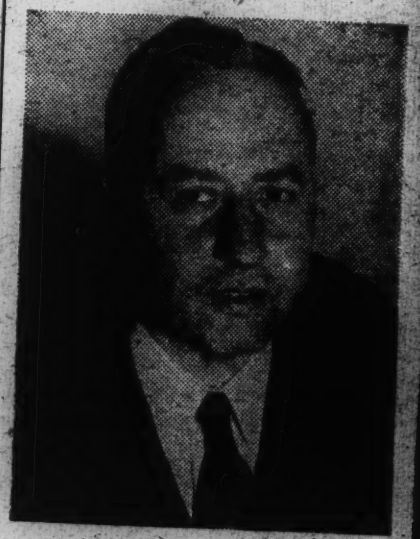
Assistant District Attorney Francis Ellis Rivers, a Negro, whom the ABA (American Bar Assn.) still has not accepted as a member, was appointed a Justice of the City Court by Gov. Dewey yesterday. The post pays $17,500 annually.

Appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Justice James C. Madigan, Rivers will hold office only until Dec. 31, unless he is a successful candidate in the November election.

He indicated yesterday that he would be a candidate. A Republican, Rivers said he would be "very happy if the Republican County Committee honors me with the designation when it meets tomorrow night."

Observers expect Rivers will be the Republican nominee, probably running against Joseph Higgins, Collector of Internal Revenue, on the Democratic slate. The New York County Committee of the American Labor Party, which is controlled by the left wing, is expected to indorse Rivers, despite his support of Dewey.

He was the first Negro to be elected to membership in the [illegible]



Francis E. Rivers

of the Bar of the City of New York. He also belongs to the New York County Lawyers Assn. Failure of the ABA to accept his application for membership a few months ago caused a storm of protest. Arthur Garfield Hays, director of the American Civil Liberties Union Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, of General Sessions, and other attorneys resigned from the ABA in protest.

Rivers yesterday described his ABA application as "still pending."

Albert Deutsch is on vacation. His column will resume on his return.

N.Y. Negroes Denied Even Jim Crow Travel in South

ICC Forced to Act to Get Group Home From Virginia Town

By William Fisher

PM Some New York Negroes charge that Southern railroads no longer provide even Jim Crow coaches for Negro passengers, but only a few seats set aside for them in baggage cars.

When these seats are occupied, the other travelers are told "No room for colored," Negro passengers say. So they wait for a baggage car with space, sometimes as many as 24 hours later.

Formerly Southern railroads, despite State laws requiring segregation of Negro passengers, boasted "equal" accommodations. Today railroad officials point to wartime traffic loads as the reason for adding discrimination to segregated travel arrangements for Negroes.

The ICC (Interstate Commerce Commission) was forced to act to get Mrs. Mary Thompson, a New York City Dept. of Health nurse, and her sister, Miss Florence Waller, an assembler for the Amalgamated Radio Television Corp., 476 Broadway, both of 1386 Prospect Ave., The Bronx, back to their jobs from Orange, Va., where they had been stranded more than a day.

'75 Barred

With her two-year-old niece, Ernestine Worthan, and Miss Waller, Mrs. Thompson—whose husband is in the Army—went to Orange to spend the Labor Day week end with her sick mother. When they tried to board an overdue Chesapeake and Ohio train about 11 a.m. Labor Day, Mrs. Thompson says, they weren't allowed to get on the Jim Crow car. Nor were the 75-odd other Negroes on the platform, most of whom were women with babies in their arms.

The conductor said: "No room for colored; whites only." A Southern Railway train, which arrived an hour later, also refused to take the Negroes, Mrs. Thompson declared.

Three more trains, two of them belonging to the Southern Railway, the other a C & O, passed them up the same day. All of the trains had only crowded half-coaches for Negroes, Mrs. Thompson says, while many of the "white" coaches were not crowded.

Meeting the same situation again the next day, Mrs. Thompson made herself spokesman for the group and telephoned the People's Committee of New York, an anti-discrimination group. The Committee's attorney, Harrison S. Jackson, addressed a telegram to the ICC which said in part:

"Some of the persons (denied transportation) are destitute and without funds to exist on. Therefore I am requesting you to take action immediately to ascertain why agents and conductors of trains running through Orange continue to tell these persons 'No Negroes allowed.'"

Mrs. Mary Thompson

The ICC wired the Committee last Wednesday that the "entire party" left Orange on Southern Railway trains No. 136 and 34 about 7:30 and 11:40 p.m. Tuesday night for New York.

'Like Subway Jam'

Mrs. Thompson says the train she rode was a solid mail train with a half-coach put on especially for the Negroes. "My friend and I took turns holding my niece," she says. "We stood all the way to Washington. It was just like a subway rush hour jam."

"That probably happens every day to more whites than Negroes," says D. H. Beck, Southern Railway passenger agent. "Color doesn't enter the picture. We just haven't enough equipment these days."

W. R. Rhodes, passenger agent of the C & O, said his line has no trains passing through Orange at any of the hours mentioned by Mrs. Thompson.

But S. G. Lonergan, station master at Orange, said:

"They (Negroes) were so thick around here Labor Day that both the C & O and the Southern had to pass 'em up. No sir! They can't go in the white coach."

ICC Service Director Homer C. King declined to say whether his office was investigating the complaint lodged with him by the People's Committee.

Murray Hits Labor Draft

CIO President Philip Murray again registered his opposition to the Austin-Wadsworth (labor draft) bill last night, asserting that in view of production records to date, "it is the conviction of the CIO that there is obviously no need to conscript labor." He spoke at Madison Square Garden at the opening of the ninth national convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. The convention will continue through Friday at the Hotel New Yorker.

AFL Scores Ban On Jobs For Negroes, Pledges Drive To Remove Prejudice

Boston.—The American Federation of Labor. by unanimous convention action, pledged itself to do everything in its power to eliminate prejudice against Negroes in industry.

This goal, the convention held, cannot be achieved by decrees, threats or force from on high. It requires intelligent, systematic educational efforts to wipe out prejudice and to remove handicaps suffered by workers because of their race, creed or color. For this reason, the convention directed that its progressive and forward-looking declaration be given the widest possible publicity. It follows:

"The founders of the American Federation of Labor since their inception were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with, or prevent thoroughgoing organization of all wage earners. They made one of the cornerstones of the great trade union structure they were determined to erect—the principle that the right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be limited, or restricted in any manner, because of creed, color or race.

"The American Federation of Labor at that time, and ever since, has been the principal constructive and influential force in our country in giving practical application to that basic principle. We can examine the record of progress made in eliminating prejudices against so-called minority groups, with gratification and sincere pride.

"The principle announced over sixty years ago has been given increasing practical application. Distinctions, because of national origin within our trade union movement, have been very largely eliminated. The color bar has been removed to such an extent that labor representatives of our colored members inform us that over half a million of their race are now dues paying members of the American Federation of Labor. This is the largest organization of colored workers in the world.

"It is evident however, that in some portions of our country there still remain among workers lingering suspicions, prejudices and traditions fostered by conditions long since passed, but which still operate to prevent the complete application of that great principle upon which our trade union structure has been erected.

"The world war in which our country is now engaged, which involves safeguarding the vital principle of free institutions under government by law, enacted by the peoples' representatives for the people, demands that national unity must be had and that all prejudices which interfere with this unity must be eliminated.

"Those in our armed forces are risking their lives in our country's defense, without thought of national origin or the color which nature has given them. All of them are the nation's defenders. When the war ends those who are wage earners must be free to return to peaceful occupations as equals in the enjoyment of all of the rights and opportunities enjoyed by others in our trade union movement.

"National origin, race or color must in no manner or form restrict any American from a free opportunity to prepare himself to become a skilled mechanic, a craftsman, and take his place as such in any employment requiring the skill which he has acquired. The doors of our trade union movement must be open. This country must not maintain an industrial standard which discriminates against a wage earner because of his color.

"Substantial progress has been made in eliminating prejudices, but there still remains an obligation upon the American Federation of Labor to carry on and expand the good work it has already done, so that the principle of industrial equality of all men will be established beyond question in every section of our country.

"It is obvious that the goal we aim for, the best interests of the American people as a whole, and our democratic way of life, cannot be secured by one stroke or through the method of decrees, mechanical orders or threats handed down from on high. What is required is intelligent, systematic, educational efforts to speed the day when there will no longer exist in the industrial field any prejudices or handicaps because of racial origin or color.

"So that vitality and action can be given to this declaration of principle and of policy, your committee recommends that these declarations be given the widest possible publicity, and that all of the educational facilities of our trade union movement be used in furthering the objectives which have been herein set forth.

"Your committee recommends affirmation of the action taken by the last convention endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

"The Post War Problems Committee of the AFL has appointed a subcommittee to deal with this and other minority questions. On this subcommittee the minority groups, including the colored race, are represented. Your committee is confident that as the results of this committee's work definite progress will be made."

Father Haas Quits FEPC For Bishopric Post of His Church

By Andrew T. Jackson

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 8. (ANP)—The resignation Saturday of Msgr. Francis J. Haas, chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice came with dramatic suddenness. There has been no outward indication to press and public of the contemplated resignation. Following so closely upon the railroad hearings and the anticipated West Coast Boilermakers hearings, the resignation of Msgr. Haas, carries deep significance.

Rapids it will be necessary that I re- fore the appointment of a successor, Chairman Haas said: "To assume my duties as bishop of Grand Rapids it will be necessary that I sign as chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. In the degree that I know the importance of the work of that committee to the war effort and [illegible] democracy, I have it with profound regret.

Bishop-elect Haas has long been known as one of the most active Catholic prelates in the field of social and labor relations. As a member of the National Catholic Labor Department conciliator for the last eight years, he has participated in the settlement of more than 1,500 strikes. His appointment last May to the chairmanship of the FEPC was hailed by both labor and management alike as one of the most astute appointments that the President has made. His resignation leaves the FEPC at the mercy of congress and with 1944 just around the corner, observers here are extremely cautious to make any predictions as to the future.

Hearings on the West Coast Boilermakers [illegible] in Portland, Ore., Nov. 15 and 16th, and in Los Angeles Nov. 19 and 20. George E. C. Hayes, prominent Washington attorney, and Marvin Harrison, white, of Cleveland, will represent FEPC on both hearings.

Saturday, September 18, 1943

A. Philip Randolph Leads Drive for Permanent FEPC

By DANIEL BELL

Special to THE NEW LEADER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The deep-timbred voice of A. Philip Randolph filled the small hall of the Y.M.C.A. on 12th and T Street:

"America's bill of rights is only a wonderful gesture if men and women are denied a livelihood because of their race, color or creed.

"We are asking for an Economic Bill of Rights. We have here an Act to eliminate discrimination in employment, an act to create a Fair Employment Practices Court, an Act in which Congress will state as national policy that Democracy does not economize a color line."

Thus was keynoted a campaign that may well prove to be decisive in the fight to end discrimination in America.

Nearly 100 delegates had assembled here in conference to work out ways and means of strengthening the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. The outcome was a bill designed to create a permanent FEPC along parallel lines to the National Labor Relations Board. Where one agency acts to eliminate anti-union practices, this new agency is designed with full powers to end discriminatory racial practices.

The Negro Problem—most writers now use caps here—has come commonly to be regarded as the major social problem on the home front. Colored youths are asked to serve in the Army, yet they are segregated and in many regions subjected to petty insults and discriminations. In war industries, Negro workers are refused jobs commensurate with their skills, despite increasing manpower shortages.

Six months before Pearl Harbor, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, told the President that the Negroes were going to "March on Washington" to protest the discrimination in industry and Army. The result was Executive Order 8802, stating there shall be no discrimination in employment of workers; and the creation of a Fair Employment Practices Committee.

As James Rorty has observed: "The FEPC is both one of the most significant and one of the most frail of Mr. Roosevelt's war-time creations." The "significance" lies in its potentialities, the "frailty" in its operations.

The FEPC, at present, simply has the power to investigate violations of the Executive Order and make them public. Its very weakness has made the FEPC the target of powerful vested interest groups, notably the southern reactionaries, the railroad interests and the railroad unions, where discrimination is rampant. Last year, after a successful hearing in Birmingham, the FEPC, under pressure from Southerners, was transferred from the status of an independent agency to the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission and Paul V. McNutt. There the FEPC was hamstrung and balked. Recently the FEPC was reorganized under the chairmanship of Msgr. Francis Haas, and it has begun again hearings on discrimination.

This week the FEPC opened hearings on the discrimination against southern locomotive firemen who are being replaced on the jobs by white firemen after the introduction of labor-saving Diesel machinery.

But Negro groups feel that the FEPC, as presently constituted, is basically ineffectual. Under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, a group of liberal Negro and white leaders met this week in Washington to discuss the creation of a permanent FEPC. A legal committee, headed by Max Delson of New York, brought in a bill that had been prepared in consultation with experts in several government departments.

This bill for a Fair Employment Practices Act may be destined as one of the most progressive and far-reaching legislative steps of the past 75 years. The bill will stir up a hornet's nest of opposition from Southern reactionaries and Tory forces. Yet it is a "natural" step in the fight for equal rights for minorities.

It is obvious that all Negro groups will rally to support of the bill, although it is known that A. Philip Randolph, the leader in this fight, has not stood too well lately in the Administration's favor because of his militancy in fighting for Negro rights.

THE DAILY BULLETIN

WILLKIE TELLS NEGROES OF HIS POST WAR AIMS

By ROBERT SMITH

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 6.—(ANP)—"If I am elected President of the United States, I am devoted to make this country a better place for the Negro people to live in," was the pronouncement of Wendell L. Willkie, 1940 Republican presidential nominee at his city-wide press conference at the Biltmore Hotel.

Here in the city to address a series of third war bonds meetings, the author of "One World," when asked to be more specific, told reporters, "The Negro People Are Americans, as such they are entitled to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by any other group in this country."

Continuing his clarification, Mr. Willkie declared: "Soon after the Detroit riots, I went on record over the air as advocating better housing facilities, equal educational opportunities, more and better-type jobs and in general freedom to live and enjoy the blessings of this great country."

While Mr. Willkie was indefinite regarding whether he would be the Negro's favorite candidate in the coming presidential elections, he however assured his press conference that he has made many more friends in the group since 1940.

•"I cannot go on record as saying that I will be the favorite of the Negro people, but this I know, due to my expressed beliefs, and my ex- I have won their confidence. Their emplification of them, I feel that appreciation will be shown by the stand they will take at the polls.

•"Politics or no politics, vote or no vote, I have never hedged on the race question. I have always said the things I believe in. I have always, and will always fight for the principles that I believe are just and right regardless of race, color or creed."

•Informed of the unhealthy housing situation in Los Angeles as it pertains to the Negro people, when queried about a possible solution, Mr. Willkie declared, "It would seem that such a condition calls for continued fight on the part of civic and other interested groups.

•"Quite often when the city, state and federal governments ignore a situation: it may be due to the fact that the injured persons do not fight hard and seriously enough. If they are, then they must not give up the ship."

•Mr. Willkie, who will definitely throw his hat in the ring as a candidate for President next year, stated that he was quite elated over the support given the war effort by Negroes all over the country and particularly the present bond drive.

Following his conference, he left for Sacramento to confer with Gov. Earl Warren.

Friday, October 29, 1943

THE BUCKEYE REVIEW

Roosevelt Names Ross FEPC Head

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice this week made public President Roosevelt's letter of appointment to Malcolm Ross as Chairman of the Committee.

The full text of the letter follows:

Ocober 18, 1943

My dear Mr. Ross:

I hereby appoint you Chairman of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive Order 8802 as amended on May 27, 1943.

This order prohibits discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. It also provides assurance of participation in the war program of all workers including those who have not been employed at their full skills. At a time when the labor and skills of all Americans are greatly needed, the work of the Committee is essential to our effort for victory.

Under your prudent and able direction I am confident that the Committee will continue its excellent work and make further progress in the solution of the difficult problems of discrimination in industry.

Cordially yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Mr. Malcolm Ross
Fair Employment Prtctice Com.
Washington, D. C.

Monday, October 4, 1943

FEPC reveals Negro power says Randolph

NEW YORK — A Philip Randolph, revealing that he had sat in on the FEPC hearings investigating discrimination in the railroad industry, held in Washington last week, declared that he considers that the hearings were of "far reaching significance."

Leader of the March On Washington Movement, Randolph asserted that the greatest lesson that the railroad hearings hold for the Negro is that the race possesses the "power to bring about profound and constructive economic, political, and social changes because had it not been for the March On Washington Movement, the President's Executive Order 8802 would not have been issued, under which FEPC was established, and the railroad hearings would not have been held."

Randolph pointed out that the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice "now has the obligation and job to work out findings based upon evidence and testimony submitted concerning racial discriminations in the railroad industry, and issue cease and desist orders that will disestablish and abolish forthwith the agreement between the South-eastern Carriers Conference Committee, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, which if permitted to continue in existence will eliminate Negroes from the engine cabs throughout the country.

"Not only should the railroad hearings provide the basis for FEPC bringing a halt to the elimination of Negro firemen from the railroad industry, but also the elimination of Negro breakmen, flagmen, switchmen, and the policy of confining Negro railroad workers to a blind-alley, dead-end employment condition under which promotion and the recognition of their seniority rights are unheard of and impossible," Randolph stat-

25,000 in New York Back-the-Attack Parade

Proclaimed by a thundering Army band, the "New York Backs the Attack" parade swings up Broadway in a climactic punctuation of the greatest Bond-selling campaign in history. Organized labor turned out strongly for the show, the AFL and the CIO each being represented by units of 1000 marchers.

...n Derby and the Black Fedora, each of which covers a famous head, ... by side in an Army jeep. Under the toppers, of course, are Al and Florello.

The boys who keep the boys in line get in line themselves. A contingent of MPs strides past the Bond parade reviewing stand in Times Square, near the Duffy statue.

Photos by John Albert, PM

Hillburn Parents Ready for Jail in Fight on Jim Crow

Subpenas Fail to Frighten Group Into Accepting Segregation

By Evelyn Seeley

Four mothers, 18 fathers, 49 children, and the 18 wives of the 18 fathers went solidly to Children's Court in New City, N. Y., today. They had been summoned because of refusal to send the children to the Jim Crow school in Hillburn, N. Y., to which they were assigned.

The Negro section of Hillburn was cheerful, but tense, as almost 100 men, women and kids donned their most dignified clothes to go to court on an old, deep fight against discrimination, only now coming to a crisis in this Jim Crow outpost.

The four mothers (heads of their families because of the Army, death, or separation) and all but three of the 18 fathers stood ready to accept jail sentence rather than submit to the $10 fine for violation of school-attendance laws, which they do not admit.

Teachers Summoned

"They thought these subpenas would frighten us into sending our children back to Brook school Monday," said Mrs. William Miller, mother of Marvin, 7.

The three teachers of the Negro school—Kate Savery, Mrs. Ethel Barton and Mildred VanDunk—went to court too, reluctantly, by summons issued by the school board yesterday, carrying attendance records that showed: "Present—Four; Absent—50." They did not want to be in a position of testifying against the parents, but the parents held no such feeling against the teachers, knowing well their sympathy in this fight.

"If we were parents, we'd do the same," the teachers have said repeatedly.

The business of war production at the Mahwah, N. J., foundry of the American Brake Shoe Co. stood in some danger of being tied up in the absence of 14 of the 18 subpenaed fathers. These 14 are key men. According to one worker, the superintendent is worried about the situation. Replacing a crane operator, for instance, is not simple. Any man might be able to operate a crane, but only a highly-skilled worker knows how to handle the bucket of hot metal over the heads of the workers.

Charges

The Hillburn school board, through William E. Miele, its attorney, will charge that the children are truants and their parents violators of attendance laws because they refused to accept an arbitrary re-zoning that admitted 32 Negro children to the good Hillburn Main school and sent 56 back to the segregated ill-conditioned Brook. The Negro parents, through Thurgood Marshall, counsel for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colorder People, will charge that the school board itself has broken the law.

The Negro children did not go back to Brook school, but set up a makeshift school of their own, pending settlement, in the Negro chapel.

The 18 mothers, whose husbands got the 18 subpenaes, went along today, despite the likelihood that only those summoned would be admitted into court. They had stayed up late last night coaching their husbands in the background of the situation.

"We don't understand why they didn't subpena us," said Mrs. Margaret VanDunk, whose husband is a crane operator at the factory. "Probably because they know we've done all the work and we can talk better about it than our men can. But the men are cool-headed and fine and we told them all we know."

Women Prepared

The women had understood that either parent could be held culpable and had planned to take the penalty so their husbands could go on working in the factory. They had even planned to divide up the care of their youngsters with the Negroes across the brook whose children were admitted to Hillburn Main.

Among the mothers subpenaed were:

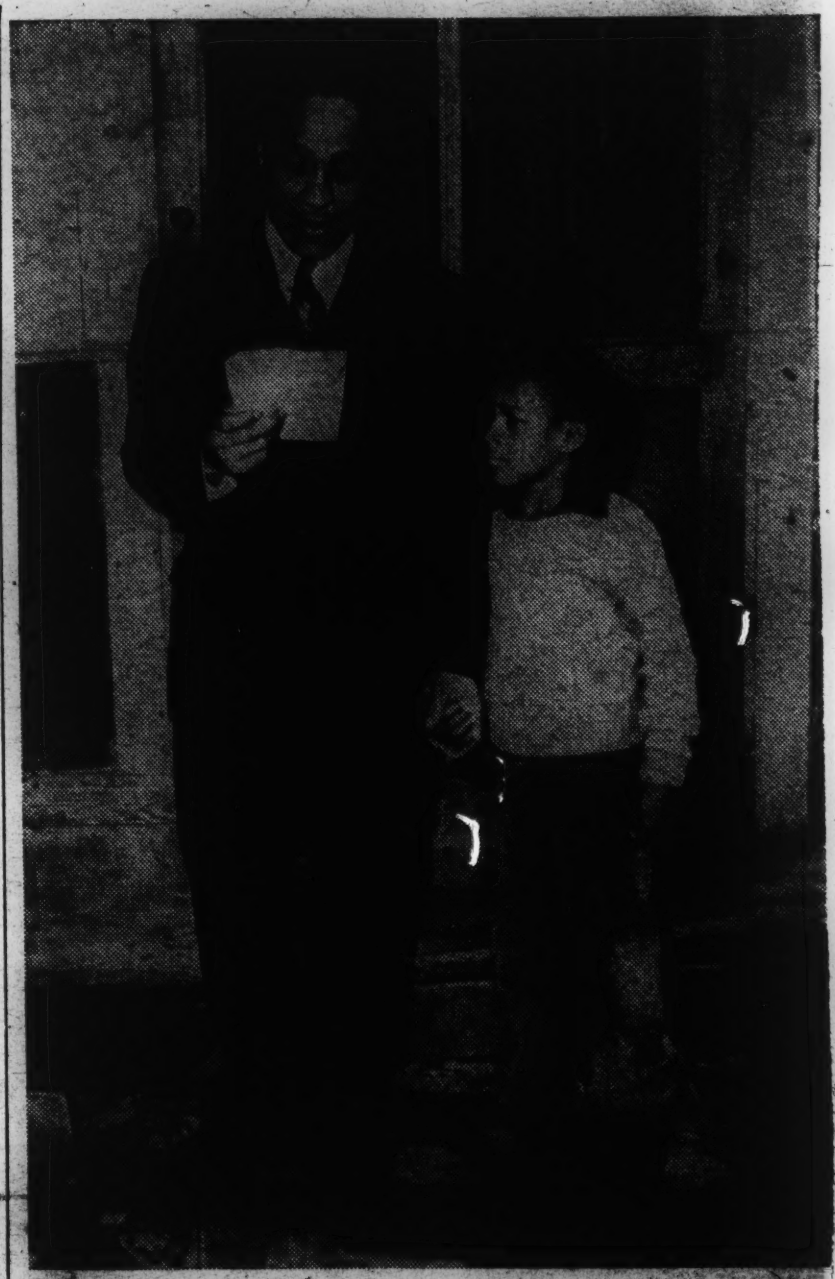
Mrs. Mary Overton, whose divorced husband is in the Army. She has three children, and left her job in an overall factory to volunteer in the strikers' school.

Mrs. Delia De Freese, a widow, whose four sons are in the Army. A fifth child, 12, is in the present school fight.

Mrs. Dorothy Perry, mother of Beatrice, 9, who has five brothers in the Army.

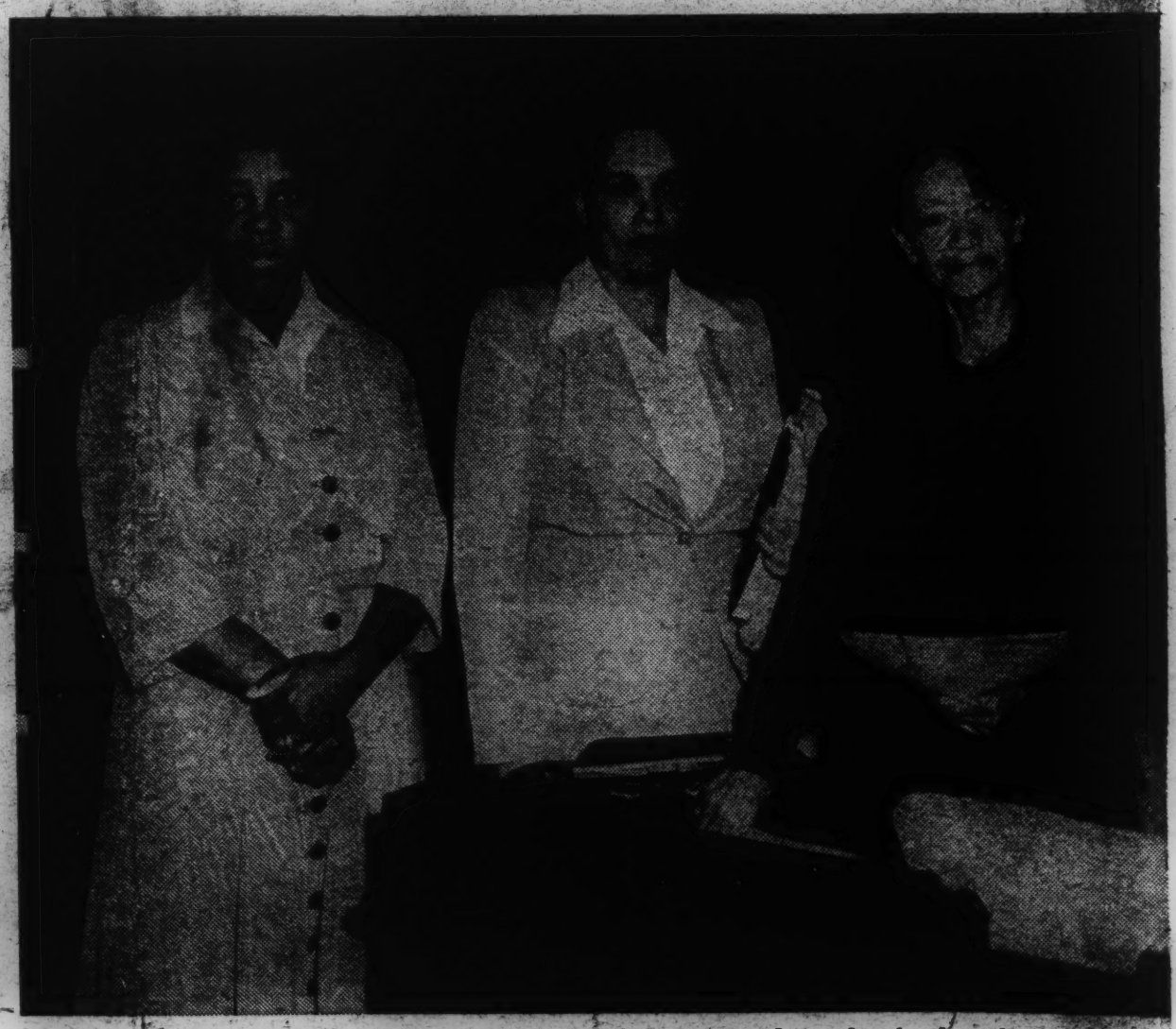
Mrs. Howard VanDunk said today that their fight has been supported by their boys in camp, who write to them:

"Stick it out; it's bad enough when this happens down South, but don't let it happen any more back home."



William Miller, sandblast worker, leaves for New City Children's Court with his son Marvin. He refuses to have Marvin in segregated Brook School. *Photos by John De Biase, PM*

Mrs. Mary Overton, mother of three, looks at her summons. She is unpaid teacher at the temporary Negro chapel school.



Ethel Barton and Mildred VanDunk, teachers at the segregated Brook school, and Kate Savery (right), principal, were summoned as reluctant witnesses on the nonattendance of the children.

'March' Group Votes To Limit Membership

'Negroes Only' Is Decision

Movement Headed by Randolph Excludes Whites

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Membership in the March-on-Washington movement, headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will be limited solely to Negroes, it was voted, 102 to 3, at the convention Saturday when a constitution was formulated for the movement's permanent setup.

Debate on the question of limiting membership was long and warm. Dr. George E. Haynes, secretary for the Federal Council of Churches, objected strenuously to excluding whites.

"We ourselves are starting out to fight segregation by setting up a segregated organization," he said. "We are perpetuating the very thing we are fighting."

No Action on 'March'

Dr. Charles W. Burton, Chicago director of the March-On-Washington movement, and Vincent Baker, president of Modern Trend, a New York youth movement, argued in favor of excluding whites.

It was also decided to let the executive committee vote on whether there should be an actual march on the capital to force congressional and administrative action desired by the movement.

Randolph said that the march to the capital will be held as a weapon to enforce the Negro's demands. He commented: "I believe we will have to march."

Officers of the permanent organization, in addition to Mr. Randolph, are [illegible] McLaurin, national secretary, and Aldrich Turner, national treasurer, all of New York City.

Must Solve Problem

At the mass meet held Sunday at Du Sable high school, which conoluded the sessions, 5,000 persons heard Randolph declare that the race problem must be solved before democracy can win a complete victory in the war, and also take both the Republican and Democratic parties to task for their pussyfooting on this issue.

The recent race riots were not caused by Axis agents, he said, but by the policy of segregation and discrimination against Negroes for years, carried through by the present administration.

"Riots are the result of the government policy of segregation and discrimination against Negroes," he said. "Race riots will continue long after Hitler is dead and forgotten, if our government does not stop the Jim Crow treatment of Negro citizens and begin to integrate the Negroes into the government and war and peace time industry on a basis of equality."

Must Take Initiative

Negro committees should call on city and state governments to protest racial strife, he asserted, declaring that the Negro is the only citizen subject to Jim Crowism and Negroes therefore must take the initiative to abolish it.

"This is not a war for freedom," said Randolph. "It is a war to maintain the old imperialism. It is a war to continue white supremacy and the subjugation, domination and exploitation of the ty and its representatives in congress do to enforce that provision peoples of color."

Blaming both parties for present unsatisfactory conditions, Randolph asked five questions:

"What will the Republican party and its representatives in congress do to enforce that provision of the constitution which reads 'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law?'

"What will the Republican par- gress do to cut down the representation in congress of those states which discriminate against Negroes in voting?

What Will They Do?

"What will the Republican and Democratic parties do to abolish jim crow housing, transportation, education, recreation and other social services?

"What will the Republicans and Democrats do to insure the permanency of the Fair Employment Practices committee?

"What will the Democratic and Republican parties do to break down discrimination in the armed forces?"

Earlier in the day, members of the group had unveiled and dedicated a scroll at the Negro soldiers' monument at 35th street and South Parkway.

The scroll set forth: "Right here in our own country is one of the great issues of the war. Shall we have democracy for all of the people or for some of the people? An all-out war against fascism cannot be fought on a jim crow

New Deal assailed for failures at conference

CHICAGO—ANP)—Two thousand delegates and local citizens stormed the march on Washington "We Are Americans Too Conference" at the Metropolitan Community Center church Wednesday through Sunday and vigorously criticized the Roosevelt administration for not putting an end to jim crowism.

The main attack was led by Henry (Hank) Johnson, of New York [illegible] ser for the United Mine Workers, who declared the sole responsibility for discrimination toward Negro citizens would be properly laid at the doorstep of the White House.

"The major responsibility for the abolition of jim crow," he said, "belongs to the federal government and the present administration. If the administration had set out to eliminate jim crow with the same zeal it used to break other traditions in this country, we would not be meeting here tonight. Jim crow would be dead."

The conference, called for the expressed purpose of securing the abolitionment of jim crow and win equality of status for Negroes with other Americans, adopted a strong resolution directed to the President, calling for the appointing of a national commission with an equal number of white and Negro members, to study conditions surrounding the recent race riots and apply curative measures.

Other provisions of the document demanded that Negro soldiers be sent to riot zones to insure equal protection for all citizens, and declared unsound the charge that blame for racial disturbances in this country were attributable to Hitler.

"Race riots and mob law, lynching and racial terrorism obtained in America long before Hitler was ever heard of," asserted the resolution, "and will continue long after he is dead and forgotten, unless Negroes receive the status of first-class citizenship in America. Thus the remedy lies in America practicing what it preaches concerning democracy."

A. [illegible]ndolph, national director [illegible] presiding at the opening [illegible] said the conference was [illegible] a political bloc to bring [illegible] in both parties to pass [illegible] fair and anti-lynching [illegible] for a congressional [illegible] riots, and demand [illegible] be granted first class [illegible] status.

"The [illegible] passing through the most critical period in its history," declared Randolph. "The world is embroiled in a war between the forces of freedom and the forces of slavery—democracy on the one hand and fascism on the other. What could more aptly describe the purposes for which we fight today than this immortal declaration that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain [illegible] that among these are life, liberty, and

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A. Philip Randolph, national director MOW, presiding at the opening sessions, said the conference will consider a political bloc to bring pressure in both parties to pass the poll tax and anti-lynching bill, work for a congressional [illegible] race riots, and demand that Negroes be granted first-class citizenship status.

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"The Declaration of Independence was a revolutionary document and the men who framed it were revolutionary for freedom, for independence, and for the common man. Likewise, what we accomplish in this conference must be also revolutionary. Our fate is tied up with the fate of the democratic way of life. Our fight is the most important social issue of today.

"The problem of the Negro in the United States is no longer a purely domestic question but has world significance. It is integrated with the larger strategy of defeating the Axis. We have become the barometer of democracy to the colored people of the world: Africa, India, China, Latin America, and the West Indies, all look to the United States. It suggests to them the kind of 'democracy' which would dominate the post war period should certain fascist-minded elements in this country have their way."

Miss Layle Lane, New York City school teacher, and member of the national board MOW, pointed out that Negroes can use three weapons to obtain equal justice. These weapons she said are their numbers—13,000,000 Negroes in the United States; their purchasing power—estimated at three billion dollars annually; and a vital constitutional right—the right to vote.

States refusing Negroes the ballot, went on Miss Lane, should lose proportionate representation. Such a regulation would be effective in Georgia, she added. Georgia and Wisconsin have equal populations, she pointed out, but only 340,000 votes were cast in Georgia as compared with the 1,400,000 votes cast in Wisconsin during the last major election.

JULY 20, 1943 ... TUESDAY

Super-Board Due to Handle Racial Strife

WASHINGTON, July 20 [illegible] Roosevelt is planning to issue a new directive putting Government policy on race-relation issues in the hands of a "super-committee" representing nine agencies.

This committee it was learned, will be empowered to frame general principles and specific decisions dealing with the handling of Negro and other racial problems.

While the plan has not yet been formally adopted, it is understood that some Negro officials have already registered opposition to the setup. Their criticism is based on reports that the projected group will be all-white and will not include men with experience in the race-relations field. They also fear it may overshadow the FEPC (Fair Employment Practice Committee).

The new committee, according to well-informed sources will be headed by Father Francis J. Haas, chairman of the FEPC and will include spokesmen for the following agencies:

National Housing, Maritime Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of War Information, Army, Navy, Civil Rights Section of the Dept. of Justice and the War Manpower Commission.

Although representatives of these groups have conferred informally in the past on Negro problems, issuance of an executive order will give the committee official authority.

Formal creation of such a committee was proposed at a meeting on Negro problems July 8, attended by Victor Rotnem and Eleanor Bontecou of the Justice Dept., William Leland of the War Dept. and Milton Starr of the War Production Board.

Starr, who owns a chain of Negro theaters in the South and is now a dollar-a-year man serving WPB, has been the target of attack from some Negro leaders in recent weeks.

New FEP Refuses To Okeh Segregation In 'Mobile Compromise' Shipyard Plan

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The first sign of strength on the part of the new Fair Employment Practice Committee was shown at its meeting last week when the matter of the "Mobile compromise for settlement of the racial conflict at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding company came before it.

The plan provided for utilization of Negro labor on four of the twelve ways of the shipyard, limiting the Negroes to work on bare hull construction. It was approved by Chairman Frances Haas, who acted for FEPC in the absence of any other members, who, at the time, had not been appointed by the President.

The committee took the following formal action with reference to the plan:

"The committee accepts the accomplished fact that the settlement made in Mobile to end a crisis in war production, except that the committee cannot give its approval to the complete segregation of Negroes on the four ways and does not consider that as a precedent."

Chairman Haas refused to answer a question as to what was the vote on the committee's action or to state whether it was unanimous.

In a further statement, Chairman Haas said: "The newly appointed committee has accepted the responsibility placed upon it to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. The objective is to further the prosecution of the war, worker morale, and national unity. This duty, to give every industrial American a chance to serve his country, must be achieved. It is obviously basic to democracy. It is a war necessity. It is what all right-minded people want.

"The committee is conscious that this sound objective must be pursued where wartime crowding in houses, buses, and recreation grounds have bred irritation among decent people, and have afforded irresponsible persons the opportunity for shameful mob violence. This is cause for grave concern, but not for despair. I learned last week in Detroit, where mixed races make tanks and airplanes side by side, that the workers in war plants did not lose their heads at the time when hoodlums were rioting in the streets of Detroit. This committee takes hope from the decency and patriotism of the overwhelming majority of the American people on this issue, and will carry out its duty in that light."

In commenting on his Detroit visit, Chairman Haas said he did not discover anything that would lead him to believe there was any axis activity behind the trouble there. He said further occurrences of this sort can be prevented if the underlying causes are removed. These causes, he said are inadequate housing, transportation and recreation facilities.

He said he made a report on his findings in Detroit, but declined to say to whom he made it. He denied that he had gone as an emissary of the White House.

FEPC'S DISAVOWAL HAILED AS VICTORY

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MOBILE, Ala.—The announcement of Chairman Francis J. Haas, that the Fair Employment Practice committee could not approve the segregated plan adopted for workers of the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding company here, is regarded by local colored leaders and liberal whites as a victory for the cause of real Americanism.

Dr. Burton R. Morley, area director of the War Manpower commission, in commenting on the present stand of the FEPC, said, "The plan will stand as is."

However, Elijah Jackson, colored CIO international representative, union which signed the agreement, and one of the signers of the plan, expressed himself as being pleased that the FEPC has taken a firmer stand against segregation and discrimination as contained in the Alabama shipyard compromise.

The Louisiana Weekly

OLDEST AND FOREMOST IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

12 Pages

Issued Every Saturday at 532 S. Rampart St. By The Louisiana Weekly Publishing Co., Inc.

THE ONLY NEW ORLEANS NEGRO NEWSPAPER SERVED BY THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS PHOTOS

Entered N. O. Post Office as Second-Class Matter Under Act of March 3, 1879.

7 CENTS And Worth

Volume XVII, No. 44 NEW ORLEANS, LA., SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1943 PRICE 7c

MOW GROUP MOBOLIZES FORCES FOR ALL-OUT FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

"We Are Americans Too Conference" Assails FDR For Not Ending Jim Crow

((By the Associated Negro Press)

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Assails New Deal; Mobilizes Forces for All-Out Fight

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(Continued on page eight)

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1943

Kaiser In Hot Water Before FEP Probers

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON. — Henry Kaiser, the wizard shipbuilder, who keeps his ships floating out to salt water and his labor problems floating in hot water, was a visitor at the office of the Fair Employment Practice Committee last week. He asked for the conference with Chairman Francis J. Haas.

Though no comment was forthcoming as to the nature of the discussions, it is known that several of Kaiser's yards are involved in the West Coast dispute over the firing of several hundred Negroes who had refused to pay their dues in auxiliary unions set up by the AFL Boilermakers union specifically for Negro workers.

A formal complaint was filed with the FEPC week before last, citing the Kaiser yards specifically, for discriminations in upgrading Negroes and in using them at their maximum capacities. The complaint also hit against the auxiliary union scheme.

The matter is still pending settlement. There is a strong possibility that public hearings may be held on the West coast, possibly in San Francisco. The shipyard and union representatives have been asked to meet with FEPC representatives to discuss the problems.

Publicity Question

Complaints that the Federal Government was, in effect, practicing a form of discrimination in the conduct of its own anti-discrimination drive among employers have been made to the Fair Employment Practices committee, according to information gleaned from officials of that organization.

The protests in question have been directed against the FEPC's own procedure, said to have been dictated largely from the White House, whereby charges of race discrimination against the government as an employer—which are said still to be numerous in Washington—are required to be conducted in closed executive session, whereas allegations against private employers are conducted in public.

The objections have reached the point where members of the FEPC may take the matter to the President and ask him to put both Government and private employers in the same class and make them subject to the same procedures so far as conduct of the anti-discrimination drive is concerned.

Detroit Case

Both Mgr. Haas and George M. Johnson, assistant chairman, said that complaints against the practice had been mounting. They indicated their own lack of enthusiasm for it, apparently believing publicity itself is one of the strongest sanctions that can be used in putting down discriminatory practices in hiring anywhere.

Discussion of the subject arose between the FEPC officials and a group of newspaper men and women at a press conference when Mr. Johnson disclosed that a complaint had been received from Detroit charging one of the governmental agencies domiciled there with refusal to upgrade a worker on account of creed. When a reporter asked for the names of the agency and the employe, Mr. Johnson declined to give them, saying the committee had established a definite policy against making public the details of charges of discrimination against the Government.

When pressed for the reason for such policy—which required the very reverse in cases involving private employers working on war contracts—Mr. Johnson at first said that it came under the President's directions against publicizing disagreements within the government as renewed soon after the episode involving Vice President Henry A. Wallace and Secretary of Commerce Jesse H. Jones. He added later that it had been the policy of the old committee since its birth. When a reporter pursued the matter further, Mr. Johnson finally related that it was laid down from the start by the White House itself.

Name Officials

The FEPC announced that Bartley C. Crum of San Francisco had been retained as chief counsel for the hearings, September 15 to 17, in which charges against 26 railroads and railway unions for discriminating against Negro workers are to be aired. Associated with Mr. Crum will be Charles A. Houston of Washington and Harold Stevens of New York City.

At the same time, the committee announced that its administrative departmental structure had been rounded out, and that numerous positions had been filled, lifting its total staff to 48. Under Mgr. Haas in the Washington office will be four divisions—administrative, field operations, review analysis and a hearings unit. Eventually the committee will have twelve regional offices, in the same cities as field officers of the War Manpower Commission.

The following personnel appointments were announced by Mgr. Haas:

Malcolm Ross of Vienna, Va., former director of information of the National Labor Relations Board, deputy chairman; George M. Johnson of Berkeley, Calif., former professor of law at Howard university, assistant chairman; Will Maslow of New York, former trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, chief of field operations; Clarence Mitchell of Baltimore, former assistant chief of the Negro Manpower Service, associate chief of field operations; Eugene Davidson of Washington, assistant chief of field operations; Theodore A. Jones of Chicago, administrative officer; George Crockett of Fairmont, W. Va., hearings examiner.

The following regional directors and associates have been appointed: New York, Edward Lawson; Philadelphia, G. James Fleming; Chicago, Elmer W. Henderson; San Francisco, Harry Kingman; Dallas, Texas, Carlos Casteneda.

Other offices which the committee will open, but to which no appointments have as yet been made, are: Cleveland, Detroit, Atlanta, St. Louis. It is expected that offices will be opened eventually at Minneapolis, Boston and Denver.

It was also announced that President Roosevelt will be the final arbiter on government policy for combating racial and religious discrimination in training and employment.

An operating agreement announced by the War Manpower Commission and the Fair Employment Practice Commitee called for cooperative action between the agencies but provided that where WMC Chairman Paul V. McNutt and FEPC Chairman Francis J. Haas are unable to agree on policy, they will submit the disputes to the President for "final [illegible]."

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS
Saturday, August 21, 1943

Save the FEPC Parley to Open September 13

NEW YORK—The Save the FEPC Conference will reconvene in Washington for a two-day session September 13 and 14, it was announced last week by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the provisional committee to organize colored firemen.

Objectives of the conference include a study of the reconstituted FEPC and action to be taken in connection with the railroad discrimination hearings involving colored locomotive firemen, rescheduled for September 15, 16 and 17.

No Speeches at Parley

According to tentative plans for the meeting, there will be no speeches during the regular sessions, but committees will be appointed to outline suggestions for a permanent FEPC to function now and in the post-war period and for its powers and functions.

Other features included a mass meeting scheduled for August 12 previous to the opening of the conference to be held at Vermont Avenue Baptist Chuch, 1630 Vermont Avenue, Northwest, beginning at 2:30 p.m. and a "meet the firemen" meeting Tuesday

The Pittsburgh Courier

Opposes Proposed To Bar Migration

[redacted]

Dear Sir:

I refer to a recent news item which stated that you are recommending to the President that the War Powers Act be used to limit the employment opportunities of Negroes in their efforts to secure work in war plants. Moreover, as I see it, it is a violation of the Constitution, because it limits the freedom of movement of American citizens. Instead of preventing race riots, it will help accentuate a fear which, when fused with the social, economic, racial, political magazine of dynamite which is the result of a long series of injustice and abuse and discrimination and segregation to which the Negro people have been subjected.

Recommend Withdrawal

As one who is interested in racial peace and the victory of the United Nations over the Nazi theories of racialism and tyranny, I want to urge you to rescind this order. If it has been done, in the interest of racial co-operation and harmony. This proposed policy is the greatest kind of appeasement and discrimination. What about the poor whites who are flowing from the rural districts of the South into the war production centers? Nothing is suggested about limiting their migration but only at the main source of the great of racial hatred and accentuate the possibilities of race riots, fear-fanning and consequently death with. These causes the segregation in the armed forces, defense plants and government departments as well as on various means of transportation, housing, recreation, law enforcement, etc.

Suggested Solution

I am sure that upon a careful examination of the national situation in regard to race relations you will [illegible] that this proposed [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Negro school children in Hillburn, N. Y., who went on "strike" protesting segregation in the school system, gathered at a mission house yesterday and sang hymns to celebrate the downfall of Jim Crow. By order of the State Education Dept. the children will leave Brook school, which has been ordered abandoned, and enter the more modern Main school, from which they had been barred by Hillburn district school authorities. *Photo by Keleher, PM*

Hillburn Negro Teachers Will Move to Main School

Jim Crow died officially in Hillburn, N. Y., today.

After acting as overlord of the school system in the Rockland County town for 56 straight years, the symbol of racial segregation was publicly, though belatedly, buried when the Ramapo Central School District Board bowed to the will of the State Education Dept. and abolished Jim Crowism.

The board announced that:

¶ The shabby Brook school, where 56 Negro children had been ordered to attend, will be abolished.

¶ The children will in the future gain the educational advantages offered at the more modern Hillburn Main school, from which they had been barred.

¶ The three Negro instructors who had been assigned to the segregated Brook school will be reassigned to teach at the Main school, where heretofore only white teachers have served.

Registration Monday

The 56 Negro children, who went on "strike" in protest against the segregation system of the school board, will be accepted for registration at the Main school Monday. It was explained the delay was needed to make necessary readjustments to accommodate the additional pupils.

The school board, headed by J. Edgar Davidson, met last night in a session lasting for hours, after which it was admitted that the decision of State Education Commissioner Stoddard, who branded Jim Crowism in the school system as being contrary to law, would be obeyed.

The fall of Jim Crow was quietly welcomed, but not publicly celebrated, by the Negro community in Hillburn yesterday when news of the Stoddard decision was made known.

Sang Hymns

At first, many of the 22 parents who sanctioned the "strike" of their children could not believe their long fight for educational freedom had actually been won. When the news was verified, there was no gloating, no demonstration. Instead, members of the community gathered in the tiny Full Gospel Mission of the Assembly of God, and sang hymns to celebrate their triumph.

Leaders of civic and educational groups which have supported the Hillburn Negro parents in their battle to wipe out Jim Crowism, were relieved today to hear that the three Negro teachers would be transferred to Main school along with their charges. It is expected the trio, Miss Kate L. Savery, Miss Mildred VanDunk and Mrs. Ethel Barton, will remain at Main school at least until next June. There is no such thing as tenure for any teacher, be she Negro or white, in Hillburn. But teachers are appointed from September to June, however, so their jobs are safe for at [illegible] months.

Levy Penalty Challenged By Former Stimson Aide

PM's Bureau

PM Exclusive

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20—Judge William H. Hastie, former civilian aide to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, today challenged the court-martial and conviction of Alton Levy, now serving four months at hard labor at the Lincoln, Neb., Army Air Base.

Hastie

After a comprehensive study of the case, Hastie cited two "particularly disturbing" disclosures which "create a strong implication of prepudice and bias" in the proceedings against the former International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, organizer.

The Howard University Law School dean, who resumed his post there after resigning from the War Dept. in protest against Negro discrimination, declared:

"First: I can think of no proper circumstances which could have led the court, after stating before adjournment Saturday, Aug. 14, that the charges against Levy had not been proved, to decide on Monday, Aug. 16, after the week end recess, that he was guilty beyond a reasonable doubt..

"Second: It was well known to the post command that the rumors which Levy is alleged to have repeated had been circulated around the camp for months even before Levy came to that station. In such circumstances, it is disturbing that Levy was singled out for punishment.

"Such facts must and do create a strong implication of prejudice and bias in the trial and conviction of Alton Levy."

Judge Hastie was special assistant to the Secretary of War in October, 1940, and resigned last February, after his efforts to curb discrimination in the Air Forces were frustrated.

His statement on the Levy case came on the eve of a meeting of labor leaders at Freedom House in New York, called to map further action in Levy's behalf. The meeting, organized by David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU, Samuel Wolchok, president of the United Wholesale and Retail Employes Union, CIO, and A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, will be held today.

Meanwhile, efforts to reopen the Levy case were stimulated by reports from Lincoln quoting the commanding officer of the base as saying that Levy would not be granted the usual parole.

Morris Milgram, executive secretary of the Workers Defense League, declared that "these reports confirm our charge that Levy is being held as a hostage in an attempt to impose silence on those who have taken up the fight for him."

Pointing out that Levy at no time has authorized or been associated with the protests made in the case, Milgram said investigators who had visited the base had been told that Levy would be released Nov. 6 "if the agitation stops."

"It now seems clear," Milgram said, "that Gen. Duncan (the commanding officer) is carrying out his threat by not granting Levy the customary parole."

Levy was convicted of circulating "false statements" about treatment of Negroes at the base and "slanderous" rumors about the commanding officer. The War Dept. has so far declined to make public its report of the trial and en-

Malcolm Ross Promoted; To Head FEPC

Liberal Deputy Chairman Upped To Key Position; Succeeds Bishop-Elect Haas

WASHINGTON, (ANP) — Malcolm Ross, deputy chairman of the Fair Employment Practices committee and next door friend and associate of Atty. Gen. Francis Biddle, was named Friday to succeed Fr. Haas as chairman of FEPC. Fr. Haas recently resigned following his appointment to the Grand Rapids, Mich., diocese of the Catholic church.

Mr. Ross is looked upon as a liberal and has long been active in labor and liberal circles. He came to the FEPC from the OWI writer's section and prior to that was director of information for the National Labor Relations board.

About 45 years old, he is the author of an autobiography entitled, "Death of a Yale Man." He was born in Newark, N. J., and now lives in Vienna, Va., near Washington.

Police Called to Give Negroes 'Freedom From Fear'

Acts of vandalism directed against a 166th St. apartment house recently opened to Negro tenants died down Saturday night after a week of disorder evidently intended as a warning to Negro families not to move into the block.

Peace was restored when Police Commissioner Valentine assigned a patrolman to cover the house, at 453 W. 166th St., between Edgecombe and Amsterdam Aves., and another to the nearby corner.

However, it was noted that the police protection was present only during the day, and no patrolman were seen near the building Saturday night. It has been at night that most of the intimidation has occurred.

Protest to Mayor

James A. Gumbs, owner of the building, previously had explained in a letter to City Hall that he had removed any color restrictions for the building's 20 apartments. He wrote:

"Nightly since that time, bricks have been thrown through the windows and other acts of vandalism committed. At each transgression I reported the matter to police headquarters, but nothing has been done.

"On the night of October 14, bricks were again thrown through the windows of tenanted apartments. The police again refused to act and they told me the only thing they can do is send a policeman after an incident has happened.

"They informed me that they cannot protect my property and the tenants in it from being further molested."

Vandals Active

Alphonso Lythcott, 23, superintendent of the building, who occupies a four-room apartment on the first floor with his wife and two children, told PM of other incidents of vandalism and intimidation directed at the Negro tenants and himself.

Signs reading "Newly Opened for Colored Tenants" have been torn and burned down three times since Sept. 15, Lythcott said, adding that he expects the fourth sign, just put up, to go the same way.

After the last white tenants left the building on Oct. 8, Lythcott said, hoodlums broke into empty apartments and ripped radiators loose from their fixtures. Rocks and bricks have been thrown through first and second floor windows, he said.

Lythcott, who has a brother in the Army, and whose wife has two brothers in the service, told of hearing a white girl, standing across the street from the building, say: "The damned house should burn down now."

The Lythcotts are worried because their children sleep in the front room, in a vulnerable position should rock-throwing continue.

Lloyd E. Dickens, representing Gumbs, said a gang of white boys set fire to an antomobile belonging to a Negro repairman who left it parked before the building. When the repairman captured one of the boys, he was threatened by a crowd of about 35 white neighbors, Dickens said. A policeman who came to the scene, he added, told the repairman he had caught the wrong boy and turned the lad loose.

Building Boarded

The only other Negro-tenanted house in the block, at No. 461, is partially boarded up as a result of acts of vandalism. A legend scrawled in orange paint on this building reads: "The Nigers (sic) stink."

All the apartment houses on 165th St. between Edgecombe and Amsterdam Aves. are occupied by Negroes, while 167th St., between the same avenues, is exclusively occupied by whites. Negro families believe the white residents resent their occupancy of 166th St., the "boundary."

A sergeant at the local police station said the patrolman on the beat had been ordered to give special attention to the house. No arrests have thus far been made.

"I think its very foolish for them to act this way with a war going on," said Lythcott of the persecutions. "They should realize the colored boys are fighting for them the same as the white boys are."

This tragic picture is a symbol of that evil thing, race hatred. Mrs. Bernice Lythcott and her one-year-old son Leonard look out a window through which hoodlums threw stones.

The 166th St. hatelers broke into other apartments in the building and disconnected many of the radiators.

Before the Alphonso Lythcott family had had time to arrange their furniture on moving in, stones had been hurled into their apartment. Leonard holds some of the stones. The other child is Alphonse, Jr., 2. Lythcott is superintendent of the building. *Photos by Weegee, PM*

Hillburn's Negro Children Keep Up Schooling, Despite Jim Crow

Three Mothers Help Licensed Teacher Carry On in Church Chapel

The adult war of nerves raging over their heads is having little effect on the scholastic progress of Hillburn's 51 Negro children who have been refused admittance to the "white" school, according to Miss Alice Avery, one of their teachers.

Miss Avery was brought into the two-weeks-old "strike" situation eight school-days ago by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People when it became apparent that the battle against discrimination might be a long-drawn-out affair.

Miss Avery, a licensed teacher who is being paid by the parents, is assisted by three of the mothers, one of whom is also a licensed teacher, and the remaining two high school graduates.

School begins promptly in the Presbyterian Brook Chapel at 9 every day, and continues until 3:15, with regular recess and lunch periods. Class discipline is well observed, and the children, who range from 5 to 14, are philosophical and obedient about the turn in grown-up affairs which has placed them in these circumstances.

For eight school days, the 51 children of parents who are protesting Negro discrimination in the public schools of Hillburn, N. Y., have attended "strikers'" school in this neighboring church.

Photo by John DeBlase, PM

Textbooks were the greatest problem, but Miss Avery said yesterday that the emergency school now has a sufficient supply, donated by the New York office of the NAACP, friends, and older students, who have outgrown them.

Meanwhile a few hundred yards away, four forlorn little boys busy themselves in the 45-year-old frame building which has always been the "colored" school, and which most of the Negro parents this year refused to let their children attend.

There, too, the routine, school board-authorized services go on—visiting physical education and music teachers and the school nurse, twice a week.

Mrs. Howard VanDunk, one of the mothers, said yesterday that J. Edgar Davidson, president of the school board, visited the strikers' school briefly last Monday and asked the children if they were happy. Later, Mrs. VanDunk reported, he said the facilities there were not adequate.

"If Mr. Davidson didn't find the church facilities adequate, for classes," Mrs. VanDunk said, "then it's the school board, not us, that has been breaking the law, because for the past five years the board has authorized elementary "colored" classes in Brook Chapel.

For the most part, the protesting Negro parents are unshaken by the rumors and events that have characterized the past fortnight, of legal action on both sides. Daily, they have waited to be arrested—for they remain firm in their refusal to pay any fine for keeping their children out of the school they want condemned.

Daily, too, Davidson has waited for Thurgood Marshall, counsel for the NAACP, to begin the action which will force the school board to comply with State regulations, and end its policy of segregation and discrimination.

Typical of these sorties was this week's press coverage of the Hillburn picture:

¶ On Monday, the *Ramapo Independent*, a local newspaper, pointed out that the Hillburn school board would, in view of the circumstances, probably have to bow to the State Education Dept., and grant full rights to the Negro pupils.

¶ On Tuesday, the New York *Sun*, by special correspondence from Hillburn, said the school board had instructed its lawyers to appear Tuesday before Judge John L. McKenna, truant officer of the Rockland County Children's Court, and prefer charges against the striking parents. (McKenna Tuesday night told PM that the Children's Court had not even met that day, and he had heard nothing of the pending charges.)

¶ On Wednesday, the Rockland *Journal-News*, published in nearby Nyack, said charges would be preferred against the parents by the school board, and warrants issued Wednesday. (The warrants were not issued Wednesday, although the *Journal-News* told PM Wednesday night the school board was its authority for the information.)

Poll-Tax Filibusterers Win Fresh Stall on Bill

Hearing on Constitutionality Is Recessed Until Next Week

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27.—Poll taxers gained another week or two in their long-range filibuster against the anti-poll tax bill today, when the Senate Judiciary Committee recessed its hearings on constitutionality of the measure until next week.

After hearing the last of three witnesses arguing for constitutionality of the measure, the Committee postponed hearing the three opponents until next Tuesday. If their testimony is dragged out, as it was last year, it probably will be the end of next week or later before the Committee completes what originally was scheduled as a single day of testimony.

No Protests

Chairman Frederick Van Nuys (D. Ind.) announced the postponement at the conclusion of yesterday's hearing. Not a protest was heard from his Committee—which is playing into the hands of the filibusterers without any fight from the bill's advocates.

The last witnesses favoring the bill were Lee Pressman, general counsel of the CIO, and Rep. William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.), the only Negro member of Congress. Both emphasized the millions of voters disfranchised by the poll tax.

Dawson said the poll-tax laws were adopted between 1889 and 1908 "with the avowed intention and specific purpose of restricting large numbers of citizens in the exercise of their right to vote."

Contending that Congress has the right to abolish the poll tax under the clause in the Constitution giving the Federal Government authority to "guarantee to every state a republican form of government," Dawson said:

'Vicious System'

"The reins of government are in the hands of a small minority who, by virtue of the control of all state government agencies, has ob-

William L. Dawson
Photo by Harris & Ewing

power by reason of corruption, fraud and trickery.

"No man who is honest with himself, and knows the viciousness of the poll-tax system, believes that the poll tax was adopted for the purpose of raising revenue. The passage of this bill will restore the right of participation in national government to those who must need to raise their standard of living."

Dawson said that in the poll-tax states school expenditures were less than half the national average and the homicide rate was more than three times that of the rest of the country.

Pressman said the poll tax was "simply a legal trickery" to favor a particular class of candidates for office. He said Congress has not

Free Pvt. Levy, 500,000 Demand

Paying high tribute to his courage and patriotism, representatives of 500,000 New York AFL and CIO unionists today demanded the release of Pvt. Abe Levy from the guardhouse at Lincoln, Neb., Air Base and immediate restoration of his rank as sergeant.

In a wire to President Roosevelt, 100 labor leaders asked that all stigma be removed from Levy as "further vindication" of the principles for which the United Nations are fighting. The message was signed by David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Samuel Wolchok, president of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Dept. Store Employees.

CIO to Get Resolution

Wolchok, who presided over the conference at Freedom House yesterday, said that he would present a resolution to the CIO convention in Philadelphia next week on the Levy case as well as the delegates' resolution urging a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee after the war.

David Dubinsky, for whose union Levy worked as an organizer before he went into the Army, said that the court-martialed soldier was known as a conscientious loyal citizen—always interested in fighting against discrimination."

"There are strong feelings that he was convicted because of his union affiliations," Dubinsky said.

Pledge to Raise $30,000

With the ILGWU pledging $15,000, Wolchok's union $1,000, and Randolph's union $500, the delegates voted to raise a $30,000 fund to fight discrimination, with $5,000 of it being earmarked for the Levy case.

Morris Milgram, secretary of the Workers Defense League which is representing Levy, disclosed that Johathan Daniels, administrative assistant to President Roosevelt, had written of the White House's interest in the case.

The WLD also made public a message from James Carey, CIO secretary, praising Levy and pledging an investigation of the "anti-Negro bias" of Army men responsible for his court-martial.

Negro Made Sole Issue in Detroit Campaign

Candidates—Both Bad—Play Up Racism; Jeffries Reverses Stand

By Arnold Beichman
Staff Correspondent

DETROIT, Oct. 29.—Detroit is going through a major tragedy—a Mayoralty campaign whose sole issue is the Negro and whose "bloody shirt" is the riot of June 21. It is a campaign without parallel in Detroit's history.

Certainly in few Northern cities has the racial issue been pounded so hard and with such desperation by ranking political leaders as it has been in Detroit these last two weeks.

It is now apparent to labor leaders, liberals, newspaper editors here that regardless of which of the two candidates is elected Mayor, Detroit will find itself no better off than on that Bloody Monday, June 21, when the biggest race riot in American history took 34 lives and injured a thousand more.

Police Statement

Detroit Police Commissioner John H. Witherspoon issued this brief statement last night:

"We have heard many rumors that there may be an unauthorized parade or demonstration in connection with the political campaign. The Department is prepared and equipped for it, and will stop it."

Political Badinage

Technically, there are other issues—an airport, a proposed payroll tax, graft, a coal shortage. But that's all political badinage. The issue is the Negro—his alleged attempt to "take over" the city along with "labor"—and everything dirty and evil in racialism you'll find in Detroit's mayoralty campaign today.

This is the lineup:

There are two candidates. One is Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, the incumbent, running for a third term. His opponent, backed by the AFL (with the exception of the Teamsters Union), the CIO and Negro groups generally, is Frank FitzGerald, Circuit Court Commissioner—a relatively unimportant political post.

FitzGerald surprised everybody on Primary Day, Oct. 5. An unsuccessful Senatorial candidate in 1940, he was picked by powerful labor groups, notably the United Auto Workers, CIO, to run against Jeffries. Detroit municipal elections are non-partisan, with no party designations for its candidates. Jeffries says he is an independent, which is true. FitzGerald is a Democrat.

On Primary Day FitzGerald garnered 98,000 votes to Jeffries' 60,000. Next Tuesday will be the run-off and the battle that counts.

Got Klan Votes

The mystery, which was quickly solved, was: Where did FitzGerald get his amazing vote? An examination of Detroit's political map gave the answer—from Paradise Valley, the city's Harlem, and—incredible as it may sound—from some of the worst Klan districts in the city. And, of course, FitzGerald *did* get a large labor vote.

From the start Jeffries was doomed as far as Negro voters were concerned. His vacillation and inaction during the June riots, the wide condemnation of the city's Police Dept., made inevitable his disastrous showing.

At the same time that the Negroes were voting against Jeffries, many white Detroiters also voted against him because of Jeffries' courageous—which is what it was—insistence that Negroes had the right to live in a Federal housing project along with white people. That insistence led to the Sojourner Truth riots Feb. 28, 1942. It took State troops and police to get the Negro families into the project. At one time the City Hall was picketed by 5000 people who opposed bi-racial housing. But Jeffries went down the line uncompromisingly on that fight, which hurt him with many white voters.

Reverses Field

Since the primary, Jeffries has reversed the field. At one time regarded as a fairly decent liberal, spoken of as one of Detroit's better mayors, he has made the Negro question the dominant feature of his campaign.

This in Detroit, a city of acrid racial tensions, whose residents still are living under the state of emergency proclaimed by President Roosevelt four months ago. The proclamation of an emergency on June 21, has never been lifted and most certainly will never be until the war is over. U. S. Army troops and state militia stand ready outside the city limits for the first sign of trouble.

The change in Jeffries' campaign tactics came after the primary. As one of his supporters put it:

"FitzGerald got the Negro vote and the Klan vote. Well, by God, he won't get both on Election Day."

Here's part of Jeffries' first major post-primary speech:

"The Negro wants you to feel that he's a martyr in that catastrophe. He forgets to tell you that he started the riot, that he threw the first stone, that he ambushed, attacked and shot our policemen and that he was responsible for most of the looting of the stores."

Answer to Jeffries

The answer to that came from the Greater Detroit Inter-Racial Fellowship, which declared:

"Inasmuch as no authoritative decision has been reached as to the basic cause of the riots, we deplore the presumption of placing the blame on either of the races. It is unfortunate also that the legitimate desire of the Negroes for adequate housing and better economic status should be mispresented as an issue in the campaign."

That warning from a representative group of religious, social welfare, labor and liberal leaders went unheeded.

Six days later, Jeffries said:

"Arrayed against me are groups demanding mixed housing—the mingling of Negro and whites in the same neighborhoods. I have said and will continue to say 'No.'

"My refusal to approve mixed housing cost me many votes. The Negro says it is un-American to restrict his movement. I say it is un-American for him to insist on his right to move into white neighborhoods."

All of these admonitions about bi-racial housing, everyone understands, are the "civilized" way of fighting a campaign along race lines. Bi-racial housing has become the *omnium gatherum* phrase covering segregation.

A few days ago, Jeffries charged that his opponent "must have promised to make mixed housing the policy of his administration. I warn Detroit that such a policy would bring a clash that would make the disgraceful riots of June appear to be only minor incidents."

To that, FitzGerald on Monday submitted this contribution to inter-racial amity:

"I will tell you about a Negro radical who has spoken not only for bi-racial housing, but for bi-racial marriages as well. That is the Rev. Horace White, whom Jeffries appointed to his public housing commission and who is at this very moment one of Jeffries' most active campaign managers."

Mayor's 'Invasion'

After that forthright stand against intermarriage, FitzGerald charged that it was the Mayor who "invaded a white neighborhood with a Negro housing project and he can't deny it. . . . I never have taken a stand in favor of bi-racial housing. I do not do so now."

Pointing up the housing issue, Frank Pranger, 27, an aircraft riveter was convicted yesterday of disturbing the peace following his arrest Tuesday night as the ringleader of a group protesting the settling of a Negro family in a white Detroit neighborhood. Pranger, testimony disclosed, threw a brick into the house occupied by the Negro family, and later entered the house and warned the family to move. He was fined $25 which his neighbors paid.

That is the level of Detroit's mayoralty campaign four months after the race riots, four months during which literally nothing has been done to avert another one.

For several days I have asked labor leaders, Negro spokesmen for Detroit's 220,000 Negroes, liberals, and newspapermen—"What has Detroit done since June 21 to make sure you don't have another outbreak?"

The answer is a shrug of the shoulders—nothing. There is a committee, appointed by Jeffries, but it has no power and it too has done—nothing.

A high UAW official said:

"Put this down in your little book. Jeffries' speeches today on the Negro question reflect the overwhelming sentiments of our membership in Detroit."

Support Jeffries

The Negro spokesman, with FitzGerald's intermarriage statement before him, breathed deeply and said:

"We're voting for him not because we like him but because it is important to demonstrate to any politician who wants to take that line that race-baiting is unprofitable as a vote-getter."

The white liberals with whom I talked are in their customary tragic dilemma. By and large, many of them like—or liked—Jeffries and even supported him in the primaries, despite FitzGerald's indorsement by labor. Today, confronted by Jeffries' anti-Negro, anti-labor pronouncements, they are holding their heads.

Detroit's three newspapers are supporting Jeffries, including the *Free Press*, which for two years has been lambasting him.

"It's a terrible thing for us," said one newspaperman, "to have to pick between a pair of lemons like FitzGerald and Jeffries."

The big campaign now is to get the white racialists who supported FitzGerald to switch to Jeffries. On the success or failure of this attempt depends the election.

Here's a statement by Gerald L. K. Smith, the Midwest hateler, Oct. 20 at a rally at the Book-Cadillac Hotel:

"I don't have anything to do with the mayoralty race. But I do know that I wouldn't want a Mayor that was elected by a large proportion of the blacks or they'll be pushing us off the streets."

And here is this little card, thousands of copies of which are being distributed all over Detroit:

26,245 NEGROES
Voted for FitzGerald
Only a Few Voted for Jeffries!
How Are You Going To Vote?

The Negro question is the No. 1 issue here. It dominates all conversation. The city administration has done nothing, has afforded the people no leadership. It has no program of social reconstruction. Its spokesman seeks to make your flesh creep with stories about the labor-Negro conspiracy to take over not only Detroit but the U. S. A. I heard Jeffries say that at a luncheon Tuesday.

FitzGerald has shown utterly no statesmanship in fighting—or, for that matter adroitly ducking—the race question. The best you can say for him is that he is a bumbling politician who's seeking desperately to hold on to his surprising primary strength.

But no matter who wins, weep for Detroit. At this writing there is little else you can do except weep.

X ELECTION EXTRA X

VOL. 1 NO. 1 — DETROIT, MICHIGAN — OCTOBER 25, 1943 — ELECTION EDITION

MAYOR JEFFRIES VERSUS THE PRESSURE GANGS!

Honest Government at Stake In Election... Vote November 2nd

Story on Page 3

MIXED HOUSING Threat to War Effort, Says Mayor Jeffries

DETROIT, MICH.—At the insistence of Mayor Jeffries, the Detroit Housing Commission last April resolved it would in no way change the racial characteristics of *any* neighborhood in Detroit. Any policy to permit Negro housing in established white neighborhoods could, Jeffries said, result in violent opposition to the housing program and could very easily reach a point where the war production efforts of this entire community could be endangered. This action of last April is the reason why the NAACP and other Negro leaders are opposed to Jeffries.

Extracts from a Jeffries campaign handout.

Inside Black America

By TED POSTON
Well-known Negro columnist and correspondent

NEW WORLD A-COMING: Inside Black America. By Roi Ottley. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.00.

The latest Harlem riot could not have been more propitious had Roi Ottley willed it so. For several years, Mr. Ottley had been working on a book about Harlem and Negro America. Like many other unpublished authors he must have worried about the build-up his work would receive. Then, on August 1—just a few days before the reviewers received their advance copies of "New World A-Coming"—all hell broke loose uptown and focussed the country's attention on Mr. Ottley's subject.

With Mobile, Beaumont and Detroit fresh in their minds—and Harlem in the headlines before them—it was only natural that the reviewers should have turned to Ottley's "Inside Black America" for the answers. They may not found all the answers. (Even Roi Ottley does not pretend to know them all), but they found enough to give his book a critical acclaim unequalled since Richard Wright's "Native Son," or Claude McKay's "Home to Harlem."

It is quite possible that "New World A-Coming" is not as great and authoritative a work as many persons believe it to be. But it *is* an important book and one which may contribute no little to an understanding fo the problems behind Mobile, Beaumont, Detroit—and Harlem. Its importance lies not in its startling revelations—for there is little new here to any serious student of Harlem or race relations. The book is important because it is interesting, entertaining and—at times—engrossing. It is important because it is a book which will be read—and is being read—by the people who should learn something about the problem. (Lillian Smith, editor of "South Today," reports that plantation owners in Georgia and other leaders of the Bourbon South are helping to place Mr. Ottley's book on the best seller lists.)

The author's chief contribution will be found in his breezy, informal approach to his subject. He sneaks up on his readers with most of the tales they love to hear about Negroes. He leads them into "curious, entertaining and often bizarre corners." And then, while they are chuckling in amusement, Mr. Ottley bludgeons them over the head with a few unpleasant facts which had previously escaped their attention. And before they can recover from the shock, they are chuckling again—but another "mugging" is waiting around the corner.

Thus, we see not only Father Divine, Daddy Grace and the other publicized charlatans and cultists, but also the "ten thousand and more Negroes (who) lived in basement dungeons, cellars that had been converted into makeshift flats," and the desperation which made anyone "God," if he could provide security and a chicken dinner for 15 cents. We see not only prancing tempestuous Marcus Manasseh Garvey, but the disillusioned hundreds of thousands of Negroes who sought escape through the Back-to-Black movement from "all forms of Jim Crow, humiliation, discrimination, slander and even violence at the hands of the white civilian population."

We see not only Mme. C. J. Walker, the millionaire "scalp specialist . . . (who) pulled herself up by the roots of other people's hair," but also the false sense of social values and the vain strivings for "Caucasian standards of beauty" which segregation has foisted on a large segment of America's population.

In these deft pen portraits—with a broad canvas of social factors in the background—Mr. Ottley is at his best. No one can undergo such frequent "muggings" without retaining a few "lumps" when the chuckling is over. Already "slum-shocked" is becoming a technical phrase in housing circles in Washington.

* * *

IT is unfortunate, however, that Mr. Ottley does not use his breezy informal style to explore many other Harlem corners which he knows quite well. Surely few people have had his opportunity, for instance, to see the Communists at work in Negro communities. And few could deny that this group has been more influential in many ways than the Negro "nationalists" and fascists, to which he devotes quite a bit of attention. Roy Ottley (it was "Roy" in those days) was a home relief investigator during that desperate depression period when the Reds seized both the Harlem relief bureaus and the Negro unemployed organizations as instruments of the Third International. He was a columnist and later sports and theatrical editor on *The Amsterdam News* when The Party temporarily seized control of that paper's militant Newspaper Guild unit and neutralized it while the publishers fired all the leaders of the unit's previously successful strike. Finally they fired Ottley, too, and after vainly pleading for union support from the Red-dominated unit, he remarked with characteristic Ottleyian humor: "I am a victim of Soviet foreign policy; chalk me up to the 'United Front'."

He gained even more intimate knowledge of The Party's activities when he followed his old *Amsterdam News* strike leaders and other Negro writers like Claude McKay, Richard Wright, Ellen Tarry to the old WPA Federal Writers Project, where he served as a worker and editor of "Negroes in New York," an unpublished volume listed in the bibliography of "New World A-Coming." Much that Roi Ottley learned on this project appears in his book, but little about the Communists—on the project or back uptown.

This is not to intimate that Roi Ottley is a Communist; he is not. It is rather illustrative however of his surprisingly uncritical approach to the "living" in his book. He analyzes and evaluates the respectfully "dead"; he only "reports" the living. Thus his portraits of current Negro leaders are slightly one-dimensional. They are "talented . . . shrewd . . . self-effacing . . . free from duplicity," and skilled in "the delicate task of negotiating gains for the race." His "Black Cabineteers"—including even this "noisy, flamboyant" reviewer—emerge as shining black knights on white steeds. And Mr. Ottley himself can hardly believe that the people who speak so graphically in his chapter on "Negroes Are Saying . . ." are looking solely to Mr. Roosevelt for leadership in their "rendezvous with destiny."

But these are not major faults in a good book. And even if it took the last Harlem riot to give "New World A-Coming" one of the biggest build-ups in publishing history, it may well be worth it in the long run. Its an ill-wind that blows nobody good.

Haas Resigns FEP Post-Named Bishop

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The Fair Employment Practice committee, at a most critical time in its existence, finds itself again without a chairman.

The Right Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Haas, chairman of the committee, who was named by President Roosevelt just four months ago after the committee had hung in suspension for several months, has resigned. He has been named by Pope Pius XII as Bishop of Grand Rapids, Mich., according to an announcement made last Saturday by the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Amieto Giovanni Cicoganni.

Bishop-elect Haas, who is also dean of the School of Social Sciences at Catholic university in Washington, D. C., told a press conference: "To assume my duties as Bishop of Grand Rapids it will be necessary that I resign as chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. In the degree that I know the importance of the work of that committee to the war effort and to our democracy, I leave it with profound regret."

He said he had conferred with the President and could say that there was no thought on the President's part but that the committee's work should continue.

The resignation, immediately [illegible] speculation on Haas' successor. [illegible], former Labor Board member, now is first assistant to the FEP chairman, is expected to win a wide following because of his strong stand against discrimination during his term on the FEP. Others mentioned for the post include Oscar Chapman, assistant secretary of interior who once was offered the post.

Haas said he would leave to the White House any announcement of his successor, and preferred not to say whether he had recommended any one to succeed himself.

Stresses Continuance

Continuing his formal statement, Haas said: "The terrible needs of war exact that we use to the utmost the hands and the high skills which Negro citizens, Spanish-Americans, Jews and loyal men and women of foreign extraction, are offering willingly to their country's service.

"That is the practical side, against which no man who loves his country would knowingly erect the barriers of intolerance or of outmoded industrial habits.

"The essential rightness of the President's executive order against discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin appeared clear to me when I took office as chairman of the committee four months ago. In that brief period the close experience with the problems of the men and women who have suffered discrimination at the hands of fellow-Amer-

See HAAS, Page 4

THE NATION

Carry on the War Against Hate-Mongers

Yesterday we printed a declaration of war against the hate-mongers, who are spreading disunity in the midst of war along with the racism that is their creed. The declaration is a pledge, to be signed by men and women of good will, to fight back at the racists among us who have brought into the open here the racial and religious hates used by our fascist enemies to subjugate their own countries. Those who sign will refuse to be an audience for the hatelers or to accept their printed slurs and propaganda. They will protect themselves against being misled by false rumors and reports—the fascist grapevine. They will speak up to challenge those who spread anti-Semitism, Jim Crowism or discrimination based on religious views.

On this and the next page we are reporting the reaction to the opening of the campaign and to publication of the declaration.

Today we are printing it again. We are doing this as part of a search for a means of turning into an affirmative, dynamic force the decent thinking that is the American idea. The evidence is at hand that, unless it is turned, the growing violence of the hatred already engendered by our enemies will burst out of all bounds as it burst at Boston, or Los Angeles, or Beaumont, or Detroit, or Harlem itself.

So far our enemies have had the positive side: They have had purpose and direction in their slanders while those they have sought to sway have been, for the most part, passive, even negative in resistance. If a campaign such as that embodied in the declaration of war on the hate-mongers is successful, it will provide a psychological fighting front to beat back the disunity that is growing among us; if it is only mildly successful it will, at least, rob the spreaders of hate of the passive social sanction they use as a shield in their work.

Hate by one American of another because of race, color, or religion, isn't created full blown by any single act or circumstance. It is the product of a thousand tongues, a thousand falsities, spread more, perhaps, by individual word of mouth among the people than from any speaker's platform. It is the product of whispered stories, of wild rumors, of written and verbal innuendoes of slighting remarks, of false statements, of clever jokes and catch lines, of tales that prey on the fears of those who listen—all of these with Jews, or Catholics, or Negroes, as their butts. Those are the things which fan racial hate to proportions that flame into open violence, like as not between the minority groups themselves.

That flood of hate passed on from mouth to mouth among the people takes on sanction and approval for no other reason than that those who listen more often than not do not bother to nail the speaker with the facts or with a challenge. When the spreaders of racial and religious prejudices know that their words will be met with the cold, blunt statement that they are mouthing fascist racism stemming from our enemies, much of it will stop.

If people will stand up and talk for the democratic idea, for decent treatment of other human beings, for equality regardless of color or race or religion, for good will instead of hate, the fascist idea cannot grow stronger over here.

—JOHN P. LEWIS

Civic Leaders Unite in Battle to End Intolerance

The campaign against racism and undemocratic discrimination brought a prompt response yesterday from civic and religious leaders throughout the nation.

The Declaration of War on Hate-Mongers, *printed in Sunday's issue of PM, was hailed as an active measure toward racial understanding and democratic harmony. A similar pledge, printed the day after the outbreak of the August riots in Harlem, was praised by Mayor La Guardia. At that time the appeal was addressed to New Yorkers, while the present campaign is aimed at keeping peace and ending discrimination against any race or religion throughout America.*

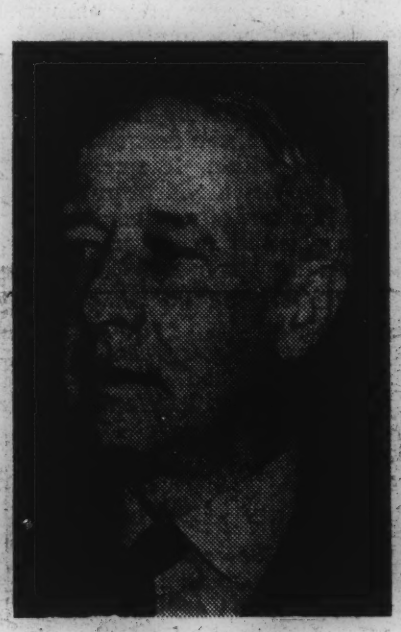
Statements of some of those indorsing the drive for democracy in war-time America follow:

Alfred E. Smith

Former Governor of New York and a leading Catholic layman

"That racial and religious bigotry exist in this country there can be no doubt.

"No real red-blooded American who believes in the principles upon which our government was founded can be a party to or encourage in



Alfred E. Smith

the slightest degree any exhibition of bigotry or intolerance.

"In our Declaration of Independence we declare to the world our belief that all men are created equal. Among other things that our Constitution guarantees is freedom of religious belief.

"PM performs a distinct service when, in times like these through which we are passing, it advocates adherence to the fundamental principles that are the bulwark of American democracy.

"We bow in reverence at the grave of the Unknown Soldier and nobody knows his race, his color or his religion. Therefore let us all deal with all our neighbors as brothers and sisters under the fatherhood of God."

Arthur Garfield Hays

Liberal attorney and counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union

"I am not afraid of prejudices. Given equal rights under the law minorities will be able to take care of themselves. I have said on occasion that the right to a prejudice is a civil liberty. I cannot conceive of a free society where such is not recognized. You have a right or should have a right to like or employ Protestants, Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Communists, Nazis or men with red hair. You have a right or should have a right to reveal your own ignorance and bigotry.

"But I like the PM pledge in that you express your own individual attitude, you take a moral position to line up with those who are ready to make a fight against intolerance. And you publicly exhibit your own prejudice against bigots."

Dr. Allen E. Claxton

Pastor of Broadway Temple

"Your declaration of war on hate-mongers is timely and to the point. If the clergymen of all faiths and races will preach sermons on this editorial denouncing religious and racial arrogance as out of place in a Democracy it will do great good. I believe an appeal for signatures to the printed pledge in Sunday's PM should be made in every church. I shall make such an appeal in my own church.

"Brotherhood is the heart of religion. God is the creator of all people, all races, all colors. Wherever free and enlightened religion has made its way, men have recognized that they are equal before God, and therefore need not, and will not, tolerate discrimination, favoritism, or prejudice.

"There is no greater domestic task facing America today than the solution of the race problem. The churches should accept their responsibility in this matter, first, by behaving in a manner consistent with their professed ideals, and second, by waging a spiritual crusade throughout the nation for racial understanding and the enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution."

The Rev. John Haynes Holmes

Minister of the Community Church, N. Y.

"Racial and religious hate is as terrible an enemy at home as Nazism is abroad. It can wreck this nation and destroy utterly any peace and security that men may hope to get out of this war. Every aspect of prejudice must be fought as one would fight the plague.

"PM is to be congratulated for lifting a banner to which every decent citizen, every true American

Dr. John Haynes Holmes

and every sincere Christian should rally."

James Waterman Wise

Research Director of the Council Against Intolerance in America

"I hail PM's declaration of war against racism. You have exposed

MORE

Declaration of War on Hate-Mongers

Realizing that unity is indivisible—that the man who speaks against one American on the basis of race, religion, or color, speaks against all—I pledge these things:

¶ That I will not give ear to words of racial or religious hate;

¶ That I will not be misled by rumors or reports and will not spread either about my fellow Americans;

¶ That I will use my voice for whatever value it may have to challenge openly and publicly and on the spot any man who speaks, in seriousness or in jest, along the lines of racial or religious hate.

Signed .....

Address .....

City .....

Fill in this pledge and address it to your priest, your clergyman, your rabbi, or a responsible public officer with the following note:

Dear .....

In signing this pledge, I wish, too, to bring it to your attention so that you, in your good offices, may join with us who sign, and lead us in the fight against racial intolerance, bigotry, oppression and all the fascist hatreds. For these, as we all know, are devices of fascism which at once weaken our unity in the world war in which we are engaged and undermine our democracy.

Sincerely yours,

Signed .....

CONTINUED

Hatred Menaces Democracy, Leaders Warn

the treacherous Pearl Harbor attacks of the hate-mongers which have taken place in communities throughout the country. You have stripped the mask from the forces of bigotry and greed and hate which have combined to prevent victory abroad by destroying unity at home.

"Until now, many Americans have allowed themselves the luxury of indifference or indecision on the issue of intolerance. They can no longer do so. The lines have been formed, the battle joined.

"Just as truly as either 'we or they' will conquer in Italy and Russia and Burma and China, so either 'we' who loath bigotry and cherish equality, or 'they' who seek to fasten the poll tax, the ghetto, the Ku Klux Klan and the lynch law upon our country, will conquer here.

"I have faith that the American people, which PM has awakened and aroused by its challenge to the hatemongers, will win this supreme victory on the home front."

J. X. Cohen

Associate Rabbi, Free Synagogue; chairman, commission on Economic Discrimination, American Jewish Congress

"Many a fearful meteorological storm has been blown to sea, to harmless dispersal, by counter-currents. In race relations, PM now furnishes that beneficent influence which can help divert and disperse the serious sociological storm which threatens America even before the war ends.

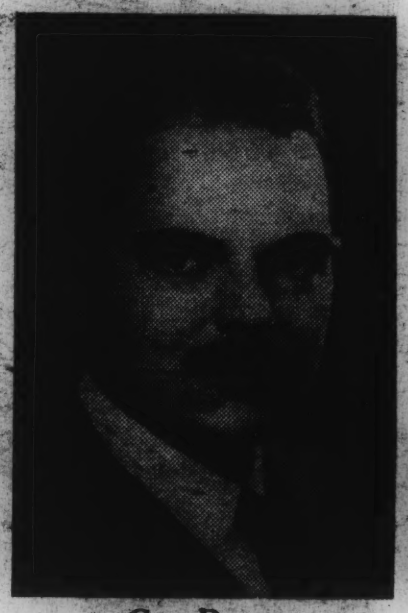
"PM's timing is perfect. Peace can unleash forces now severely restrained by war time controls. PM is wisely preparing for peace in time of war, thus gaining precious time and, we pray, numerous recruits in its program to now 'fight off the rising storm of racism.'"

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick

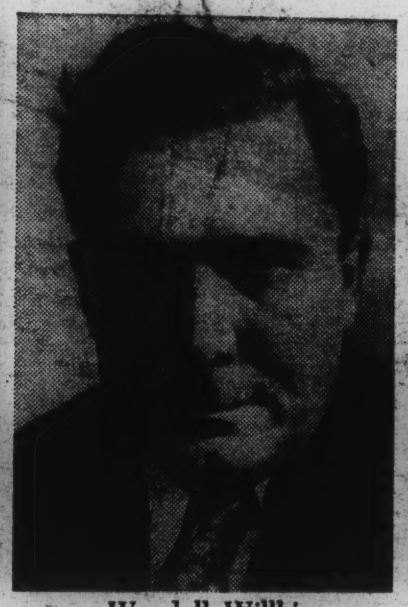
Pastor of the Riverside Church, Manhattan

"Prejudice against minorities on grounds of race and color is the denial of basic Christianity and basic Democracy. That such racial prejudice should emerge in America, at this or any other time, is a national disgrace. The test of Democracy is not the rule of the majority—even Hitler may get a majority. The test of Democracy is the treatment of minorities. It is the fundamental business of all serious religion to stand behind the kind of attitude which PM's editorial represents."

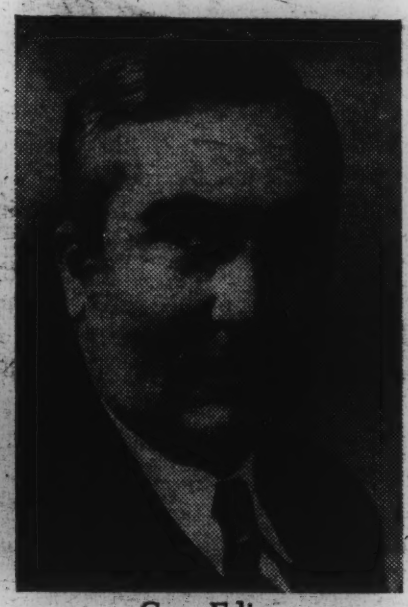
Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick



Gov. Dewey



Wendell Willkie



Gov. Edison

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey

"Racial hatred is an outlaw in American life. The State of New York owes its greatness to the men and women of every race, creed and color who have labored to make it great.

"Seventy-eight per cent of the people of our great city are foreign born or are the sons and daughters of foreign born. We have achieved unity in the war effort. That unity must not be injured by the ugly doctrines of racial hatred.

"Just so long as our people remain as one, working and living side by side for the common good, we will continue to go forward. The real danger comes from the human termites nurtured upon ignorance who gnaw at the sound timbers of our state.

"We must eliminate those termites if our structure is to endure. I am sure every citizen of the State of New York will join with me in warmly encouraging every effort dedicated to ending race hatred."

E. K. Jones

General secretary of the National Urban League

"Race and class hatred in the United States must be wiped out if World War III is to be averted. If the United States solves the problem of racism, our Good Neighbor policy in the Americas becomes more than a hope.

"Following our lead, Europe will stamp out the remnants of Nazism and Fascism, South Africa will no longer justify the color bar, Great Britain will liberalize her colonial policy and Japan will lose her argument for the East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. There can be no compromise with group hate."

The Rev. John Paul Jones

Pastor of Union Church of Bay Ridge, Presbyterian, Brooklyn

"I commend PM's valiant fight against racial and religious intolerance. That fight should be taken up by every true American. If this fight should be lost, victories on the battlefield will be in vain.

"If the great American democracy deserts its own principles of personal freedom and stoops to vilify its own citizens for any reason—worst of all for racial and religious reasons—Hitler has won. Hitler's spirit will have triumphed though his armies may be crushed. The great hope of fraternity and equality, of freedom and brotherhood, will darken into night.

"If my Jewish brothers' property, person and religion; if my Negro brothers' or my Catholic brothers' property, person and religion are not safe from persecution, hatred, and vandalism, neither are mine.

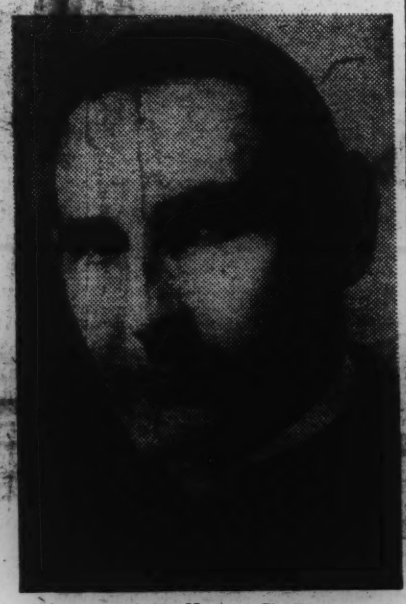
"The only ultimate safeguard for my life and sacred heritage is the willing protection of everybody's sacred life and tradition. Those who are not eternally vigilant of the freedom of all, cannot long themselves be free."

Wendell Willkie.

"The usual evidences of racial dislikes, antagonisms, and predjudices which in our past history have frequently played their shameful role, are no longer the basic factors involved in the current rising storm of racism about which PM is speaking out so vigorously.

"Formerly, anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negro feeling were manifestations of social unrest and were generated by personal dislikes and prejudices; while the present intensification of discriminatory practices and open violence springs forth from what appears to be a campaign throughout America.

"Once we recognize the distinction between the motivations of these undemocratic practices, we see the extent to which we have fallen victims at home to the enemies we are meeting victoriously abroad. Racial bigotry is the barometer of defeat. It must be wiped out in America and in the world."



The Rev. William C. Kernan

Gov. Charles Edison

Of New Jersey

"You cannot talk about bigotry and democracy in the same breath; the two are totally inconsistent.

"Whether bigotry arises through ignorance or, as is so often the case today, from an inspired disregard of the rights of men living in a free society, it is a deadly force which, unless checked, can destroy democracy from within. It spreads the seed of suspicion and distrust, and eventually turns neighbor against neighbor, group against group and class against class.

"There can be no compromise with this dread and evil force. We must unmask bigotry and wipe it out, wherever and in whatever guise we may find it. We must not and are not going to give it sanction."

Walter C. White

Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

"If only enough of us who consider ourselves decent, liberal human beings will sign and live up to the ideal expressed in PM's pledge, we can stop cold the wave of hatred which is about to engulf us.

"If we don't—we are lost, and the lives now being sacrificed on battlefields around the globe are being sacrificed for nothing.

"I have already signed PM's pledge."

The Rev. William C. Kernan

Director of the Christian Institute for American Democracy and assistant to the Rector of the Church of St. James-the-Less, Scarsdale, N. Y.

"There are people in the United States who want to make America a Nazi country. Recent outrages and violence against racial minorities is part of their plan to bring this about. It is the same plan the Nazis followed in Germany. It worked in Germany. And it can work here.

"Nazism can be crushed in America if the people believe in Democracy and Americanism determine to stand firmer in unbreakable formation behalf of the old American principle of equal rights and equal justice for all, regardless of race, color, or religion."

L. M. Birkhead

National Director of the Friends of Democracy

"Congratulations to PM on preparing its fine American pledge. Sign my name to it at once.

"It is important to combat all of the 'anti' propagandas and the racial and religious bigotries. These racial hates, these religious bigotries and these anti-propagandas have become powerful political weapons. They are used to divide and confuse us.

"Every American citizen should sign PM's pledge not only to have no part himself in these hates and bigotries, but also to combat them in every possible way."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Rabbi of the Free Synagogue and president of the American-Jewish Congress.

"PM has from its beginning led its readers to expect the best in its news. It is recognized outside of the United States Chamber of Commerce as a source of high inspiration to Americans who choose to face the truth, however unpleasant.

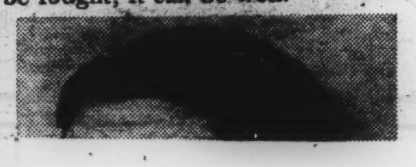
"The editorial of Sunday, Oct. 31, under the heading 'Fight Off the Rising Storm of Racism' is a clarion call to the whole nation. It is a somber warning with respect to anti-democratic attacks, obvious or under cover, a stirring challenge to our nation to bethink itself before the fascist forces imperil its very existence.

"What the editor of PM wrote is a desperately needed reminder to the unthinking throughout the land that racism can be utilized by fascism as a potent and searing anti-democratic weapon.

"The desecration of graves is a Hitler performance; the attacks upon Jewish children and youth in Boston, inspired if not organized by the misnamed Christian Front, are Hitler manifestations. Anti-Negro mobs, whether in Detroit or Harlem, are Hitler phenomena.

"There will be no overcoming of fascism in these United States until after racism, that is racial hatreds and bigotries, has been rooted out. PM suggests a way. It is a way of individual contriteness. It is a way of collective education and self-education.

"To arms! To moral arms, to spiritual arms against racism! For racism is a token of intellectual self-abasement, of moral bankruptcy. PM's call to arms shall not go unheeded. It is no more than a brave beginning. But it is a daring first skirmish in a long-time war. It will be fought; it can be won."



CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION EXPERT WRITES:

Jim Crow's King If Jeffries Wins, Say Detroit Negroes

By WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH
Secretary, Committee on Racial Discrimination, American Civil Liberties Union.

Detroit, Nov. 2.—Only one important Detroit Negro thinks there will be violence at the polls in today's election. If it were clear early in the day that Frank F. FitzGerald who is backed by labor and the Negro, were losing, the reaction might be bad.

All indications, however, point to the fact that the race is going to be exceedingly close and that it will be decided by a narrow margin of some 20,000 to 50,000 votes.

Even if FitzGerald is elected however, there will be no rejoicing in Paradise Valley, the heart of the Hastings St. Negro area.

Mixed Housing

The hottest issue in this campaign is mixed housing. "Mayor Jeffries is against mixed housing," say the hand-bills. Actually lots of whites are not very sure what mixed housing is. One woman said it meant that all federal housing projects were going to be for Negroes.

From the Negro point of view the issue is whether Negroes in a Northern city like Detroit are going to be integrated into American life by being allowed to escape from rat and vermin infested Jim Crow areas into the less crowded, safer, healthier areas of the city like that represented by the Sojourner Truth federal housing [illegible].

Mayor Jeffries slammed this door shut in the Negroes' faces Apr. 29, when he announced that each Detroit neighborhood would be allowed to follow its own racial pattern. FitzGerald also found the mixed housing issue too hot, and although supposedly pro-Negro, has repudiated the Negroes' demands for anti-Jim Crow housing.

Is There Any Hope?

The reaction of the Detroit Negro to the riot and to the racist attacks used by Mayor Jeffries in his campaign is, on the surface, not what you might expect. He isn't angry, tense or jittery. Defeat and repudiation by the white world are his native atmosphere. On Sunday Rev. Horace White, one of Mayor Jeffries' political appointees, preached a sermon entitled: "Is there any hope for the Negro?" It is almost an academic question. The lights have been snapping off so fast in the Black Belt that everyone is growing accustomed to the darkness.

Even conservative Negroes know and say that today's election will be decisive for them. If Jeffries loses, it will be a sign that the Northern Negro is not yet defeated in his aspiration. If Jeffries wins, it will mean that one of the greatest Northern cities has consciously adopted the South's Jim Crow pattern.

"This Is It"

What the Negroes are saying is: "It's going to be decided now, here, on the Detroit front. This is it."

The reaction of white people to the riot and the campaign is, on the surface, much more intense than that of the Negro.

Said a well-known white social worker: "For the first time some whites in Detroit hate Negroes the way many Negroes hate whites. Before the riot, most whites treated Negroes decently and good naturedly, but never thought very much about them. The riot has defined and crystallized their feeling; they are either much friendlier than before, or more hostile."

The likelihood that there will be further racial violence in Detroit—not during the election, but during the next five years—is considerable. While other cities, like Chicago, Pittsburgh and Cleveland are taking vigorous steps to improve race relations, Detroit appears to be in a state of semi-paralysis and is doing almost nothing. It has even failed, so far, to get a careful and impartial report on the riot itself.

What Chicago Did

Contrast what Chicago did in mopping up after its riot of 1919, with what Detroit has done. In Chicago, 80 citizens, representing 46 organizations, asked the governor to act. The governor appointed an inter-racial commission of six whites and six colored people, who spent a year investigating the riot and who meted out blame and admonishments to both whites and Negroes with an even hand.

In Detroit, Mayor Jeffries also appointed an inter-racial committee of six whites and six colored people. This committee failed to get out an adequate report on the riot. By way of providing some kind of report, Gov. Kelly of Michigan appointed a committee consisting of Herbert J. Rushton, Attorney General; William E. Dowling, prosecuting attorney; Oscar Olander, Commissioner of State Police, and John H. Witherspoon, Commissioner of Detroit Police. This committee turned in a report praising the performance of the police in the Detroit riot and making the Negro the scapegoat.

Since the performance of the police during the riot had provoked widespread criticism inside and outside of the city, the idea of asking two police officials to investigate, impartially, the conduct of the riot was like asking a McCoy for an impartial report on the McCoy-Hatfield feud.

Money for Recreation

The relation between the Negroes of the Hastings St. slum area and the white police has been the sore spot in Detroit race relations, and the blame for this feud does not lie wholly on either side. The situation has all kinds of angles, which need to be investigated and made public.

The riot has had a few useful effects. After decades of doing almost nothing in respect to providing recreation for either white or colored children, the city has finally appropriated $64,000 for this purpose. Courses on race relations for Detroit's teachers have been started and six neighborhood experts, to be known as expediters, are to be employed in slum and race tension neighborhoods.

If FitzGerald is elected, Mayor Jeffries' Inter-racial Committee will probably go out of existence. The only Detroit group prepared to take its place is the Greater Detroit Inter-racial Fellowship. Queried as to what he would do to improve race relations and to prevent further riots in Detroit, if elected, FitzGerald said in an exclusive interview: "Any program the Greater Detroit Fellowship recommends to me, I will follow. I will follow it religiously."

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1943

EXPERT ON SCENE FOR THE POST COVERING DETROIT'S ELECTION

Today, the voters of Detroit, scene of the worst race riot of the war, will elect a mayor, ending a bitter election campaign in which racial relations was the main issue.

The New York Post has sent Winifred Raushenbush, secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union Committee on Racial Discrimination, to Detroit to analyze the conditions which have forced Mayor Edward J. Jeffries to face the strongest opponent of his career, Frank FitzGerald, choice of labor, liberals and Negro groups.

Crump Warns 'Outsiders' To Stay Out Of Memphis

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — "Boss" Ed Crump, Shelby county political [illegible] the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, from making a scheduled appearance at a mass meeting here, this week warned "outsiders" to keep out of Memphis affairs and declared that the city would never have any racial trouble if left alone.

Dragging in the "social equality" bugaboo, Crump asserted that although 99 per cent of the Memphis Negroes are satisfied with the status quo, one per cent of the population will be satisfied only when they attain social equality. "The few who want that had better give serious thought to this matter as long as they live in this section.

"That unhappy one per cent, with a mistaken sense of their wrongs, usually pass down unwise thoughts to those further down the ladder and then there is mischief," the demagogue declared.

Discussing the possibility of interracial clashes Crump said: "Many of us would actually walk from here to Chicago if that would prevent any serious race trouble here, killing perhaps thousands of law-abiding, respectful citizens of the Negro race, and many whites; but, I am sure we would also walk that distance to deal with any man or set of men if they were trying to stir up trouble between the races and disrupt our friendly, amicable relations.

"If we should have serious race trouble here with [illegible] and the destruction of property, it would take us 25 years to recover—regain our friendly cooperation.

"While I am on this subject, no blatherskite, or demagogue of the North or South should be permitted to interfere with the friendly relations between the races that now exist in Memphis.

"Free speech does not mean that anyone has a right to holler 'fire' in a crowded theatre, nor does it mean that anyone, white or black, has a right to incite race trouble.

"While the Negroes of Memphis pay only about 5 per cent of the taxes they should be dealt with fairly, and honestly—fair living conditions and fair working conditions. We should never have any trouble in Memphis and will not if we run our own affairs and no outsiders will ever run them for us," said Crump.

Randolph in replying to Crump declared:

"The statement by E. H. Crump reads like a page from Hitler's Mein Kampf, and constitutes a challenge not only to Negroes of Memphis and the entire country, but also to the Federal Government. Is Memphis a part of the United States of America or is it a foreign country?

"Can Cordell Hull conscientiously speak of this government joining to carry the four freedoms into the countries under Nazi yoke when there is no right of freedom of speech and assembly in Memphis, a city of his own state?"

THE CHICAGO SUN, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1943

Memphis 'Boss' Accused Of Barring Negro Speaker

Charges that "Boss" Ed Crump, head of the Memphis (Tenn.) Democratic machine, prevented A. Philip Randolph, Negro president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, from speaking in that city were made here yesterday.

The accusations were made by Randolph, who visited Chicago on a nationwide business tour for his union, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Randolph, a veteran leader and outspoken champion of Negro rights, has been scheduled to address a Negro mass meeting on "Negro Problems" in the Mount Nebo Baptist Church in Memphis Sunday, Nov. 7.

Meeting Ordered Canceled.

"When I arrived in Memphis after visits to Dallas and Houston, Tex., where there was no question of my right to address my union members, I was met by a delegation of porters who told me that Memphis officials, on 'Boss' Crump's orders, had stopped the meeting," Randolph said.

Randolph said the delegation informed him of the cancellation of the mass meeting "with humility but with obvious fear."

"The delegation told me that about 20 prominent Memphis Negroes had been called into a conference by Sheriff O. H. Perry. The conference wasn't held in the conference room of the state's attorney's office but "in the bull pen of the county jail," Randolph said.

Fear of Riot Expressed.

The Negro leader charged that the Shelby County state's attorney, William Gerber, told the Memphis Negroes that there "will be a race riot if Randolph talks here."

"Gerber told them that the white people of Memphis were arming themselves with clubs and guns and were going to break up the meeting," Randolph charged.

The head of the porters' union said Gerber had "reminded" the Negro leaders of "what Memphis has done for the colored people in the way of housing, health, medical centers, schools, playgrounds, parks, swimming pools, a tuberculosis hospital, help for the blind" and so forth.

Randolph, who is a member of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, said he told the Memphis delegation that he would be glad to address a mass meeting there if they would invite him back. Tennessee is a poll-tax state.

"I told them this was a challenge to the Negro people," Randolph said. "I told them Negroes must not let this thrust at the heart of democracy and freedom of speech and assembly go unchallenged."

Although the meeting was called off, Randolph remained in Memphis and two days later, last Tuesday, addressed a meeting of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The meeting was policed by several deputy sheriffs and plain-clothes men.

Crump Blames "Outsiders."

In answer to Randolph's charges, Crump stated that Memphis can "run its own affairs and won't have any race trouble if outsiders don't try to run them for us."

"No blatherskite, or demagogue of the North or South should be permitted to interfere with the friendly relations between the races that now exist in Memphis," Crump said. He added that "if Negroes are imported here to make unnecessary, firebrand speeches, then the blame is on them."

Crump said "free speech doesn't mean that anyone has a right to holler 'fire' in a packed theater."

He charged that "about 1 per cent of the Negroes will never be satisfied, no matter what is done for them, unless there is complete social equality."

The [illegible] last May 24 American forces [illegible] one [illegible] bitterest engagements [illegible] at to smash the enemy's hold on [illegible] Attu at the tip of the Aleutians.

For several days, Private Martinez's citation disclosed, persistent effort had failed to drive the [illegible] from a key defensive position in the precipitous mountains between the east [illegible] of Holtz Bay, where American troops had established forward positions, and Chichagof Harbor, where the enemy was based.

ATTACK BOGS DOWN

On May 26 a reenforced battalion was thrown into the drive and gradually moved forward in the face of intense machine gun, rifle, and mortar fire. Then that advance, too, bogged down before the enemy's lead.

"Private Martinez arose to his feet and alone resumed his advance," the citation said. "Occasionally he stopped to urge his comrades on and his example inspired the others to follow."

Private Martinez inched steadily up the slope with the battalion behind him and the hell of Japanese fire ahead and all around. Finally he reached a benchlike plateau. Several Japanese positions had been established there in fox holes, but they could not stop the Colorado farm boy. He cleared them out with his automatic rifle and hand grenades.

But the battalion's advance again bogged down under a withering fire from the flank, from trenches ahead, and from high ground above.

CLEANS OUT TRENCH

"Then one lone figure rose and started up the snow slope that led from the bench to the pass," the battalion commander reported. "Again it was Martinez. Again the other men followed.

"Again he was forced to move across open ground under heavy fire until he came upon the first of two trenches. Jumping in, he quickly cleared it out with a few bursts from his automatic rifle and some more well-thrown grenades. Five Japs were found there.

"Without hesitation, he moved forward up the slope to the second trench. He accounted for two Japs in this position. He reached the pass, still under fire from surrounding ridges. Standing up on the ridge overlooking the pass leading into Chichagof Harbor, he emptied his rifle into the Japanese positions just below and beyond the pass."

ABSORBED ALL JAP FIRE

"He was mortally wounded with his rifle still at his shoulder, absorbing all enemy fire and permitting all units to move up behind him and successfully take and hold the pass."

Capture of the pass was described as "an important preliminary to the end of organized hostile resistance on the island."

The Medal of Honor will be presented to the young soldier's father, Manuel V. Martinez, by Maj. Gen. Frederick E. Uhl, commanding general of the Seventh Service Command, at the Martinez home, near Ault, on November 16.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I desire to thank the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] for calling to the attention of the Senate and the country the account carried by the Associated Press telling the tragic story of the heroism of one of Colorado's noble sons, Pvt. Joseph P. Martinez, of Ault, Colo. Private Martinez made the supreme sacrifice on May 26 last under circumstances that will make his heroic exploit live forever on the pages of American history.

Joe Martinez led his fellow Americans up a snow-covered mountain in the face of withering Japanese gunfire, and fell only after driving out one Jap nest after another. This boy was determined, at any cost, to drive the despised Japanese off American soil. All of Colorado sorrows with Joe's family, but is intensely proud that one of her sons proved so courageous.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, I wish to concur in the remarks of my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] concerning Pvt. Joe Martinez.

Our State is in sorrow at the loss of this noble son. Our grief is mingled in the pride we take in the fact that his valor has been honored so deservedly by the Government of the country he loved so well, and for which he gave his life.

THE POLL TAX

Mr. HILL obtained the floor.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to an editorial in the Washington Post of today, November 12, under the headline "Poll tax." It reads:

A strike is even more reprehensible on the part of Members of Congress than on the part of the workers. Yet the Senators are laying plans to stage a strike. We refer to the scheme to kill the anti-poll-tax measure which the Judiciary Committee hopes to report out today. Senator BILBO, who has already shown extraordinary powers of endurance as a filibusterer, is preparing to enter the fray again. His like-minded colleagues can be counted upon to do their share in prolonging the debate.

The damage done to the prestige of Congress by a senatorial filibuster in the midst of a war that imposes [illegible] responsibilities upon the legislative branch of the Government will not shake the determination of certain southern Senators to talk the anti-poll-tax bill to death. For this is a contest in which more than States' rights and political principles are at stake.

At this point I direct the attention of Senators, and of the country, as well, to the false impression that has been created by the sponsors of this unconstitutional proposal.

Senatorial jobs are also an issue.

If the opponents of the poll-tax measure are fighting the antipoll-tax bill because they think their senatorial jobs are at stake, we might counter by saying that there may be some who would vote for it on the ground that their jobs would be at stake if they did not. The editorial continues:

In the poll-tax States the percentage of otherwise qualified voters who cast ballots in Federal elections is extremely small. Hence, the Congressmen and Senators from those States are elected by a small and select group of voters whom it is comparatively easy to attract and hold.

Mr. President, with all due deference to the splendid editorial staff of the Washington Post, there has never been a greater misstatement of fact in the American press than the statement I have just read. As a rule, I enjoy reading the editorials in the Post, because I know the Post has a very able editorial staff. When I read this editorial I was almost tempted to think that possibly the office boy wrote it instead of some member of the staff.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I am glad [illegible]

Mr. OVERTON. I hope the Senator will read the whole editorial and emphasize what it said in the concluding sentence.

Mr. BILBO. I will. The editorial continues:

Given such conditions, elective officials dread the thought of any change in the qualifications for voting that would increase the number and change the composition of the voting population.

Mr. President, I want to serve notice on Senators who are inclined to vote for the anti-poll tax bill that the passage of the bill will not qualify a single solitary Negro in Mississippi to vote. We do not eliminate the Negroes from the ballot box through the poll-tax qualifications. It is done by another provision of the constitution of the State. So Senators are not going to accomplish the result if they think that by the passage of the bill they will qualify the Negroes to vote in the Mississippi elections.

It would be grossly unfair, of course, to suggest that every opponent of anti-poll-tax legislation from the poll-tax States is motivated solely by selfish considerations.

At this point I think I myself can take a little credit because, personally, I am opposed to the poll tax. But I am opposed to the proposed legislation because it represents a direct violation of the Constitution, as we propose to show later, and I know that if the precedent is ever established to permit the Congress to interfere with the States and strike down the qualifications which the States have provided, and which have obtained for 150 years, it will form the ground and the basis upon which Congress will attempt in the future to interpose in State questions and strike down other qualifications, and perhaps add qualifications. Mr. President, I am simply trying to maintain the American scheme of government as between the Federal Government and the States.

However, the instinct of self-preservation is undoubtedly a powerful factor in increasing resistance to the proposed legislation and increasing the chances for successful filibustering.

Listen to this statement, Mr. President:

Under existing circumstances, therefore, legislators who press for a show-down on poll-tax legislation in the midst of war are doing their country a very poor service.

Mr. President, I serve notice on the country that if the sponsors of this ill-advised proposed legislation press for action at this time when we are confronted with a serious war situation and serious war legislation, and it brings about an impasse in the legislative processes, the responsibility must rest on the shoulders of the sponsors of the proposed legislation, because they know full well that this question will be discussed at length, without limit.

In days to come it will be another case of Bryan's free and unlimited coinage—of words this time instead of silver—and it might be interesting to some Senators to know that there are a [illegible] num-

PM Daily FOR LATE WAR

VOL. IV — No. 116 11/6/43 MONDAY, No

Workers Defense League Asks President to Release Alton Levy

Special Correspondence

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 1.—The Workers Defense League, at its quarterly meeting here, urged President Roosevelt last night to release Alton Levy, who is serving four months at hard labor at the Lincoln (Neb.) Air Base after being convicted of circulating allegedly "slanderous remarks" about his commanding officer and "false statements" about the treatment of Negroes at the base.

Levy, a former organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL, was declared by the presiding officer of the court to be innocent 48 hours prior to his conviction.

The message to FDR was offered by the League's national secretary, Morris Milgram of New York, and unanimously adopted.

The League voted its annual award for "distinguished service in behalf of labor's rights" to A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL. Randolph received the award for his attacks on Jim Crowism within the American Federation of Labor, delivered at the AFL's [illegible]

[illegible], FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1943

Wallace Gets Holiday Seals

The first block of George Washington Carver Foundation Holiday Seals, sponsored by the New York Tuskegee Alumni Assn. for the benefit of the Carver Foundation at Tuskegee Institute, was presented to Vice President Henry A. Wallace in Washington. From left: Mrs. P. B. Bailey, H. M. Griffin, Julian B. Thomas, Miss Lucinda Netterville, Wallace, C. I. Royal and Mrs. A. B.

New Leader

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1943

A Story of What Jim-Crowism Means

By JAMES RORTY

THE night before the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) held its much-postponed railroad hearings in Washington, Negro trade unionists held a rally to organize a movement for a permanent FEPC.

A Negro locomotive fireman took the platform. He was tall, awkward, seemingly so stage-struck that for a moment his hearers feared he might take refuge from his embarrassment by clowning.

Suddenly he straightened, power poured through him, and when he spoke, his voice rang like a bell.

"This," he said, "is my moment to speak for freedom." Then, almost as an afterthought. "I am ready to die this morning."

That will give an idea of the religious intensity, the moral power, that brought about the triumphant conclusion of the railroad hearings, a victory confirmed by the President last week when he said that "shall" means "must," as used in the Executive Order that reads: "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in government by reason of race, color, or national origin."

Next day at the hearings the same man and other Negro railroad workers, speaking with almost equal intensity, spelled out, chapter by chapter, the unhappy chronicle of the thirty-ists, aided by the carriers and the presumptively impartial agencies of government, against their colored brothers—a war disastrous alike for the Negroes and for the labor movement's life-and-death need of inter-racial solidarity. They told how even before the last war the all-white Brotherhoods, by means of strikes and threatened walkouts, had forced a number of the railroads to agree to restrict colored workers as to their percentage on the rolls, their runs, and their jobs.

They told how pressure mounted like the curve on a fever chart during every period of economic depression and consequent disemployment; how in 1929 and again in 1931, Negro firemen were literally shot out of their cabs, fifteen being killed and twenty-nine wounded in this way. They, and white experts summoned by the FEPC's counsel, told how even after Pearl Harbor had accented the need for skilled railroad workers, the brotherhoods had intensified the purge by forcing through the infamous Southeastern Carrier's Conference agreement—a contract witnessed and signed by two members of the National Mediation Board.

A Negro switchman, R. H. Russell, described the run-around given him when he tried to get railroad employment for his two sons. In the end the white trainmaster told him flatly that "the less you have to say about this hiring of niggers the better off you will be."

"I left the office," testified Russell, "went home to my bedroom and got on my knees and began to pray to Almighty God to guard my actions, and I thanks Him who have me here this morning to testify in behalf of the Negro men."

White railroad workers, too, played creditable and moving roles in this drama. One of the high moments of the hearings was reached when Charles M. Bruce Jr., a white engineer, told how he came to lose his seniority rights on the Georgia Central.

Q.: Did there come a day when you were displaced from your position as a mainline engineer?

A.: Yes, sir.

Q.: What was the occasion of that?

A.: Well, I was asked to roll (displace) a senior colored fireman and I refused to do it.

Q.: Is there any reason why other white engineers on that division so far as you know are not present at this hearing to testify?

A.: Well, they would be here, but they don't want to stick their necks out.

* * *

BRUCE was in fact the only white railroad worker who "stuck his neck out" during the course of the hearings. Officially the all-white railroad unions were equally diffident. They made no appearance, and offered no testimony, being represented only by an observer.

In contrast, the carriers were there in force. Speaking for the most part through Mr. Sidney Alderman, counsel for the Southern Railroad, they said they were sorry. Yes, the facts were as stated. Yes, trained Negro firemen and switchmen were being kicked out of their jobs in the middle of the war, with the accident rate rising, and the shortage of skilled railroad workers so acute that the employment of war prisoners had been seriously suggested. Yes, the carriers had signed that Southeastern conference agreement, which wrote finis to the Negroe's hope that somehow a few of them might cling to jobs that members of their race had held for a hundred years. But the National Mediation Board too had signed that agreement, so what did you expect the carriers to do about it? . . . Education . . . Problems calling for the highest statemanship . . . can be solved only by civilization . . . Sorry.

"The railroads," explained Mr. Alderman, a good lawyer and a cultured gentleman, "are not operated in a vacuum or in a theoretical Utopia, but must adapt their operations and employment practices to the social solutions of racial questions as worked out by the prevailing mores and legal systems of the states they serve."

Perhaps it should have been a comfort to the Negroes to have it explained that it wasn't the all-white brotherhoods or the carriers or the government who had given them the boot, but just our civilization. Obviously, at this point, they were expected to remember the mores (customs to you, brother) of the South, go quietly home, and take it out in prayer.

A white engineer and a Negro fireman swung out of their cab at the end of a run. The black man was told he was through. *Both* protested. Said the white man: "Now, Ed has been firing with me for 21 years. It is not right to take him off this job because you put a Diesel engine on it."

Another Negro fireman testified: "Sometimes you get those crews who can't tell whether you are white or Negro. They treat you just like a white man. I have worked 33 years and never had an argument with a white man."

This craft loyalty held firm, even despite the bitterness felt by the Negroes when they saw their sons, experienced in semi-skilled railroad labor, refused jobs as switchmen, green white boys being employed instead.

* * *

THIS, rather than the sporadic outbreaks of violence during depression periods in the deep south, represented the prevailing tone and texture of black-white relationships in railroad employment. These were the warm humanities, the civilized decencies into which that outrageous Southeastern Conference agreement of February, 1941, crashed like a runaway locomotive.

So that it wasn't the lack of civilized attitudes among the rank and file railroad workers, white and black, that was at fault. Nor did the carriers fail wholly to meet this test. When test-

(Continued on Page Seven)

(Continued from Page Five)

mony given at the hearing showed the existence of race discrimination on the Union Pacific, President William Jeffers telegraphed that such discrimination was against the policy of his road and that it would be promptly rectified. Since then it *has* been rectified. And since then the rumors have been growing that the carriers aren't going to continue to take the rap for the purge of black workers ordered by the all-white brotherhoods; that more than one railroad management group is likely soon to follow Jeffers' example.

What about the Brotherhoods? They didn't appear and speak at the hearings. They haven't spoken since, unless the abortive ruling of Comptroller General Lindsay Warren ("Shall" doesn't mean "must") was in effect their answer to the expected cease and desist directives of the FEPC.

The Negro worker is waiting. The whole trade union movement is waiting. Ahead lie the storms of post-war reconversion and reconstruction and the threat of an open-shop drive led by the more reactionary employers, implemented again, as in the past, by the use of Negroes who have been denied union membership, discriminated against, squeezed out at the bottom, and left to choose between filling bread lines or crashing picket lines. Facing this prospect, will not the Brotherhoods call off their purge and reverse their disastrous policy?

One can only hope at this point. And maybe do a little praying.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1943

THE CALL IS SPRING

NOVEMBER 27, 1943
THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

March On Washington Probable Next Spring

DENVER (ANP)—"I advise you that you may expect instructions and the call to march on Washington perhaps next spring," was the final message of A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and organizer and national director of the March on Washington in three appearances in Denver last Sunday and Monday.

Sunday night he told an overflowing crowd at Scott Methodist Church that the government is much more likely to move in the direction of its pressure than a worthy cause, and that Negroes like labor, capital, the South and other groups must develop pressure if they have their problem solved as only the federal government and the President can solve them.

Monday afternoon, Randolph went into details concerning his direct non-violent, good-will action technique before a youth session at New Hope Baptist Church, where he also heard a clear statement of discrimination as it affects youth from the youths themselves.

FASCISM CONTINUES

The speaker declared that fascism and discrimination are on the increase in the US and called attention to the fact that discrimination is the government policy regarding the Negro; anti-Catholic movements exist in the South and mid-west, there are 200 anti-semitic groups in America and persistent discrimination in the armed forces, in [illegible] industries and in government against Negroes continues.

Dr. C. F. Holmes for the Colorado Committee of Equal Qualities; Margaret Rober for the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Mrs. Cora Peters, Council of Clubs; W. F. Turner for the NAACP; Rev. Joseph A. Johnson jr, for the Ministerial Alliance and Mrs. Corrine Lowry for the Iota Phi Lambda sorority and Atty. Thomas Campbell for the Colored Civic Association reported on the work of their several organizations in bettering the conditions of the Negroes in Denver at the workshop held at New Hope Baptist [illegible]

RANDOLPH SETS DATE FOR TREK TO CAPITOL

Advises Denver Audiences To Await Call For Big Pilgrimage

DENVER, Colo.—(ANP)—"I advise you that you may expect instructions and the call to march on Washington perhaps next spring," was the final message of A. Philip Randolph, organizer and national director of the March on Washington, in three appearances in Denver last Sunday and Monday.

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Health Report Threatens Bedford Negroes' Jobs

Leaders See Worst Blow to Residents Since 'Crime Wave' Smear

By EVELYN SEELEY

Negroes from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section walked the streets today bowed under new humiliation. Many were headed for jobs they may lose as a result of Saturday's release of a Health Dept. survey showing bad health conditions in the area. Leaders in the community regarded this as the worst blow against the Negro residents since the "crime-wave" smear began.

They did not deny poor health conditions, but they said the figures used against what is wrongly called "Little Harlem" covered a population two-thirds white. But they were angry or disheartened that they should now be condemned for the results of social neglect from which they have already suffered.

"This is the most damaging thing in print since the smear began," said Stanley Douglas, lawyer of 240 Broadway and resident of the Bedford-Stuyvesant community for many years, "because it stands as official without any breakdown showing race. The area covered by the survey actually embraces a majority of white people and is only about one-third Negro.

Fears Dismissals

"This sort of scare is likely to result, as we hope it won't, in wholesale dismissals of Negroes from certain types of jobs or humiliating requests for physical examinations.

"We challenge the indictment of a people in an official report showing a situation resulting from official neglect."

Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgman, who lives on the edge of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area and who has worked intimately in the middle of it for the past eight years, called it "a vicious treadmill."

Mrs. Hedgman, a director of the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning and of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Council, former executive of the Ashland Pl. YWCA and Welfare Dept. supervisor, said:

"This is the cycle. You're denied training because vocational counselors say why train you for jobs that won't be open to you—because of color. You search for cheap rent because you couldn't get training to get a decent-paying job or the employer wouldn't take you once you were trained. You double up in apartments or rooms to pay rent which is higher for you—because of color. You eat insufficient or improper food because you have less money and food costs more than in other communities, and you develop malnutrition and other problems, but have no health facilities to cure them.

Over and Over

"You struggle to present your problems to those who can do something about them, and you get for the most part conferences and surveys. Then you start all over again.

"This was enough load to carry, but the war brought additional agony, for the Negro is the only American segregated in the U. S. armed forces, which has meant humiliation, inadequate services, and fear for every mother, wife or sweetheart in the Negro community—all in the name of democracy.

"When you add to the deep individual misery one's sense of relationship with miserable fellow Negroes around the country you produce an explosive situation. I am amazed there is as much order and objectivity and ambition as I have found in Bedford-Stuyvesant and all Negro communities I've known."

Mrs. Hedgman said that she, nevertheless, was not discouraged. Negro leaders and white people of goodwill, she said, have already planned how to rebuild and strengthen interracial unity.

"We are all determined," she said, "that we will not be separated from each other by any of the devices now being employed against us."

She said she was very much concerned with knowing the motives of the Grand Jury that made the smear presentment, explaining:

"There are rumors of serious anti-La Guardia moves. Those of us who have lived and worked in Brooklyn know at the time the Fulton St. El was torn down it was common gossip in the street that white real-estate owners and banks meant to get Bedford-Stuyvesant back into their hands if they could. Negro residents are more or less pawns in this game."

Distorted Issues

Mrs. Hedgman charged that the Grand Jury "made racial issues out of what are really human issues" by emphasizing juvenile delinquency in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. She reported that for the last 10 months juvenile delinquency had increased relatively more elsewhere in Brooklyn than in the disputed section.

As for the health report, Mrs. Hedgman showed PM a survey made six years ago in Bedford-Stuyvesant by young industrial women in the YWCA, a survey approved by the YWCA board and sent to City officials urging action. The survey found that, while the population had increased 50 per cent in the past 10 years, no hospital had been provided to meet its needs; that Greenpoint and Kings County hospitals, attempting to minister to the area, were so crowded beds were placed in the hall; that clinics were too crowded and far away to be useful; that in the whole area there was not one health center for adults and, of 22 baby health stations in Brooklyn, only one in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Mrs. Hedgman said since 1939, when this survey was presented, nothing has been done. A health center is only now about to be opened.

Sen. Langer Urges Negroes to Organize

Senator William Langer (Rep., N.D.) spoke on "The Present Session of Congress and the Negro," at a meeting held yesterday in the Metropolitan Community Church, 41st and South Park Way, under the joint sponsorship of the National Negro Council and the Chicago Citizens Committee of 1,000.

"You have only yourself to blame for all your troubles," Senator Langer said. "If you won't fight for yourselves, no white man is going to come along and fight for you. You people are not going to get any place until you organize, and you've got to do that yourself."

The group adopted a resolution condemning Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for his opposition to Langer's anti-discrimination amendment to the $300,000,000 public education bill. The resolution demanded White's dishonorable discharge by the NAACP.

Echoes Of Cancelled Meeting Contained In Principal's Letter To Friends And Press

Repercussions from the recent widely-discussed cancellation of the A. Philip Randolph's Pullman Porter Union speech here are indicated in the following letter made public by Prof. Blair T. Hunt, principal of Booker T. Washington high school, last Saturday.

Professor Hunt, along with a group of Negro leaders, was present at a meeting with city-county officials at which time the proposed Randolph appearance here was discussed.

Later, the high school principal made a statement to a daily newspaper reporter explaining what happened at the meeting. Since the statement was published, according to Professor Hunt, reports of various comments have reached him. So, he wrote the following letter to the other leaders who were at the meeting, and submitted a copy to this newspaper. The letter follows:

"My dear Friend:

"Being a friend, I call upon you for a favor.

"It is said by some people of my race that statements made by me relative to the Randolph situation, to a Press-Scimitar reporter and published in the Press-Scimitar, November 8, 1943, were untrue.

"If they were untrue, please inform me in writing, and not verbally, as a matter of record.

"In the meeting in the Criminal Court Building, November 6, 1943, you and others were there with some of our county and city officials. I am sure you remember well what was said by our officials.

"The following Monday morning, Mr. McGhee of the Press-Scimitar called me, and asked me several direct questions about what was said at the meeting. I gave him the answers as you read in the Press-Scimitar, November 8, 1943.

"Yet, it is said in some circles that my answers were false.

"If there must be a scape-goat in this affair to promote the larger good for all concerned, I am happy to be the scape-goat. But, I do not see the need of a scape-goat.

"A false rumor, believed, will do an individual as much harm as the truth.

"I am positive if any one present had been interrogated for publication in the Press-Scimitar as I was, he would have stated the truth, as I did.

"I am writing each colored citizen who was at the meeting. Too, that other Memphians, who were not there, might have the issue clarified in their minds, I am sending a copy of this letter to our newspaper, the Memphis World."

"Very truly yours,

"Blair T. Hunt."

Professor Hunt had little comment to make on the submission of the letter, indicating that it speaks for itself.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS, Saturday, December 4, 1943

Army and Capital Housecleaning Needed To Solve 'Race Problem'

Anti-Bias Blueprint Suggested

"Concentrate Attention On Major Objectives And Solve Race Problem," Called Key

By JULIUS J. ADAMS

Eighteen months ago in the course of a series of articles on Negro Leadership, it was proposed that a conference of top Negro spokesmen and representatives of leadership groups be held for the purpose of preparing a blueprint for the Negro in America. It was pointed out then that unless the Negro begins now to make plans and takes the leadership in his own "Fight for Freedom" he is likely to find himself in a worse fix after the war than he was before it began.

At this time an interim proposal is suggested, one designed to provide the mechanism for a concentrative fight against discrimination and jim crowism in the United States at a period when it appears most propitious to inaugurate such a program.

Two Major Objectives

In the first place it is going to be well-nigh impossible to end discrimination and segregation in this country as long as the pattern for discrimination and segregation is set by Washington, seat of authority of the United States, and by the Armed Services, seat of power of the United States.

Therefore, the first step in the battle for equality is to establish equality in Washington and in the Armed Forces. It appears, too, that this is a sound initial move since it is within the power of the President and the Congress to accomplish this without encountering the question of States' Rights.

This being the case, an all-out fight should be made for Presidential action, now, to stamp out discrimination in the Armed Forces, and for Congressional action to end the policy of racial segregation in the nation's capital.

Meanwhile, each of the candidates for the Presidential nomination next year ought to be called upon to make commitments on the question of the Negro and his civil rights. Besides, each of the national conventions should be requested to insert a plank in its platform pledging to end discrimination in the Armed Forces and in Washington. It would then be just a part of the Negro's general plan to use his voting power in the way that it would best serve his and his country's interest.

Foolish Chatter

It seems foolish to talk about discrimination in Georgia as long as Washington sets the patterns. Discrimination and segregation must be destroyed at the seat of their authority and power before they can be eliminated in the more remote outskirts.

Statements from two prominent New Yorkers reveal some serious thinking on the matter. Asked her opinion, Mrs. Ann Arnold Hedgeman, regional director of OCD and former YWCA secretary, had this to say:

Significant Election

"We are approaching the most significant election year American Negroes have known since the Civil War. During this World War, the color issue has become an international matter of importance. India, China, Africa, South America and the West Indies no longer listen to official pronouncements of our government with regard to the color question. They examine, instead, America's practice."

A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters takes the position that the Negro must make up his mind whether he wants to be a full citizen of the United States or is content to remain in his place as a second class citizen.

Washington . . . An Objective

Last week Mr. Randolph said in a Denver speech, "I advise you that you may expect instructions and the call to March on Washington next Spring."

THE CHICAGO SUN

THURSDAY, DEC. 16, 1943.

New Crisis for FEPC

The Fair Employment Practices Committee faces another crisis in its attempt to reduce racial discrimination in reasonable but positive fashion. Its authority has been defied by the Southeastern railroads, a congressional investigation is threatened, and bigots like Representative John Rankin demand that the agency be abolished.

What FEPC is trying to do in the railroad case is to break up the operator-union arrangement whereby Negroes are denied employment as firemen. Negroes formerly held many such jobs, but in recent years have been steadily muscled out by restrictive regulations. The railroads reply that they cannot undertake to promote Negroes to engineer and conductor jobs. But that point is not now at issue. Far from trying to solve the whole race problem overnight, FEPC seeks in this case merely to help Negroes regain lost ground—to give them, not full justice, but a measure of justice, "in those classifications where reason and public policy both urge it."

Thus the issue is not FEPC methods in carrying out President Roosevelt's order against racial discrimination, but the order itself. The question is simply whether the United States government has power to enforce a measure of justice for Negroes in its contracts with private employers. President Roosevelt cannot do otherwise than fight this principle through to a clear decision.

DECEMBER 4, 19[illegible]

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

'Chicago Sun' Editorial Points Crimp in Crump

Boss Crump of Memphis stopped Memphis Negroes recently from holding a mass meeting to be addressed by A. Philip Randolph. So, on November 21, the CHICAGO SUN smacked Crump editorially with:

"Boss Crump of Memphis has gone all out for home-town isolationism. No 'blatherskite or demagogue of the North or South,' he says, should be permitted to 'interfere' with the 'friendly relations' between white and Negro races in Memphis. Doubtless his [illegible] opposition to the [illegible] Sister Boss Crump [illegible]

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23,

Plans for Hospital to Serve Both Races Win Support

Determined to build and equip an inter-racial voluntary hospital in which the Negroes of New York can receive adequate medical care, a group of white and Negro leaders today announced they had won support for the project.

The hospital, according to present plans, will be erected in Harlem, which has only one hospital [illegible] Hospital. Negroes [illegible] in these hospitals.

The Rev. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, 86 Morningside Av., polled white and Negro leaders and reported them virtually unanimous in backing the hospital plan.

On the committee working with Pastor Robinson are A. A. Austin, Alan L. Dingle, Lester B. Granger and William H. Kilpatrick. Negroes and whites are about equal [illegible] divided on a sub-committee

[illegible] mitted to the hospital regardless of race, religion or national origin, the committee said the institution will be operated under these rules:

To be managed by a lay board of trustees of both whites and Negroes; qualified Negro physicians to be on the staff to care for their own patients and increase their medical knowledge; equal opportunity for Negro and white nurses, technicians and [illegible] accommodations based on [illegible] to pay, and a pattern in [illegible] that will prove the inter-racial principle can serve the city and the community.

Housing for Negroes

Complex Problems Assail Migrants from South to Urban Northern Centers

By Horace Cayton,
Director of the Parkway Community House.

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First of Three Articles

Outside the "black belt" itself are the five smaller satellite Negro communities—Lilydale, Morgan Park, Englewood, the West Side and the Lake Street districts.

Individual Negro families and small groups of families are scattered about the city although there are a few areas where no Negroes live. The "black belt" constitutes not only the largest concentration of Negroes in the city but also the center of Negro community life.

To understand the Negro community and its problems one must first realize that it is a migrant group. Three quarters of the present colored Chicagoans are Southern peasants who have turned city-ward within the last 20 years exchanging the more simple folk-like society of the Deep South for the complexities of the North.

Richard Wright, in writing about them states, "The protagonist of this drama is the migrant plantation Negro who came North, and the obstacle against which he pitted his strength is the total configuration of urban life.

"These Negroes are truly a form of the modern refugee who has become so numerous a spectacle in our world today; they are refugees from a Southern folk culture, from a static, warm, organic, simple way of life, where every man knew his fellow man; they are refugees fleeing the terrors of the plantation and seeking desperately to gain a footing in our highly complex and impersonal cities."

The increase in the Negro population in Chicago has been phenomenal. It increased from 40 persons in 1840 to 277,000 in 1940. The present population has been estimated at from anywhere between 350,000 and 400,000. This increase in the population has been geared to national and international events and reached its highest peak preceding and during the first World War.

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UPON arriving in the city poor people, of whatever group or origin, all ask the same questions: "Where can a decent home be found for the amount of rent we can afford to pay?" and "where can we find employment?"

These two questions indicate the fierce struggle for jobs and space—for money and a place to live—which is a character of urban life. All migrant groups to the city have competed for these two most essential elements of living. With the Negro, however, in addition to the difficulties common to all migrants, a special complex of problems which had their roots in the fertile soil of race prejudice are present.

All migrant groups find upon entrance to the city an area in which to live where their limited resources can pay for the housing accommodations, where they will be acceptable as residents, and where the cost of living will be in keeping with their possibilities as wage earners.

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THE city, in an impersonal fashion, sorts and re-sorts people according to their social acceptability, their race, their cultural background, and their income. The newcomers usually are segregated according to these factors. This is especially true when there are some outstanding physical characteristics which make this assortment easier.

In the case of the Negro his badge of color makes him highly visible and therefore subject much more than any other racial or cultural group to forms of segregation.

Because of his high visibility and the background of racial prejudice characteristic of the American culture, the Negro is probably segregated more completely than any other minority group in the city. In the comparison the Negro has

strip of land which has never been sufficient to accommodate the number of persons who had to live in the area.

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AT THE heart of most of the Negro's problems in the city is the fact of his failure to compete successfully—to obtain sufficient living space. "Black Lebensraum" could well be the title of the Negro's struggle for survival in Chicago.

The fact that the space which Negroes can occupy in Chicago has been arbitrarily limited although the Negro population has continued to grow, has created the Negro housing problem, the problem of overcrowded and double and triple shift schools, problems of health, and problems of social disorganization.

Any examination of the desperate plight of the Negro in Chicago hearkens back to one fact — a migrant rural population crowded into a city area which does not have enough housing facilities, educational facilities, health and recreational facilities, to accommodate a half of the number of persons who are forced to live in the area.

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THE problem of housing for Negroes is essentially the same as the problem of housing for any people of the low income group. There is, however, one important difference—the factor of racial prejudice which intensifies the problem where persons of a subordinate group are easily identifiable.

The Negro suffers most keenly through the enforcement of residential segregation. Residential segregation causes the overcrowding of Negroes into the least desirable sections of the city and allows, through the limitation of supply, excessive exploitation by unscrupulous landlords. This is true in Chicago as in every city with a large Negro population.

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Lack of social and spacial mobility increases the severity of the housing problem in Negro communities in all American cities.

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THIS process has been described vividly by Richard Wright in the following statement: "Had the Negro migrant been allowed to participate fully and organically in what we so proudly term the "American Way of Life," the Negroes' role in this drama of the peasant in the city would have had no special significance.

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"He would have sent his children to our schools and would have lived to see those children lift themselves gradually from the slums to the rooming house area and finally to the spacious middle class suburbs of our American cities.

"But the migrant Negro was not allowed to participate in this process, and today the so-called 'black belt' areas of our northern industrial cities like Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and St. Louis constitute the black, undissolved lumps and clods in the good, life-giving fluid we call democracy."

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within one generation and sometimes within two or three generations these ethnic groups succeed in graduating from the unskilled labor class to professional and managerial classes and in moving from the slum districts near the center to the middle and upper class suburban areas surrounding the city.

* * *

WITH the final movement into these "better" neighborhoods their [illegible] in American ur-

found rooming houses for shady characters, "flop" houses for homeless men, houses of prostitution and the slum dwellings of the newest comers to the city.

Beyond this "area in transition" workingmen have their homes in sometimes poor but respectable neighborhoods. Still further out in large cities, is an apartment house district. On the periphery are the suburban settlements of the middle and upper classes who earn their living in the city but return to them "dormitory communities" every evening. This is the pattern of the modern American city.

* * *

WITHIN this pattern, a constant flow of people are arranged and rearranged into various communities. Thus in every large city there is a homeless man area, a rooming house area, a Chinatown or a "black belt."

In Chicago various waves of ethnic and cultural groups whose attainments and living standards are lower, settle first in the area just outside the business district and find employment as unskilled and semiskilled workers.

As the migrant becomes absorbed in American life he usually steps up the social and industrial ladder. Each step invites another so that sometimes

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By United Press

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The paper said the honor roll listed "honest, fearless men and women—some white, some Negro—who have battled against barriers of prejudice to see that this great nation of ours truly represents the land of opportunity for Negroes as well as others."

Others listed included: Malcolm [illegible], chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee; Paul Robeson, stage, screen and radio star; Associate Justice Francis Rivers of the N. Y. City court; Thomas Sancton, managing editor of the New Republic; A. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers Union; Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Rex Ingram, actor (MGM, N. Y.); Edwin Berry, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; John P. Davis, executive secretary of the newspaper PM, and Arthur [illegible], national director of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

come status to meet the exorbitant rentals.

In that period it was revealed that over 25 per cent of the families in the community were sharing their living quarters with one or more families.

With the Negro community obtaining more employment due to the expansion of industry during the war, economic considerations have to a large extent been relieved but although data is not available it is safe to assume on the basis of population density figures and the fact that there has been no new construction the doubling up and overcrowding has become more severe.

* * *

WITH the increase of population in these areas and with practically no expansion in the housing facilities one encounters daily incredible stories of two, three, or even four families in a dwelling unit intended for one family while all of the heads of the families are making extremely good salaries in war plants.

For 13 people to occupy three rooms during the old relief days was bad but when one considers that at the present time the heads of these families are standing a shift at a blast furnace the problem becomes one intimately connected with the entire war effort.

The third and last article of this series will be published tomorrow.

Housing for Negroes

Is There Room for Vital War Workers Outside the Overcrowded Black Belt?

By Horace R. Cayton.
Of the Parkway Community House.

THE concentration of Negroes in a small area where the population density may reach 80,000 persons per square mile puts a strain on all community facilities. One of the best examples of this is the schools. Where schools have been built to accommodate a normal population group and that group is trebled the school facilities are taxed to the breaking point. This, along with gerrymandering to keep Negroes from attending certain schools which are characterized as "white," has resulted in overcrowding of classes and the notorious double and triple shift schools. A double shift school or a double shift class in a school means that two complete groups of students attend the school for a half day each.

A recent study by the Citizens School Committee revealed that there are 16 schools in the city where one or more of the classes are on double shift and two schools where there is a triple shift. All of these schools are located in the Negro community.

Chicago's system of education for Negroes is the result of residential segregation which has in turn resulted in a population density concentrated in an area which has overtaxed the existing educational facilities.

As the school facilities are taxed, so are the playgrounds, the parks, the hospitals, the libraries and all of the other public facilities of the community. Further the density of population has intensified the problems of transportation, law enforcement and health. It is impossible to go into all of these phases of community life at the moment, but just as the Negro community suffers from double and triple shift schools, so does it suffer from inadequate health facilities, sanitary facilities and all other public services.

* * *

WHAT is the answer for Chicago's Negro housing problem? Obviously the democratic logics of our society call for the abolition of residential segregation.

Especially is this true during a period when we are incensed over the establishment of ghetto for Jews in Warsaw.

There is no justification which can be advanced for the continued existence of residential segregation with its devastating effect upon a minority population least able to withstand the impact of its many ramifications in high rents, unsanitary living conditions and overcrowded kitchenettes.

* * *

IN AN eloquent chapter from his book "Twelve Million Black Voices," Richard Wright has described the kitchenettes — one-room "homes"—which have resulted from our "black belt":

"The kitchenette is our prison, our death sentence without a trial, the new form of mob violence that assaults not only the lone individual, but all of us, in its ceaseless attacks.

"The kitchenette, with its filth and foul air, with its one toilet for 30 or more tenants, kills our black babies so fast that in many cities twice as many of them die as white babies.

* * *

"THE kitchenette is the seed bed for scarlet fever, dysentery, typhoid, tuberculosis, gonorrhea, syphilis, pneumonia and malnutrition.

"The kitchenette scatters death so widely among us that our death rate exceeds our birth rate, and if it were not for the trains and autos bringing us daily from the plantations, we black folks who dwell in Northern cities would die out entirely over the course of a few years.

"The kitchenette, with its crowded rooms and incessant bedlam, provides an enticing place for crimes of all sort—crimes against women and children or any stranger who happens to stray into its dark hallways. The noise of our living, boxed in stone and steel, is so loud that even a pistol shot is smothered.

* * *

"THE kitchenette throws dessent friction, giving birth to never-ending quarrels of recrimination, accusation and vindictiveness, producing warped personalities.

"The kitchenette injects pressure and tension into our individual personalities, making many of us give up the struggle, walk off and leave wives, husbands, and even children behind to shift as best they can.

"The kitchenette creates thousands of one-room homes where our black mothers sit, deserted, with their children about their knees.

"The kitchenette blights the personalities of our growing children, disorganizes them, blinds them to hope, creates problems whose effects can be traced in the characters of its child victims for years afterward.

* * *

"THE kitchenette jams our farm girls, while still in their teens, into rooms with men who are restless and stimulated by the noise and lights of the city. . . .

"The kitchenette fills our black boys with longing and restlessness, urging them to run off from home, to join together with other restless black boys in gangs, that brutal form of city courage.

"The kitchenette piles up mountains of profits for the Bosses of the Buildings and makes them ever more determined to keep things as they are.

"The kitchenette reaches out with fingers full of golden bribes to the officials of the city, persuading them to allow old firetraps to remain standing and occupied long after they should have been torn down.

"The kitchenette is the funnel through which our pulverized lives flow to ruin and death on the city pavements, at a profit."

* * *

PUBLIC housing has given a measure of relief and especially commendable is the new project at 130th and Calumet which will take thousands of Negro families out of the blighted area into the open space on the periphery of the city.

The ability of Negroes to maintain property and their almost pathetic pride in decent homes has been demonstrated by the Ida B. Wells, a project of the Chicago Housing Authority. Members of the

for whom it is not economic to build.

* * *

BUILDING by private capital after the war is possible for a small percentage of the community. The problem of private building in Negro areas is largely a question of changing attitudes. It has been the assumption of most real estate operators that Negroes comprise an essentially low-wage-income group and that they are not suitable risks for private investments.

The record of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments indicates that there is a market in the Negro community for which private companies can build with profit.

An analysis of the rent market in the community will reveal just how large that group is. There is also every indication that with the greater economic opportunities which Negroes have gained during the war this group should continue to expand.

* * *

When one faces, however, the immediate as well as the long-run solution of this problem it is evident that even though the city might not care to follow the democratic procedure of abolishing residential segregation, it is obvious that the iron rings which bind in this population group by restrictive covenants must be abolished.

If Negroes are not allowed to bid freely for vacancies which exist in any portion of the city, those Negroes who, by their productivity, are of such vital importance to the entire war effort must be allowed to spread out into other areas, so that this peak of population, like water, can find its natural level.

This article concludes a series of three.

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[illegible] DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31,

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Pullman Porters and Maids

Stop! Look! Listen!

A Contrast and a Challenge

FATHER *vs.* SON

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—Abraham Lincoln in the Emancipation proclamation.

"My feeling about it (tips) is if you increase their (porters) wages without in some way stopping their tips, you simply make a larger income for them, and the question IS WHETHER THAT IS DESIRABLE TO DO. . . . ."

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THE CHICAGO SUN
FEATURE PAGE
PAGE 12 TUESDAY, DEC. 14, 1943

Housing for Negroes

Population Density Is Relatively Greater in Colored Neighborhoods

By Horace R. Cayton.
Director of the Parkway Community House.

Second of a Series

THE method by which Negroes have been forced into the narrow strip of territory which they occupy in Chicago has varied from time to time. The Negro community has expanded as its population increased from a small area near the Polk Street Station in 1870 to the present seven and one half mile stretch from 12th st. to 71st st. and from Cottage Grove to Wentworth av.

But at no time have there been sufficient living facilities to accommodate the number of persons who had to occupy the area. Attempts were made during the early expansion of the community to stop it by bombing and by establishing deadlines beyond which real estate operators would not rent or sell to colored people.

Indeed one of the basic conflicts between the Negro and various sections of the white community which led to the bloody race riot in 1919 was this competition for space created by the southward movement of the community.

The Chicago Commission on Race Relations stated in this connection: "Practically no new building had been done in the city during the war, and it was a physical impossibility for a doubled Negro population to live in the space occupied in 1915.

"Negroes spread out of what had been known as the 'black belt' into neighborhoods nearby which had been exclusively white. This . . . . movement . . . . developed friction, so much so that in the 'invaded' neighborhoods bombs were thrown at houses of Negroes who had moved in, and of real estate men, white and Negro, who sold property or rented property to the newcomers."

More recently, however, a refined technique for maintaining residential segregation has been developed in the restrictive covenants. The covenants are agreements, enforced by the courts, between a certain percentage of property owners within an area not to rent or sell their property to Negroes.

The covenants are based ostensibly on the questionable belief that Negro occupants cause the value of property to depreciate. The real reason is to prevent Negroes from having free access to certain public facilities such as schools, parks and beaches outside the segregated area.

Robert R. Taylor, chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority, has estimated that 80 per cent of the city of Chicago is covered by such covenants. Because of these covenants little expansion of the Negro population into areas adjacent to the existing community is possible.

* * *

WHAT are the results of residential segregation of Negroes in Chicago?

Rents, like the charge for any other commodity, are determined by the law of supply and demand. This law has been suspended in the Negro community for some time. Every study which has been made of rents in this area has shown that the Negro pays from 25 to 35 per cent more for similar accommodations than do white persons.

A study by the University of Chicago in 1912 showed Bohemians and Poles paying $8.50 a week for apartments, steel mill employees $9.50; Negroes, in the midst of dilapidation and crowded into the territory adjoining the segregated vice district, were paying $12 to $12.50. In 1925, a study made by the Department of Public Welfare showed essentially the same differential. Other more recent studies have corroborated this fact.

When rent is related to income it can be seen that the most disadvantaged group from the point of view of earning power, has been forced to pay the highest rentals. The Chicago Housing Authority, in a survey a few years ago, showed that 44.9 per cent of a sample of Chicago's Negro families were spending from 31 to 50 per cent of their income for rent and that another 28.2 per cent were spending 21 to 30 per cent.

An official of the Chicago Relief Administration stated before the subcommittee on housing of the [illegible] City Council: "Your white sometimes we pay one-half or one-third more rent."

* * *

A CHICAGO authority on housing stated that during the depression the rental per room per cubic foot was as high in some of the miserable hovels of the South Side in Chicago as on the Gold Coast.

At the present time violations of the OPA ceiling regulations are flagrant and circumvented in many instances by legal technicalities. There is a black market in housing on Chicago's South Side. Mechanisms such as the kick-back system, bonuses and other subterfuges are employed to obtain for the more fortunate few desirable living quarters which are at such a high premium in the area.

Another result of locking a population in an area with too few housing facilities to accommodate them has been the rise of the peculiar institution of "kitchenettes."

* * *

WITH the pressing need for housing facilities landlords have taken what was once, say, a large and palatial seven-room apartment and put a gas burner and sink in each room.

Each room can then be rented as a separate living unit to be occupied by an entire family of from two to five persons. These are "kitchenettes." The toilet and bathing facilities which were formerly to accommodate one family of three or four persons must then be made to accommodate 14 to 30 persons. The returns from these "kitchenettes" are tremendous.

A. L. Foster of the Chicago Urban League has reported an instance where a house to accommodate one family was converted to 18 kitchenettes with an average of six persons to each living unit.

* * *

TO REALIZE the seriousness of this problem and its impact upon community life one must take into consideration the question of population density. In 1940 a study conducted by the writer showed that certain portions of the Negro community had a population of 78,000 per square mile while east and west the population density was approximately 34,000 and 37,000 per square mile.

The steady increase in population has probably increased the population density in the most crowded areas to perhaps 80,000 per square mile while in all probability the white areas adjacent to it remain at their previous figure.

For the entire Negro area, in which there is much vacant space in the north end and the west side adjoining Wentworth ave., the population density is 56,000 as compared to the population density of 25,000 for the white community as a whole.

* * *

TO TAKE two local communities which have been analyzed by Dr. S. C. Kincheloe and his staff as an example one can see the enormous growth in population and population density with Negro occupancy. The Grand blvd. area in 1910 accommodated 37,000 persons; in 1940 there were 102,000 persons. Ninety-nine per cent of all the buildings were constructed and in use before 1915.

In order to accommodate this tremendous increase in population 12.4 of our structures have been completely converted. Fifty per cent of the property is in need of minor repairs and 3.8 in need of major repairs or unfit for use according to the Land Use Survey of 1939.

In Washington Park the total population increased from 27 per cent to 52 per cent between 1910 and 1940. Ninety-seven per cent of all the buildings were constructed before 1915. 28 per cent have been completely converted. Sixty-two per cent of the property is in need of minor repairs and 15 per cent of major repairs.

* * *

DENSITY of population is closely connected with overcrowding and the doubling up of families. During the depression period the doubling up of families was often necessitated by economic considerations for it was difficult for a family of low in-

Edwin A. Lahey

F.D.R. Comes Home to a Mess with Job Bias Against Negro a Hot Issue

New York, Dec. 17.—When the President gets back to domestic business in Washington after his momentous trip abroad and takes a look at the problems demanding his attention, I suspect he will feel like an executive who comes home from a brilliant day downtown to find the breakfast dishes in the sink, the furnace out, and the Missus slightly crocked.

Not the least of the problems awaiting him is the crisis in the life of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, whose continued existence is in jeopardy because of the flat refusal of 16 railroads to comply with an order of the FEPC to halt discrimination against Negroes.

Long-Standing Problem.

Job discrimination in a period of critical manpower shortage seems a contradiction in terms, but the contradiction has plagued the administration for more than two years. The FEPC was set up by executive order of the President to avert a threatened march on Washington that was being organized by A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters' Union.

Despite a couple of reorganizations, the FEPC under Manpower Administrator Paul McNutt radiated futility. McNutt would not allow the committee to come to grips with the powerful and highly respectable railroad brotherhoods, who form the real core of discrimination against Negro firemen, trainmen or switchmen.

The last reorganization of the committee took it away from McNutt and made it directly responsible to the President, with Msgr. Francis Haas, an outstanding Catholic sociologist and labor economist, as chairman. Msgr. Haas sailed courageously into the task and conducted hearings on discrimination among the railroads. The railroad managements gave only our sorry testimony at the hearing, and the railroad brotherhoods ignored them.

Comes Right Out.

Before the committee could make recommendations, its chairman was elevated to become bishop of Grand Rapids, and the executive secretary of the committee, Malcolm Ross, stepped into Haas' difficult assignment. Ross, with no less courage than his predecessor, presented the issue sharply in an order on the railroads (most of them in the Southeast) ordering them to cease their discriminatory practices that bar Negroes from many railroad jobs, and the railroads joined the issue by a flat refusal to obey the order.

The railroads assailed the FEPC as "unrealistic." Southern members of Congress and also with obvious regret that such a delicate subject as racial discrimination should become a public controversy, a number of reputable publicists have described as "unrealistic" the FEPC theory that the way to end discrimination is to end it.

What is the "realistic" attitude? Is it realistic to accept the prejudice of the railroad unions as something immutable and inviolable? Is it realistic to educate our Negro citizens, to tell them of the opportunities of our free society and then force all but the exceptionally talented Negroes to continue in the status of marginal workers?

Making Haste Slowly.

Is it realistic to talk of making haste slowly, of "gradually" rectifying an obvious injustice? The theory of gradualism is good to ease the conscience of those of us who can't escape the thought that Negroes have aspirations for economic security and a decent family life, like everybody else. But sooner or later, no matter how well meaning you are, no matter how much you wish to avoid public discord, you come back to the uncomfortable fact that you don't give a man a job gradually. You either do or you don't.

That is the essence of the dilemma facing the President in the FEPC crisis. Bitter economic and political prejudice is involved, but I rather think the simple rules of Christian ethics will guide the President in his decision.

FEP COMMITTEE CONFERS WITH PAUL McNUTT

By unanimous vote the Committee on Fair Employment Practice Friday decided to make representations to Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, that it was the Committee's very strong feeling that the railroad hearings which were postponed last week should be re-scheduled and held as soon as possible. The Committee had a satisfactory conference with Chairman McNutt and received assurance that every consideration would be given to its recommendation.

The Committee, in appraising the situation from information available to it, is of the opinion that the policy set forth in Executive Order 8802 continues

to be the policy of the administration and that it will be vigorously enforced.

Mr. McNutt advised the Committee that the postponement of the railroad hearings was made only after consultation with the War Labor Board and the War Production Board, and that the Committee would be responsible for the delay if it should insist upon the hearings. The Committee through hearings, negotiations and all other appropriate means would work toward bringing discrimination to a permanent end.

"Discrimination," Mr. McNutt pointed out, "constitutes a waste of manpower. It is therefore important to the war effort that it be ended."

McNutt Was Ill-Advised In FEPC Move'-Randolph

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 23—The latest strategy of Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, to divert attention from his surrender to southern anti-Negro bigots and the powerful railroad carriers and the abandonment of executive prestige and leadership by cancelling the railroad hearings on racial discrimination, "to close up the Committee on Fair Employment Practice," stated A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington, this week.

"While McNutt is undoubtedly realistic in politics and government and keeps his nose to the ground for political trends to determine what is likely to be wise politically according to his lights, he is ill-advised if he believes that Negroes are going to accept that he cannot make FEPC function in the face of open defiance and flagrant violations by railroads and labor unions on racial discrimination," declared the militant leader.

The Negro people insist upon the following, namely: (1) the appointment of men to take the place of those who have resigned from FEPC, (2) take FEPC out of the War Manpower Commission and restore it to its original position of independence with responsibility to the President and give it more power, including the assessing of penalties with fines or imprisonment to recalcitrant employers or trade union officials, (3) hold the railroad hearings that were scheduled, (4) provide a budget of two million dollars for an adequate staff for the committee," concluded Mr. Randolph.

RACE EDITORS DRAFT APPEAL TO ROOSEVELT

NEW YORK, Jan. 23—Negro editors and publishers from as far west as Oklahoma met Saturday at the office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to plan a campaign for the continuance of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice as an independent government agency for investigation of discriminations against workers in war industries on account of color, creed or national origin. The following statement was issued by the group:

"The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was appointed by President Roosevelt in July, 1941. This month Chairman Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Commission postponed indefinitely public hearings which the Committee had scheduled into discriminations against Negro workers on railroads serving as vital arteries of the war effort hauling munitions, troops and war workers.

Mr. McNutt declared that the railroads had no war contracts and might not be within the jurisdiction of the Committee. We declare that if railroads are not technically subject to the jurisdiction of the Committee, the President should supplement his Executive Order 8802 to bring them within its scope.

"We request the President to direct the Committee to re-schedule the public hearings which Chairman McNutt cancelled. Wiping out the color line in war industries is not only necessary for the full use of the nation's manpower but is also equally important as a pledge to our non-white allies of the good faith of the American Government in its proclamation of freedom and democracy as the objectives of the war.

HIT REACTIONARIES

"The attempts of reactionary forces in Congress and certain high-placed government officers to preserve the color line in war industries furnishes fuel for Nazi and Japanese propaganda in Africa and Asia that the four freedoms do not apply to the colored races. The Negro people and the Negro press are one hundred per cent behind the war effort but are determined that democracy shall function at home as well as be a policy laid down for foreign consumption."

Among those attending the conference were Ira F. Lewis, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Chester A. Franklin, Kansas City, Mo.; Thomas W. Young Jr., Norfolk, Va.; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Okla.; C. B. Powell, A. C. Powell, and Ludlow W. Werner, New York City; John Sengstacke, Chicago, Ill.

McNutt Confers With FEPC; Showdown On Status Seen Near

N.Y. Star
New
Jan. 30, 4

[redacted]

Members Urge Him To Reschedule Probe; Session Satisfactory

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Members of the Fair Employment Practice Committee met here Friday with Paul V. McNutt, manpower commissioner, and for the first time sat in and discussed with the person to whom they are responsible the pertinent matter relating to the present and future status of FEPC.

Present were Mark Ethridge, who is acting chairman; Malcolm [illegible] of CIO, Shields of AFL, Weaver and Dickerson. Mark Ethridge, who recently resigned as chairman, was not present [illegible]

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NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1944

'Agencies Are Set to Fight Bias---But They Don't'

By ROGER N. BALDWIN
Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Last summer's riots produced a wave of official and private efforts in cities all over the country to set up agencies for inter-racial co-operation. It is reported that some 65 cities set up new committees. Older groups took on new life.

I met with many of both. It is my conclusion from what they reported as to actual work undertaken and planned that nothing substantial is yet in hand anywhere that is adequate to meet the mounting resentments of Negroes, and the consequent frictions.

The cause of that failure to come to grips with the essential factors lies in the resistance of the white community to making those far-reaching changes necessary to break the established patterns of segregation. Such co-operation as has been achieved works at the top of community leadership and does not reach down to the levels at which grievances are hottest and trouble most likely to arise.

CIO Efforts Praised

Little or nothing has been done to increase the wholly inadequate representation of Negroes in the [illegible]es, an obvious first move [illegible]d trouble. Nothing has been done to train the drivers of buses and street cars in settling and avoiding violence, or in adding Negro crews—except in a few cities, notably Detroit, where a third of the city-owned street cars are manned by colored men and women.

Nothing, or very little, has been done to expand Negro neighborhoods by breaking the real estate agreements or opening up public housing segregated wherever the federal government controls. The very agencies which constitute the inter-racial organizations in many cities are themselves guilty of segregation; for the churches commonly are not mixed, nor the professional associations, nor the business organizations. It is ironical that they should attempt to do for the community what they will not do in their own circles.

Politicians Take Notice

The best job against race discrimination is being done in employment, chiefly by the CIO unions, and in a few places by unions in the AFL. Some employers are models of non-discrimination; one Chamber of Commerce, in Pittsburgh, has tackled the issue with vigor. The federal government through the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the Manpower Commission and the army and navy procurement divisions exert a persuasive influence.

On the side of the Negroes more pressure is being exerted than in years. Everywhere I got evidence not only of the vigor of the established race relations agencies, the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but of the increased pressure of the Negro in politics. His vote is on the whole independent locally, and he is a factor to make politicians take notice. Legislatures and city councils have larger quotas of Negroes; they get more appointments under pressure.

In only one city, East St. Louis, Ill., did I find the Negro vote for sale, due to the domination of the town by a corrupt machine.

As one Negro leader put it, "Sure, we have inter-racial co-operation here, and at the lowest levels and for the worst possible ends."

Elsewhere the Negroes are so racially united that politicians cannot hold their vote. The mayor of one great city complained to me that he couldn't find enough "good Democratic Negroes to appoint. "They won't stay hitched," he added with regret.

No program will meet the Negroes' new resistance to injustice that is not directed squarely against all forms of segregation. Yet that meets the resistance of the white community—even at the top among the high-minded and public-spirited leaders, who, generally speaking, will not open their associations, professional, business, religious, civic to Negroes on equal terms.

Problem Is Global

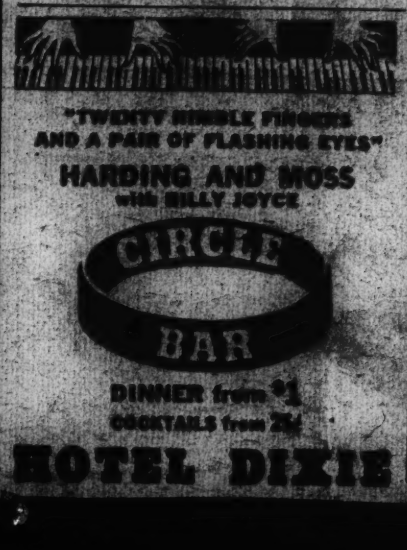
To open up residence anywhere in a city and thereby the public schools, parks and playgrounds also meets resistance; and yet nothing short of it will solve the problems created by segregation and an inferior status—which segregation always is.

The new official and private inter-racial local agencies are up against a colossal job of reorganizing set patterns of living, and I rather suspect most of them feel their inadequacy. They will succeed only to the extent they can harness the Negroes' political power, the co-operation of the trade unions and employers, and the aid during the war of the federal agencies dealing with manpower.

The problem we confront is not ours alone in the United States. The issue of race equality among the nations of the world presses on us as never before. The American Negro feels his identity with the darker peoples to a degree far greater than ever. The peace settlement and the outlines of the post-war world, which we can dimly forecast, offer encouragement for solutions which will be reflected here.

It is anyhow certain that the Negro has achieved a consciousness of his place in American life which, even more after the war than now, will never let him rest until he has won recognition to full citizenship in every respect shared by others.

(The last of three articles by Mr. Baldwin.)



Italian Union Bars Fascists

The Bari radio of Marshal Badoglio's Italian government said today that the First National Congress of the Italian Railwaymen's Syndicate had met in Bari and asked that all Fascists be removed from railway posts and that workers "fired for political reasons" be reinstated.

FDR's "Second Bill of Rights"

Washington, D. C.—In his annual message to Congress, President Roosevelt included a "second Bill of Rights" for the postwar security of the American people. It follows:

"In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second bill of rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race or creed.

"Among these are:

"The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

"The right to a good education;

"All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

Civic Leaders Hail Noted Negro Scientist

George Washington Carver, famed Negro scientist who died a year ago today, has become a symbol of the "reality of democracy," one of his long-time associates declared at a mass meeting in his honor last night in Sch[illegible]ley High School Auditorium.

White and Negro civic leaders paid tribute to Dr. Carver's memory at the meeting, held in conjunction with "George Washington Carver Week," now being observed here by proclamation of Mayor Scully.

Mrs. John M. Phillips, member of the Board of Education, who visited Dr. Carver at Tuskegee Institute, said:

"This great man refutes all doctrine that there is one master race."

Dr. C. Lake Imes, who was associated with Dr. Carver and Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute for 25 years, said of him:

"Dr. Carver is a symbol of education at its best, for he did not use his great knowledge for personal gain but for the betterment of his fellows.

"No man could have more humble origin than Dr. Carver, who was born in slavery and denied many educational advantages. But through his own initiative and ceaseless efforts he became world famous and brought new wealth to the South and betterment of the poorer classes by discovering hundreds of new uses for the humble peanut, soy bean and sweet potato."

The Carver Week meetings being held throughout the country were initiated by the Achievement Clubs, Inc., whose founder and national president is Mrs. Alma Illery, of Pittsburgh.

The Pittsburgh Press
Wednesday, January 5, 1944

CARVER WEEK

PITTSBURGHERS this week are honoring the memory of a great American — George Washington Carver, Negro scientist who died a year ago.

The obstacles Dr. Carver encountered and overcame are incredible. Born in slavery, reared in poverty, equipped with little more than his bare hands, his fertile brain and his staunch heart, he accomplished more than most richly-endowed men. Most of his discoveries were aimed at improvement of the impoverished area of the South in which he labored.

Another measure of the man's stature is found in his steadfast refusal to make personal capital out of his achievements. His chemical and agricultural discoveries were turned over freely to his fellow men, for their improvement and not his enrichment.

But in disclaiming worldly gain, Dr. Carver fell heir to something immeasurably greater—the gratitude and acclaim of a world infinitely richer because of his life, and the ready acknowledgment that here walked one of the truly great men of his time.

PROSVETA
ENGLISH SECTION

Cooperatives Are One of "Four Democracies"

Urges Negro People to Use Cooperatives as Way to Achieve Economic Democracy

CHICAGO, [illegible]—A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared here at a cooperative rally that the cooperative movement is the way to achieve economic democracy, which he outlined as one of "the four democracies" which all races and peoples should enjoy. The four democracies, he said, are:

"*Ethnic Democracy*—giving equality to all races.

"*Political Democracy*—giving freedom from tyrants of government.

"*Industrial Democracy*—giving freedom from industrial dictatorship. (The unions, he declared, represent industrial democracy).

"*Economic Democracy*—giving freedom from economic want."

The Negro people, Mr. Randolph declared, suffer most acutely from the lack of these four democracies.

"The cooperative idea is the best mechanism yet devised to bring about economic democracy," Mr. Randolph said. "The main problem today and during the past several years is the equitable distribution of our economic wealth according to mass productive ability. It doesn't seem sesnsible that 2 per cent of the people in the United States should control 90 per cent of its wealth through their control over production."

Declaring that the cooperative mechanism automatically works to bring about more just distribution of economic goods, the union leader urged "all people and particularly the Negro people, to use this tool of cooperation which is at hand to help us make this world a better place to live for us and our children."

The meeting, which was attended by 250 people, was sponsored by the Brotherhood Consumer Cooperative Buying Club, which has developed among the membership of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

4.

ROOSEVELT ACTS IN RAIL RACE CASE

James Ju[illegible]acy, Mayor Lausche, J[illegible]e Holly for Discrimination Stud[illegible]

Special to THE NEW YOR[illegible]

WASHINGTON, Jan[illegible] dent Roosevelt today [illegible] Chief Justice Walter P. [illegible] the Supreme Court of Nor[illegible] Carolina as chairman of a thr[illegible]-man special committee to study the racial discrimination case in which an order of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices has been challenged by sixteen Southern railroads and three labor unions.

The other members are Mayor Frank J. Lausche of Cleveland, and Judge William H. Holly of the United States District Court in Chicago.

In establishing the committee the President acted on a certification received by him a week ago from Malcolm Ross, FEPC chairman, who stated that his committee had reached an impasse with the railroads involved and a group of labor unions in the matter of giving Negroes equal employment opportunities with white persons.

Sixteen Southern railroads had refused to carry out the FEPC order, issued Nov. 30, against discrimination, and the three unions had also challenged the authority of the Ross committee to issue such an order, it was stated.

Urges Full Manpower Use

In his letters of appointment the President told Justice Stacy, Mayor Lausche and Judge Holly that he did not expect in such a "complicated structure as the transportation industry to immediately attain perfect justice in terms of equal employment opportunities for all people." But he emphasized that no discriminations should prevent "the fullest use of our manpower in providing the strength essential to the major military offensives now planned."

"Indeed, hardly anything in America now seems so important as such a unity based upon justice as will make possible the best use of all our human resources in this year of supreme national effort," he added.

The President pointed out that the specific problems placed before him by the FEPC related only to "discriminations against certain classes of Negro railroad employes." These employes are locomotive firemen, trainmen, switchmen, dining car and shop employes.

Looks to Good-Will Agreements

"I believe it to be highly important in connection with this situation that a small committee of disinterested and distinguished citizens be appointed to discuss this matter as my representatives with the railroads and labor organizations," added Mr. Roosevelt.

"I am sure that agreements shaped in good sense and good will can be reached."

The President said he planned a meeting of this committee with representatives of carriers and labor organizations in Washington soon.

White House [illegible] made clear that this special committee was not intended to supplant the FEPC, a view shared by Mr. Ross.

"I welcome the appointment by the President of Judge Stacy, Mayor Lausche and Judge Holly as his personal representatives in the railroad case," said Chairman Ross. "It is my understanding that this group of three eminently qualified citizens will in no way take the place of the FEPC but will deal with the railroad question for the President. I have every hope that ways will be found by which discrimination may be removed."

Tonight Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, in a telegram to President Roosevelt, said:

"We urge you to also call upon your special committee to assure decency and protection of the rights of the Negro traveling public once and for all by ordering a full report on this mortifying practice of subjecting 13,000,000 loyal and patriotic colored Americans to 'Jim Crow' on Southern carriers."

belief that the amendment proposed for the Truman rail pay resolution would be accepted by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee. Senator Truman, a member of that committee, however, opposed it.

"My only interest," Mr. Truman said, "was that the labor organizations had followed through according to the law as set out by Congress. Anything extraneous would change the purpose and color of the measure. I don't think any group should be exempted from stabilization."

Selected to Be Foreman Of Grand Jury in Kings

Herbert T. Miller

1943

Kings County Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz appointed yesterday as foreman of the January (1944) Kings County grand jury Herbert T. Miller, a Negro, of 558 Decatur Street, Brooklyn. In making the appointment, Judge Leibowitz said Mr. Miller was the first Negro to serve as foreman of a grand jury in any county of the nation.

"Mr. Miller is a graduate of the University of Cincinnati, where he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Science," Judge Leibowitz said. "He is the executive secretary of the Carlton branch of the Young Men's Christian Association and he also served the Y. M. C. A. in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. He has spent his life in helping others, especially in work among the youth in curbing juvenile delinquency."

Judge Leibowitz warned the twenty-one men and two women on the new grand jury that they were not to be "a rubber stamp for anybody, nor a tool for anybody." He advised them to indict "only on legal evidence which satisfies you that a crime has been committed."

Race Bias to Be Plugged as '44 Campaign Issue

By FRED W. PERKINS

Racial discrimination will be kept a live issue thru this session of Congress and the 1944 political campaign, according to plans being made here by a conference of more than 100 leaders of Negro and other minority groups.

Their main effort will be centered in the next few weeks on urging Congress to enact legislation, just introduced, to make a statutory and permanent agency out of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, established by presidential order June 25, 1941. This committee, now under investigation by a House committee on a charge of exceeding its authority, would be made into a commission of seven $10,000-a-year members, and would be empowered to issue orders and cause the punishment of persons who resist them, including employers in interstate commerce and officers of labor unions maintaining bars to membership on color or racial grounds.

A "mass march on Washington" to impress Congress with the demand for this bill is in the advanced planning, said [illegible] Laurin, national [illegible] Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who declared it would be a peaceful demonstration intended to prevent possible violence in the middle of war, or after the war."

Such a march was planned in early 1941, and is said to have been averted when President Roosevelt agreed to appoint the FEPC. A. Philip Randolph, the Harvard graduate who heads the Sleeping Car Porters, and is guiding the present Washington conference, went on the radio on two nation-wide

(Continued on Page 34)

NEGROES SPUR MOVE FOR JOB EQUALITY

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Congress will be asked to establish some "permanent machinery to regulate the matter of fair employment practices in the peacetime industries of the United States," according to statements issued by a group of organizations sponsoring legislation toward that end. Led by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the movement has been indorsed by approximately 12 major groups, the statements said.

If the Negro organizations support a bill introduced by Representative Thomas E. Scanlon (D., Pa.) last week, the present machinery of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee would be replaced by a new "Fair Employment Practices Commission" having seven members whose selection would be subject to Senate approval.

PAID COMMISSION

The Scanlon measure, which is expected to remain in committee until some agreement can be reached on probable Administration support, provides for a term of seven years for members of the proposed commission and an annual salary of $10,000.

Speaking in Pittsburgh, the head of the sleeping car porters charged that "subversive and reactionary forces" were attempting to destroy the present committee.

While most Negro units of national importance are agreed that some form of liaison organization is necessary, it is not known if a majority will support a paid governmental agency, subject to Senate approval.

During recent weeks suggestions have been made toward creation of a body which would represent both industry and Government in a setup "whose main function would be to further understanding" as against the implied punitive prerogatives of the present setup.

UNDERSTANDING SOUGHT

Supporters of the proposed commission are expected to push the Scanlon bill in an effort to get it on the floor before the expiration of the present fiscal period, when the present setup will have to seek funds from Congress. Southern opposition to the present setup, leaders hold might leave the agency without funds.

Indicative of the support which Philadelphia's Negroes will give the Scanlon measure is a statement issued here yesterday by Theodore A. Spaulding, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in which he said that Negroes were "starting in time to prevent a scuttling" of the committee by reactionary forces.

WILL BACK MEASURE

Spaulding, whose organization is leading the effort to have Negroes up-graded by the Philadelphia Transportation Co., added that his unit "will give support to the Scanlon measure or any other designed to keep alive an instrument which keeps before the Nation its duty to all the citizens.

The present committee is a non-paid body, with the exception of the chairman, Malcolm Ross, who receives $10,000, and is appointed by the President for indefinite terms. Two of the present seven members are Negroes—Milton Webster, vice president of the Sleeping Car Porters, and Plummer B. Young, Sr., publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide and chairman of the Howard University board of trustees.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1944

Racial Issue

(Continued from Page 5)

hook-ups to call off the march.

In the first session of the conference, Mr. Randolph charged President Roosevelt with "a great blunder" in appointing a committee to seek a solution to the [illegible] controversy of FEPC with 16 southern railroads and some of their [illegible] of white employes. The committee has met with outright refusal from these railroads to obey its directives ordering employment of Negroes, and the unions have ignored the committee.

The committee is headed by Judge Walter P. Stacy of North Carolina. Its appointment, the Negro leader said, was "a delaying tactic which kept us from being farther on our way. Some southern railroads already have begun to give jobs to colored men who were heretofore barred, and there has been definite progress. The President must be made to see that he made a great blunder in that the Stacy committee serves to give aid to the recalcitrant railroads."

The conference also plans a meeting of Negro politicians prior to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions this summer, to draft proposals for incorporation into the party platforms.

THESE DAYS

By George E. Sokolsky

Economic Discrimination.

I am convinced, after a decade of investigation of the subject, that the principal social problem to face the American people during the next decade is now and will be economic discrimination. About 20,000,000 of our citizens are not being given equal opportunity of employment. Jobs are closed to most of them because of race, color or religion. They are in the category of inferior people who are being forced by the circumstances of non-employment in the normal agencies of production and service to devote themselves to those marginal activities which, in the end, must lead to distress, disappointment and even disaster. A medical student who, no matter how brilliant, cannot find a hospital for further study and practice because of race, religion or color, may in the end be forced against his will and conscience, but by economic discrimination and necessity, to resort to abortion and dope peddling.

Nevertheless, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is not, in my opinion, handling this problem to the best national advantage. It means to solve quickly a problem that must be solved slowly. It responds to legalistic and political pressures when what is essential is education of the mass and analysis of cause and effect. I do not say, as many Northerners insist, that there is, for instance, no solution of our Negro problem, but I do insist that enlightened Southerners are likely to give evidence of a more sympathetic and intelligent understanding than those Northerners who are using a distress situation for political advantage. Citing railroads to the President because they will not employ Negroes in certain categories of work will not solve the general problem of economic discrimination of Negroes even if these particular Negroes are given the employment they desire as part of a political build-up antecedent to a presidential election. Nor will it solve the problem of economic discrimination against Jews if certain men and organizations are pilloried as anti-Semites. The disease of economic discrimination must be dealt with as an American problem—not as one involving only those who immediately and directly suffer from it.

What this President's committee ought to do first is to discover exactly and honestly why economic discrimination exists. Everybody thinks he knows. He assumes that Negroes are discriminated against because they are black and Jews because they are not Christians. That might be correct in social relations. That might be correct as to clubs and summer hotels. That might be correct as to intermarriage. But what has that to do with jobs? What has that to do with keeping a Negro fireman off a railroad or a Jewish student out of a medical school?

The cause of economic discrimination is obviously deeper than mere dislike; it has its roots in the struggle for survival during the depression years when all antagonisms deepened as the difficulties for earning a living increased. This problem needs study now, because it is reasonable to expect that when this war is over unemployment will return to the United States and groups that can by sheer numbers exercise political power will seek to exclude the less potent groups. Unless this question is dealt with honestly, sincerely, factually and without the confusions of politics, minorities will develop in the United States as they have developed in European countries.

The United States cannot afford to divide itself into minorities. Our political and economic system is based upon the rights of the individual—not group rights, not majority or minority rights, but individual rights. The essence of such a social system is equality of opportunity for the individual. To him must be available all the opportunities that his abilities, his work, his character can grasp to his own personal advantage. That is precisely what is meant by private enterprise. His success must be due to his own achievements; his failures must be due to his own faults, errors and incapacities. Unless that is possible private enterprise is impossible. If private enterprise is impossible, a democratic republic is impossible. The problem of economic discrimination needs to be approached from this standpoint if an American solution for it is to be found.

Minneapolis Spokesman

VOL. 10, NO. 25 Minneapolis, Minnesota, Friday, January 28, 1944 PRICE: $2.50 A YEAR—7 CENTS A COPY

Webster Defends AFL and FEPC; Raps Negro Press; Urges Negroes to Organize

Refers to Red Cap President as "That Joker"

By Staff Correspondent

The President's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) was praised and critics of the American Federation of Labor were scored in a forceful, ringing address by Milton P. Webster, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Sunday before the bi-monthly Forum in the Hallie Q. Brown Community House, 553 Aurora Avenue, St. Paul. The large audience, composed largely of Pullman employes and their wives, applauded the speaker frequently as he lashed out at the foes of the Brotherhood and of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Webster asserted that there was much "misinformation and false propaganda" being circulated against the A. F. of L., and in favor of the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO). "Don't get the idea that one union is Utopia and that you should stay out of the other."

Infers Papers Are Paid

Mr. Webster said that the CIO has been able to get a lot of publicity in both the Negro weeklies and white dailies and he left a strong inference with his audience that these newspapers were not spreading all of this "propaganda" for the CIO for nothing. He read excerpts from an article written for the Associated Negro Press in which the writer "is attempting to prove that Webster and A. Philip Randolph (the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) were not making any headway in their fight to get the American Federation of Labor to put an end to discrimination in many of their unions." To refute this argument, Mr. Webster told his audience of an incident that took place during the last annual meeting of the A. F. of L. in Boston last year.

B.S.C.P. Is In Good Shape

In speaking of the progress being made by his own organization, Mr. Webster declared that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters "is fairly secure, since our men are receiving good wages, but we will not be fully secure as long as other Negro workers are unorganized and insecure." He said that the Brotherhood had helped to organize other Negroes, notably the Red Caps.

Red Caps' President

He was bitter in his denunciation of "the joker they had made president of the United Transport Workers of America (the Red Caps' union). He was evidently referring to Willard Townsend, who is the International President of the United Transport Workers Union of America and a member of the Executive Committee of the CIO. He did not call Townsend by name during his address, however.

Raps Dr. Malcolm MacLean

Mr. Webster, who is a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, asserted that many people were not fair in their judgment of the work of FEPC. He said that some people seized on every bit of gossip and bad news about FEPC such as the quitting of the Committee by "your man MacLean, who ran out on us like a rat leaving a sinking ship." In this statement, the speaker was scoring the resignation as chairman of FEPC of Dr. Malcolm MacLean, former dean at the University of Minnesota and later president of Hampton Institute.

"Negroes have been placed in many jobs that had been denied them because of the President's Executive Orders 8802 and 9346 and FEPC. . . . The aircraft industries on the west coast declared that they would not hire Negroes . . . but now they are hiring thousands of them, after we held hearings out there" the speaker declared.

He pointed out that hundreds of Negroes had been employed in the south because of FEPC and there is a lot of "token" employment in non-defense industries, of Negroes.

(Continued on Page 4)

Segregation Has Come North

The speaker said that segregation has come north. "In another twenty-five years Negroes will be as completely segregated in Chicago as they are in Birmingham," he asserted. Mark Etheridge, a former member of FECP and southern liberal, may not have been so far wrong in his now famous utterance in Birmingham about "all of Hitler's armies could not break down prejudice and segregation in the South, etc.," Mr. Webster declared, so long as the philosophy of the South is accepted all over America in race relations. "The Southern cracker is in the saddle in Washington and it will take years to rid the country of that influence," he asserted. The Democratic party was blamed largely for conditions as they are in regards to the Negro in the country today.

"Considers It Honor to be Criticized by Negro Paper"

"I have no apology to make for anything that I have said about the Negro press," Mr. Webster said, as he flayed the Negro press for "joining with capitalistic white press and the Pullman Company in trying to keep the Pullman porters from being organized." The speaker attacked an editorial written by a managing editor of a leading Negro weekly (The Afro-American) that characterized "A. Philip Randolph as the most misunderstood man in America," and a "prisoner of his own group." Instead of writing an editorial that would be read by 100,000 Negroes, the writer of this lying editorial (Ralph Matthews) should be a comic writer, Webster said. "I consider it an honor to be criticized by a Negro paper," Mr. Webster declared.

In speaking of the possible condition of the Negro in the post-war world, Mr. Webster said that the Negro will be in a bad fix, because he is not organized. He said that the Brotherhood planned to take the fight directly to the people, not through the preachers, as was suggested by a friend in Chicago. One alternative for the Negro is to fight now for his rights. . . . Probably some of us will get shot, but we must not let down now, as some people suggest," Mr. Webster concluded.

Alfred North presided at the meeting.

Webster Defends A. F. L. Raps Press

(Continued from Page 1)

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was credited with doing more than any other organization in creating FEPC and saving it when it was about to be scrapped last year, by the speaker.

Mr. Webster said Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, admitted that President Roosevelt had given the order to call off the railroad hearings before he went to Casablanca. The Negro firemen have been given a chance to get their case before the bar of American public opinion through the recent railroad hearings conducted by FEPC, Mr. Webster said. "FEPC is doing a fairly good job and it will do a better job when the Negro supports it," Mr. Webster asserted. "We had better get all we can now while the white people are worried and before the war is over and when they will not be so sympathetic."

In referring to the fair and impartial policy of the Federal Cartridge Corporation of the Twin Cities Ordnance Plant, Mr. Webster said that he believed that the president of the company (Mr. Charles L. Horn) was helped greatly in the carrying out of his non-discriminatory policy because of Executive Order 8802.

By Albert Deutsch

The Negro's Fight in the North—A Tale

How has the Negro fared in the North during wartime? Has he, on the whole, gained or lost ground in his struggle for equal rights? Is last Summer's epidemic of bloody race riots likely to recur? What does the Northern Negro think of his present status? What does he want? How does he propose to go about getting it?

An interesting roundup on these and other questions, together with on-the-scene reports from four main centers of race tension, is presented by Negro writers in a special issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, just out.

Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, New York scholar who edits the special issue, lists four basic differences between the North and the South, as far as the Negro's struggle for equal rights is concerned. In the North, he says:

¶ The law is on the Negro's side in his fight for equal rights.

¶ The Negro is not disfranchised.

¶ There is no pro-slavery, "lost cause," no "terrible Reconstruction days" tradition that intensified race prejudice in the South.

¶ The general social and intellectual level is relatively higher in the North.

I. What Does the Negro Want?

"The ultimate goals of the northern Negro," says Reddick, "are the same as those of all other men everywhere: health, security, adventure, prestige and what might be called the good things of society. The Northern Negro, like his Southern brother, wants the elimination of the racial differential from the social order.

The Northern Negro's immediate objectives include:

¶ Equal access to job opportunities.

¶ Equal access to adequate housing.

¶ Full civil liberty.

¶ An end to Jim Crow in the armed forces.

¶ An end to anti-Negro propaganda and ridicule.

II. Where Does the Negro Stand?

Here's how Dr. Reddick sums up the present wartime status of the Northern Negro in terms of the five objectives listed above.

Employment: The acute manpower shortage has eased the extreme pressure which made job discrimination the Number One problem among Negroes, North and South. Even Negro women are gradually getting their chance in fields other than domestic service. But there is still deep concern over discrimination in job training programs, placement, wages, upgrading and access to labor-union membership. Negroes are also worrying over the question: "What will happen *after* the war?"

Housing: The housing problem, in some respects, is more pressing than any other right now. Many persons don't object to working with Negroes but refuse to live in the same house or neighborhood with them.

The Sojourner Truth housing riot of 1942 in Detroit is only the most sensational of similar conflicts in almost every large city.

Civil Rights: Despite the absence of Jim-Crow laws, Negroes in the North are not infrequently denied access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, auditoriums, schools, and other public institutions. Local opinion is often pro-segregationist. In some of these communities Negroes customarily avoid certain districts where they feel they're not wanted.

Police brutality against Negroes is an almost universal complaint. In the Detroit riots last June, 23 of the 25 Negroes who were killed died from bullets fired from city cops' guns. The KKK, the National Workers League, the Southern Society and Gerald L. K. Smith's Committee of One Million are some of the better-known organizations that stir racial antagonism in Detroit. Many anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, or anti-labor groups are also anti-Negro.

Military Jim Crow: The segregation and maltreatment of Negro soldiers is a national issue, but the resentment of the northern Negro naturally may be more intense than that of his southern brother. He is often separated from his white school chums or fellow-workers when he's inducted into the Army. Moreover, most army camps are located in the South, where northern Negroes are subjected to the "southern way of life."

Anti-Negro Propaganda: The Northern Negro is particularly sensitive to derogatory terms. Anti-Negro movies, radio programs, plays, books and news stories, which hold up the Negro to ridicule and contempt, create psychological barriers to public acceptance of the Negro as a man and of his fight for his "rights" as a perfectly normal human endeavor.

How has the "Negro problem" been affected by World War II? Four Negro writers present on-the-scene accounts of what's been happening in four major cities—New York, Chicago, Detroit and Baltimore. While Baltimore is below the Mason and Dixon line, it is included in the survey as a "border city" where many race attitudes of North and South are intermingled. Here is a condensed version of the four "profiles" of cities that appear in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*:

III. New York: Progress, But Not Enough

Warren M. Banner, author of the New York "profile," thinks that, despite ample evidences of prejudice, minorities in this city enjoy a larger share of all opportunities than elsewhere. Only a few other places normally consider the Negro's welfare as part and parcel of the general welfare, he says.

New York's Negro population, which now stands at 450,000, or about 6 per cent of the total city population of 7,500,000, has tripled since 1920. However, the number of Negroes here has not increased since 1940. Contrary to the widespread idea that Negroes have been pouring into New York since the war started, there actually has been a population decline, with Negro workers leaving for other areas where they could get war jobs.

The great masses of Negroes in New York live on the lowest economic level. In 1935-36, the average Negro family income (husband and wife) was only $837 as compared with $1,814 for white families. Earning a living is still the Number One problem among Negroes; they are still the last to be hired. At the peak of the depression about half of Harlem was on relief or WPA. Negroes still comprise about 25 per cent of city residents on relief.

Today, says Banner, the jobs and income of the great mass of Negroes still make impossible an acceptable standard of decent, comfortable living. Job discrimination exists in many fields, such as utility companies, insurance companies, department and retail stores, and manufacturing concerns. Gains have been made in placing Negro men and women in war-industry jobs; but in some industries little progress can be reported.

Job opportunities for Negroes in industry are still outweighed by "token representation" and other restrictions. Generally speaking, Negroes are admitted to labor unions on a par with others, and certain unions have been instrumental in getting jobs for Negroes.

Complaints registered against the New York City school system include: structural decay of school buildings in Negro areas, superannuation and inefficiency of teaching staff, inadequate and improper guidance of youth, excessive retardation among school children, accompanied by too many part-time sessions in Negro neighborhoods.

Juvenile delinquency and adult crime rates are disproportionately high among Negroes in New York. Dr. Banner points out, however, that Negroes are not participants in organized crime; their offenses are generally petty.

Dr. Banner is encouraged by some recent signs of progress in New York, such as state and city anti-discrimination laws and the growth of many groups seeking to improve the economic and social status of the Negro.

IV. Detroit: Still Dynamite

Louis E. Martin, militant editor of the Michigan *Chronicle*, graphically portrays the contradictions in wartime Detroit—arsenal of democracy and capital of American fascism, monument to American industrial genius and depressing picture of social disorder. Detroit is still dynamite, he says.

One-fourth of the 2,000,000 people in this mushrooming war-industry center have poured into Detroit since 1941. About 185,000 Negroes live there. Some 36,000 of these came in since Pearl Harbor, along with 250,000 whites from the Southern hill country.

Race tensions, present in Detroit since World War I, have been magnified by the great influx of southern whites who, "wherever they go, carry their own undemocratic [illegible] to the so-called Negro [illegible]." Also, Detroit has been [illegible] headquarters of Gerald L. K. Smith of Louisiana, Frank Norris of Texas, and other exponents of the "Klan way of life."

On the other hand, the Detroit Negro has found a great source of strength in the "revolution" beginning in 1936, which changed Detroit from an open-shop town to one of the strongest union towns in the U. S. A.

Lack of housing, paucity of recreation, overburdened transportation, resistance to Negro upgrading in war plants, incessant bigot propaganda, home breakups due to recruitment of mothers in industry without adequate child-care programs—these and other factors formed the background of the fatal race riot of last June.

Efforts to ease race tensions in Detroit since the June outbreak have been hampered by a weak and vacillating city administration, which turned openly anti-Negro during the election campaign.

"The community as a whole," says Martin, "seems to share the administration's confusion. Save for the efforts of the UAW-CIO, which is the dominant labor organization in the city, the liberal leadership of Detroit suffers from something close to paralysis. There are many interracial committees and the usual number of conferences which function almost in a vacuum, hardly ever influencing the rank and file of Detroit's perplexed citizenry. Under the pressure of revived Klan and 'race' thinking, the majority of these liberals have found themselves on the defensive.

"By contrast, the Negro community is a reasonably well-knit working whole. The Negroes know that the home-grown and imported fascists are determined to split Detroit wide open on the race issue and they know, too, that their backs are against the wall."

Many white labor unionists have supported local Negro [illegible] in warding off anti-[illegible]cks. Nonetheless, says [illegible], racial tensions are greater [illegible] at any period in the [illegible] of the city. The wounds of the riot in which 34 citizens were [illegible] on the city streets have been [illegible]d by the most vicious [illegible] campaign of any city above [illegible] Mason-Dixon line since the Civil War.

"Despite the racial unrest and all the sound and fury of the election which unfortunately followed the riot much too soon, the Negroes have made some positive gains in the city, particularly in employment. Here again, however, the gains have resulted more from the manpower shortage than from any planning or voluntary change in the attitudes of employers."

The outlook in Detroit is dark, Martin declares. He believes that the Negro has lost ground there during the war.

White men and Negroes can and do work together. Th
above—workmen at the Milton Point shipyard at Rye, N

# of Four Cities

V. Chicago: Tense and Uneasy

Chicago is still a smoldering volcano, ready to erupt into race disorders at a slight provocation. Citizens of the city were tensely apprehensive last Summer. The news of interracial conflict in other cities—major race riots in Detroit and New York, mob violence in Beaumont, clashes between zoot-suiters and sailors in Los Angeles, adolescent race gang fights elsewhere—evoked fears of a possible recurrence of Chicago's great race riot of 1919, which cost 38 lives.

J. G. St. Clair Drake, author of the Chicago "profile," describes the tense situation in the Windy City last Summer:

"Negro and white sailors from all sections of the country crowded Chicago's streets. Present, too, were all the irritations incident to an industrial community in wartime—tired men and women, crowded streetcars and elevated trains, exasperation with high rents and rising food prices, disrupted families. And among Negroes there was the deep-seated feeling that they were being cheated by white America's unfulfilled promise of the Four Freedoms, as well as by the landlord, grocer, and pawnbroker. Anything could happen!"

Fortunately, nothing did happen—last Summer. There were incidents: beatings of Negro boys by white gangs, the killing of a 16-year-old colored boy—highly regarded in his neighborhood—by an overzealous cop, etc. "And the Chicago *Tribune*," writes Drake, "all during the Summer played up lurid (and sometimes grossly inaccurate) stories about Negro rapists and burglars."

Serious trouble was averted mainly because:

¶ There was intense activity by Negro and white civic and religious groups and by labor unions to create a climate of opinion unfavorable to violence.

¶ Chicago's Negro population showed a high degree of protective solidarity, manifested at several mass meetings.

¶ A Mayor's Committee on Race Relations was appointed, headed by Edwin Embree of the Rosenwald Fund. This committee set out to enlist the aid of police officials, key publicists and prominent citizens in dispelling "race rumors" and in acting promptly, but calmly, in the event of an emergency.

¶ The race-relations problem was intelligently and sympathetically handled in powerful local newspapers, notably in the Chicago *Sun* and in the *Times*, an afternoon tabloid.

But while the tension of last Summer has eased, anything can still happen. The roots of race friction—economic and social discrimination and inequality—remain.

Here are some that plague Chicago's Negroes:

¶ The 350,000 Negroes of Chicago are still crowded into the ghetto-like "Black Belt," comprising only seven square miles, and designed to accommodate only 150,000 people. Restrictive real estate covenants prohibit Negroes from renting or buying in 85 per cent of the city's area. There has been a 20 per cent rise in the Negro population since 1940, although this increase hasn't had the same psychological impact as the mass migrations into Chicago in the First World War period. Last June the head of the Chicago Housing Authority described the "Black Belt" as "more crowded than the slums of Calcutta."

"All attempts to reduce this congestion," Drake charges, "have been frustrated by the Chicago Real Estate Board and numerous neighborhood property owners' associations.

"These real estate interests have not only opposed the expansion of the Negro population; they have also fought against Federal housing."

¶ Rents in the "Black Belt" are 20 to 50 per cent higher than in other areas of the city. Public services are more consistently neglected.

¶ Schools are overcrowded; 18 of Chicago's 15 double-shift schools are in the "Black Belt." Recreational facilities are inadequate.

¶ Death and sickness rates, as well as juvenile delinquency and crime rates, are disproportionately high as a result of bad conditions like the aforementioned.

¶ Most white persons in the "Black Belt" are there in positions which emphasize the control which white people have over the fate of Negroes in economic, social and political life—bill collectors and salesmen, social workers, school teachers, policemen, and "slummers." Over 85 per cent of "Black Belt" retail stores are owned and operated by whites.

But there are bright spots in the Chicago racial picture. The "job ceiling" for Negro workers has been broken as a result of the manpower shortage plus the pressure of Negro and white groups for economic justice.

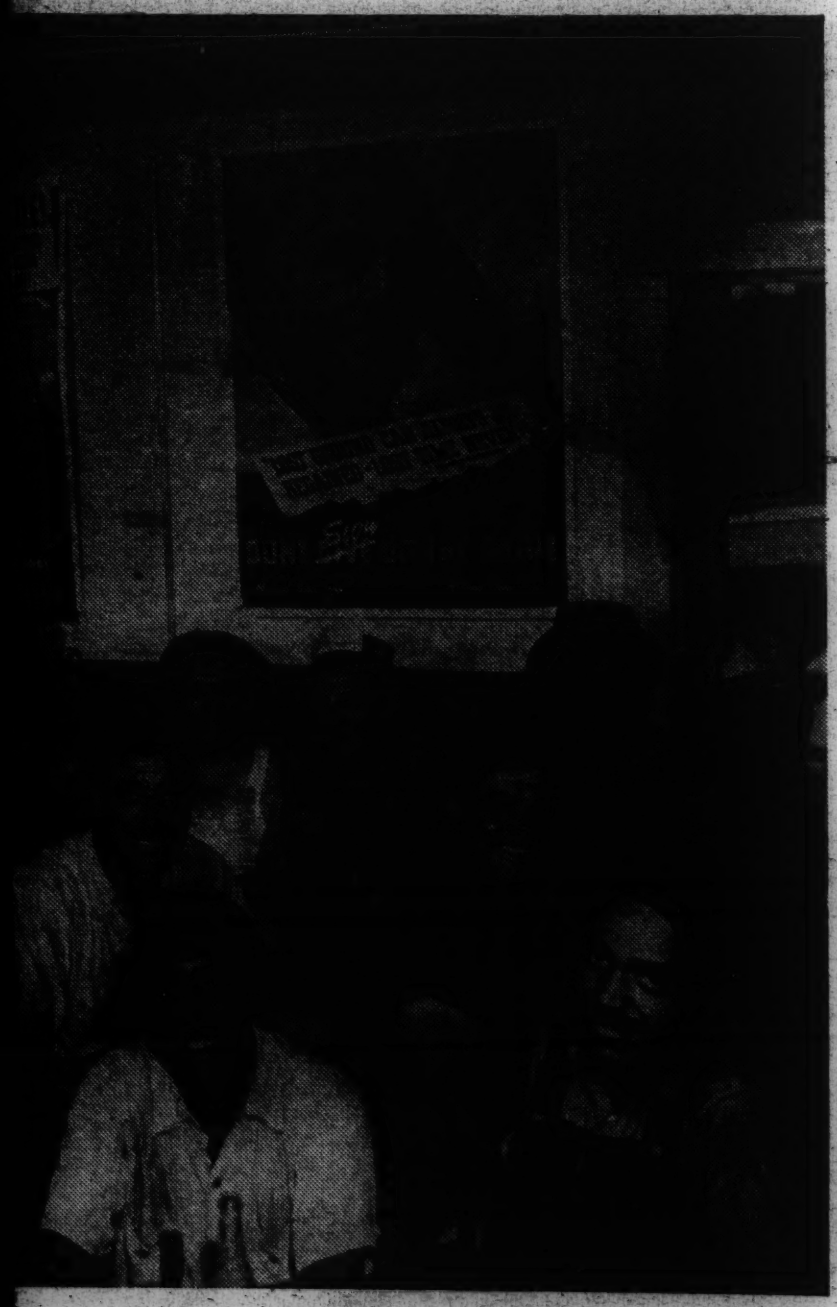
"The CIO," says Drake, "by its insistence upon strict application of seniority provisions in the packing, steel, and farm equipment industries and by its influence in the newly organized electric and automotive industry, has secured the upgrading of Negroes in numerous instances. There have been less than a half dozen insignificant 'hate strikes' in Chicago. There has been little of the tension in industry so evident in other cities."

Occupations and industries formerly closed to Negroes have now been opened. It is estimated that over 60,000 Negroes entered industry in Chicago during 1943.

The local CIO movement, Drake reports, has not only been a powerful influence in the Negro's struggle for economic rights, but has also been active in fighting against social discrimination. In recent months it has organized a number of community groups to combat anti-Negro propaganda fostered by certain real estate interests.

One of the most significant of recent developments is the Chicago plan to integrate studies of Negro life and history into the regular curriculum of public schools.

"Many Chicagoans," says Drake, "view Negro-white relations negatively—solely in terms of preventing a riot. While all responsible Negroes would prefer social peace, there is evidence to indicate that the primary interest is in the complete abolition of political and economic subordination and enforced segregation."



e war industries are numerous with such instances as Y.

VI. Baltimore: More Work, More Crowding

Bad housing is the Negro's Number One problem in Baltimore. Although Negroes there live in every section of the city, they are hemmed in by restrictive real estate covenants and pacts, unable to move into areas adjacent to their own. And when they seek to live on vacant land areas or even when the Government selects such sites for Negro housing, the powerful property owners' interests block them.

"It is this hopeless dilemma," writes Edward S. Lewis, author of the Baltimore profile, "that has placed Baltimore on the list of critical cities where a race riot may break at any moment. If it does come, the housing impasse can be put down as the Number One cause."

Mr. Lewis, formerly executive head of the Baltimore Urban League and now holding the same position in the New York Urban League, looks rather hopefully at the job situation of the Negro worker.

In 1941 Glenn Martin declared flatly that he could hire no Negroes in his huge Baltimore bomber plant for fear that all the skilled white workers would walk out. But only recently he paid high tribute to the thousands of Negro workers now employed there, including many in skilled jobs. Other employers have likewise broken the ban on Negro workers with good results.

There have been several flare-ups and temporary stoppages in protest against upgrading Negro workers—one or two of grave dimensions—but in general the job situation has improved considerably. There are still dark spots. Some Baltimore war plants still practice "token employment"—hiring only a few Negroes to circumvent trouble with the FEPC. In-plant training for Negroes is almost nonexistent. Upgrading of Negro workers proceeds slowly and with some friction.

But the trade-union picture is bright in Baltimore, Lewis observes. "When the Steel Workers Organizing Committee cracked the steel industry at Sparrow's Point and won the election," he writes, "it opened the way to the organization of white and colored workers into the same locals. Negro workers were elected to key posts and they have become a permanent factor in top leadership in CIO steel unions.

"Under the leadership of Harry Cohen, president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Negro members have been placed on all key committees of the Central Trade Union Council. There is not another Federation in the country that can show better Negro representation than Baltimore."

On the red side of the racial ledger is the problem of police brutality in Baltimore, which has constantly wrought up the Negro community. Since 1930, a total of 14 Negroes have been killed by police officers. Not a single policeman has ever been brought to trial in these cases. Police killings have resulted in many protest demonstrations by Negro citizens, the most spectacular being the march on the Governor's mansion at Annapolis in 1942, after a Negro soldier had been shot dead by a cop as a result of a taxicab argument.

The Governor of Maryland appointed a commission to study the race problem in Baltimore. This Commission submitted many constructive recommendations in its report last March. Some of them were put into effect, including the addition of uniformed Negro cops on the city police force.

VII. A Program for Action

Dr. Reddick, in a summary article, outlines four main lines of advance in achieving the "immediate objectives" in the Negro's struggle for social justice:

¶ Mobilizing the Negro people behind the groups now actively combatting discrimination — the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the National Negro Congress, etc.

¶ Enlisting the support of non-Negroes in the fight for democratic rights. "In this sense," Reddick says, "what the North thinks about democracy for the Negro is of more importance than what the Negro thinks about democracy. The Northern Negro realizes this, and that his fight is only one phase of the larger fight for democratic rights for all. Accordingly, he cooperates with and expects co-operation from labor and religious groups as well as from other racial minorities. Despite evidence of anti-Semitism among Negroes and anti-Negroism among Jews, efforts are being made to effect united counteroffensives against anti-minority attacks."

¶ Generalizing the struggle on a national scale. "Thus, the Northern Negro fights against lynching and political disfranchisement, though they are essentially 'Southern evils.' Furthermore, some of the problems of the North, such as Jim-Crow in the armed forces, cannot be dealt with other than on a national basis. Again, the Fair Employment Practice Committee is the national approach to the employment question. There is a growing support for a Federal Fair Practice Act outlawing racial discrimination."

¶ The fourth stage lies in viewing the struggle for Negro rights in terms of the world scene. "The Negro on all occasions repeats that he is willing to fight and die for democracy, if he can fight and die on terms of equality like everybody else. Unity at home is deemed essential to victory abroad. Not the Negro, but those who would prevent him from all-out participation in the working and fighting activities of the Nation are the real enemies of national unity."

"The Northern Negro," Dr. Reddick concludes, "seems to have developed a definitely international outlook. He is deeply interested in what goes on all over the world. He knows about the successful 'racial policy' of the Soviet Union; he is openly sympathetic toward the struggle of India for independence and of China for national equality. He is deeply concerned about what is happening to the black folk of Africa and the West Indies. Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti are all symbols. The Constitution recently granted to the people of Jamaica has been hailed at meetings in New York, Chicago and Boston. The war for freedom, it is held, should really be a war for freedom for all peoples."

Ottawa Labor Code Covers 2,500,000

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, Feb. 17.—A national code in wartime labor relations, which affects approximately 2,500,000 of Canada's estimated 3,500,000 industrial employees, became effective today under the authority of the Wartime Measures Act.

The code, which has been in the making since last summer's National War Labor Board inquiry into labor relations, was tabled in Parliament by Labor Minister Mitchell and was presented as a joint effort of the Federal and Provincial Governments and of labor and industry to stabilize war production.

Its regulations, providing for compulsory collective bargaining and outlining conditions of fair labor practices apply only to war industries and those occupations, transportation, coal mining, etc., which came under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which they now supplant.

Provinces Can Extend.

Spokesmen for the Department of Labor said there is nothing in the national code which prohibits the Provinces, through legislation, to bring all non-war industries which are exclusively under Provincial jurisdiction within the application of the code in interest of the uniformity which was sought originally by the Dominion department.

Administration of the code, as it would apply to non-war industries, would have to be by agreement between the Dominion-Provincial Governments. It is suggested that an exclusive Provincial jurisdiction might be cumbersome. It is suggested with more force that the Dominion department hopes that in the event a Province brings its non-war industries under the code, that a joint administration can be worked out.

It is asserted that the terms of the national code follow closely those of the new British Columbia code. It is stated also that there are some grounds for belief that the majority of the Provinces will make the code uniform within their jurisdictions.

Action from Quebec is barred automatically. Its Provincial Legislature has just enacted a code of its own.

Ontario's Stand.

Questionable is Ontario, which in opposition to the Quebec stand of "Hands off" industries under its Provincial jurisdiction, insisted at the outset that the code be a true national code, applicable to all industries.

The split in outlook was wide at the recent Dominion-Provincial conference on labor relations, when the Provinces were sounded out on their views.

It widened, it is asserted, after the Dominion let it be known that, contrary to its earlier hopes of achieving all-out uniformity, of bringing divergent Provincial viewpoints into line under the guise of a war emergency, it would apply the code only to war industries.

One Exception.

Since the conference, draft copies of the code have been submitted to all Provincial Governments. While it is believed all, except Quebec, would have favored an across-the-board code, all except one has accepted the draft as having met their points of view. That one is asserted to be Ontario.

The clause enabling any Province to make the code generally applicable, rather than restricting it to war industries and national employment, is believed to be an attempt to meet Ontario objections.

In addition to Provincial consultation, Dominion Department of Labor spokesmen say that there has been a very thorough consultation with the heads of the three national labor organizations with representatives of employers and that all made valuable suggestions "most of which we have found possible to adopt."

While the code is effective immediately, the composition of the Wartime Labor Relations Boards which will administer it has not yet been announced by the Government. The board will consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman and not more than eight other members. Employer

Main Points in Labor Code

Ottawa, Feb. 17 (CP).—Main provisions of the labor code tabled today are:

1. Establishment of a Wartime Labor Relations Board comprising a chairman, vice-chairman and not more than eight members.
2. Certification by the board of bargaining agencies representing the majority of employees in affected industries.
3. Compulsory negotiation between employers and certified bargaining agencies.
4. Conciliation procedure if negotiations for an agreement fail.
5. Prohibition of strikes during the selection of a bargaining agency, negotiation of an agreement, conciliation proceedings if necessary, and the life of the agreement after it is adopted.
6. A definition of unfair practices by employers, employees and unions.

Penalty clauses include:

1. An employer who causes an illegal lockout—a fine of not more than $500 for each day of the lockout.
2. An employee who strikes illegally—a fine of not more than $20 for each day on strike.
3. A union or other organization authorizing an illegal strike—fine of not more than $200 for each day of strike.
4. Persons or organizations contravening any sections of the code for which specific penalties are not provided—a fine of not more than $100, against an individual; a fine of not more than $200 against a corporation or organization.
5. Persons offering bribes to those charged with administration of the code or officials who accept a bribe—a fine of not less than $500 and not more than $5,000, or imprisonment for not less than six months and not more than five years, or both fine and imprisonment.

2,500,000 Men Affected By Ottawa Labor Code

(Continued From Page 1, Column 1.)

and employee representation on an equitable basis is provided for.

Strikes or lockouts still are possible under certain conditions, but only after collective bargaining efforts have failed, and a conciliation board report has been before the Labor Minister for 14 days without completion of an employer-employee agreement.

Unfair labor practices applying to employers prohibit attempts to dominate or interfere with trade unions and employees' organizations or to contribute financial support to them. Employers may not refuse to employ or discriminate against employees because they are members of an organization.

Where Compulsion Ends.

Neither side is obliged to accept the finding of a conciliation board, and there compulsion ceases.

Full provision is made for the renegotiation of agreements, and strikes are prohibited in a termination of an agreement—in other words, there must be a similar process as in the event of a new agreement. Terms are given which are designed to eliminate jurisdictional disputes and the raiding of one union on the members of a rival union. Behind them stand a list of penalties, applicable to both sides in a labor dispute, in event the regulations are broken.

As a symbol of the approach that the framers of the code had in mind, it is emphasized that in the settlement of disputes the regulations are designed to place on both parties a joint responsibility for a settlement by their own action rather than the imposition of a settlement by an outside agency.

Board Responsible.

The new Wartime Labor Relations Board will be responsible for matters of policy and such regulations as are necessary to ensure uniformity in application of the code.

Unions are prohibited from coercion or intimidation of workers to force them to join an organization. Activities in plants during working hours in an effort to enlist union membership are banned and no support or encouragement may be given to slow-downs or other interference with production.

Actual administration will be a matter for negotiation between the Dominion and the Provinces and it is expected that in most cases, at least, conciliation machinery already established by the Provinces will be used in co-operation with the

tlement of disputes without stoppage of work. If no procedure is provided in existing agreements, the board may establish one.

In cases where there is no agreement and a dispute arises from a new condition of work imposed by the employer, a 60-day delay is provided to enable the employees to elect bargaining representatives and initiate bargaining procedure.

Industries Embraced.

Following is the official list of war industries and other industries to which the code applies:

1. A work or undertaking engaged in mining or smelting operations;
2. Manufacturing or assembling aircraft parts;
3. Manufacturing or assembling tanks or universal carriers;
4. Manufacturing or assembling automobile or truck parts;
5. Smelting or refining aluminum;
6. Refining or producing oil or petroleum products;
7. Producing or processing natural or synthetic rubber;
8. Manufacturing chemicals for war purposes;
9. Producing or manufacturing steel for war industry or war purposes;
10. Building or construction or demolition projects under a contract or sub-contract, intended for the use of His Majesty in right of Canada, including the construction, erection, repair, improvement or extension of buildings, airdromes, harbors, dock yards, roads, defense fortifications, or other naval, military or air force works;
11. Shipbuilding, including shipbuilding accessories;
12. Production of machinery, arms, shells, ammunition, explosives, implements of war, or naval, military or air stores;
13. Transportation or communication;
14. Public service utilities, including gas, electric, water and power works, telegraph and telephone lines.

Marcantonio Pushes Bill For Permanent FEP Setup

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—A discharge petition (No. 18) to bring his bill (H. R. 1732) out of committee so as to make the Fair Employment Practice Committee a permanent agency, was filed last week by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.).

Rep. Marcantonio filed the bill last February, but has not pushed it in deference to the poll tax bill. The measure gives the FEPC investigatory powers similar to those of the National Labor Relations Board and provides penalties for employers who, after hearings and orders based on the hearings, continue to discriminate in employment on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin.

The bill, to be constitutional, affects only contracts entered into by a federal agency with a contractor for the manufacture or furnishing of materials, supplies, articles, equipment or services for the federal government.

The committee, by the bill, is empowered to direct payment into the Treasury of the United States, as liquidated damages for violations, the sum of $500 per day for each day of the continuance of such violations. It may also direct the hiring of persons refused employment or the reinstatement of persons discharged or laid off in violation of the fair employment provisions of the bill.

There is also a provision that "no contractor or subcontractor against whom the committee has entered an order pursuant to section 6, and no person exercising a controlling interest in such contractor or subcontractor shall be awarded a contract or subcontractor until three years have elapsed from the date of such order of the committee," unless the committee shall otherwise state. A list of such barred contractors is directed to be distributed by the Comptroller General to all federal agencies and to all contractors.

Persons who willfully resist, prevent, impede, or interfere with any member of the committee or any of its agents or agencies in the performance of their duties are subject to a fine of not more than $5000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

Commenting on the petition for discharge, Rep. Marcantonio declared: "I have the assurances of a number of members of the House that they will support my discharge petition. I firmly believe that the necessary signature will be secured within a few weeks and that my measures will be adopted by the House."

Randolph Urges Negroes To Try Non-Violence

F.O.R. Leaders Call Move Challenge to Members

One of the most significant of recent developments in the field of interracial relations in the United States was the proposal by the March on Washington Movement in mid-January of a program of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation to be instituted in May. A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement and head of the powerful Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, announced that the program would be used to break the stranglehold of Jim Crow on Negroes all over the country.

"The program of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation should include refusal of Negroes to obey any law which violates their basic citizenship rights, such as Jim Crow cars and all forms of discrimination," Mr. Randolph explained.

The program, if approved, will be launched at the meeting of the March on Washington Movement (MOW), on May 11. It will call on Negroes to refuse to ride on Jim Crow cars or use Jim Crow waiting-rooms in the South. It will urge them to eat in all places in every city where citizens normally dine, with Washington Negroes going daily for a week to the Congressional restaurant, which refuses to serve them. Negroes on duty with the armed forces, or "at work," would not be expected to participate in the program.

"If they are ejected," continued Mr. Randolph's statement, "they should not fight back, but constantly keep up their program . . . in an orderly, peaceful and quiet manner. The grounds upon which this program will be based is that a citizen is morally obligated to disobey an unjust law."

F.O.R. Issues Statement

The Fellowship Executive Committee, meeting a few days after announcement of the proposed program, called it "a challenge to us and our members throughout the country." In a resolution the Committee declared its belief that continued treatment of Negroes as "second-class citizens" would be a "national calamity." Since a resort to hatred and violence would be "equally calamitous," the resolution continued, the need for non-violent techniques "to advance the cause of liberation" is clear. Such a program is a serious undertaking, the Committee warned, however, and urged that much thought be given to Gandhi's insistence that "non-violent direct action requires the most careful training and severe discipline, including spiritual discipline."

Noting that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has been interested for some years in non-violent direct action, particularly in the field of race relations, the Executive Committee urged F.O.R. members to engage in renewed study of the problem during the coming weeks. In addition it called upon the Fellowship's Non-Violent Direct Action Committee to intensify its efforts "to provide training and guidance for such of our members and others as may decide to join or cooperate" with this or other non-violent action for interracial justice.

Fair Employment Body Proves to Be Tragedy

Continued From First Page

would, as it did, again, "pull the old business" on Negro soldiers.

READY FOR SHOWDOWN

Walter White's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was reviving its perennial anti-lynching bill; the left-wingers were out to abolish the South's cherished Poll Tax; and the leaders, on all sides, were ready to have a showdown on the matter of mixing Negroes and whites in fighting units.

A strong drive for the equalization of Negro and white teachers' salaries in the deep South was afoot; and the U. S. Navy was still hanging on to its tradition of allowing no Negroes above mess attendants.

WAVE OF RACIALISM

With a war in the Pacific threatening and the European conflict sure, a simmering wave of racialism moved over the country. Unrest was obvious everywhere and any Negro laying down a disputed claim to leadership was being prodded to move.

The first barrage was opened on the various State Employment Services, which were charged, rightly, with fostering discrimination against Negro placements in industry. With that to feed upon, a shattering wave of Negro protest ran like a forest fire through the country.

Someone remembered the "Great Deliverer" . . .

ONE HUNDRED VERSIONS

And so to Washington went Mr. Randolph and Walter White, by this time aided by Pearl Harbor, to get something done. Nobody has found a stenographic record of that memorable event; but there have been a hundred versions of what was said to whom.

One thing is certain: Mr. Randolph threatened to get together himself a group of Negroes and "march on Washington" if the President of the United States did not "speak out and act out" about the economic plight of Negroes. What Walter White threatened or promised to do is still a secret, but Mr. Randolph laid his cards on the boards.

MEETINGS IN NEW YORK

Two or three secret meetings are alleged to have been held in New York with Mrs. Roosevelt about the "Randolph March." That has not been publicly confirmed but the head of the sleeping car porters has openly pointed out his role in this regard. Shaken by this threat and obviously not wanting to show the already disheveled world America's own disunity, the President "threw in" when Mr. Randolph called his hand.

What followed was "Executive Order 8802," now called "meaningless," and worse, by some; but referred to only two short years ago as "the second emancipation proclamation." The order sought to end discrimination against Negroes in industry.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT BODY

Perhaps the Administration hoped that the mere issuance of the order would suffice to quiet the storm, but Philip Randolph is a persistent man!

With the threat still hanging, the President created the "Committee on Fair Employment Practices," to implement the order. That was the payoff; and until this day one of the favorite jokes wherever Negro leaders get together, is the general belief that Mr. Randolph's "march" would, in all probability, have totaled "about 100 persons, more or less."

COMMITTEE A TRAGEDY

Born of quick footwork and little planning, the President's committee has been a tragedy. At this point in its existence it is seriously doubted by some of the surest Negro leadership whether the placements in industry it has been able to induce will even approach in value the impending damage that its tactics will cause to Negro employment after the war. Nearly everywhere it has moved it has left in its wake an exceedingly "bad stomach" on the part of industrial management.

Moreover, organized labor, for all its mouthings about saving the workers, is almost solidly arrayed against any actual equitable enforcement of the committee's implied prerogatives and has been the agency's greatest single enemy. During the railroad hearings, the brazen manner in which the union attorneys refused to answer a call from the committee, or to even honor its correspondence, was interpreted by Negroes as one of the most unfriendly acts in recent years.

AMBUSH NOW COMPLETE

Between Negroes on the one hand and organized labor and the "Southern bloc" on the other, the Randolph ambush of the President is now complete. What he does about it is of the highest political importance to both major parties, however, for he is stuck with his own creation. If he gives it power, he will surely forfeit the warmth of the Southerners already encamped against him. If he deserts it—and there are signs that he may do just that—he can mark off even the last remnants of his already thinning Negro ranks. Generally, the Negroes to whom I have talked do not believe he will come through. Having lost most of his Negroes, they feel he will scuttle the remainder in an effort to court the reactionary wings of labor.

And it is upon the pivot of that feeling that not only the end of the New D

cerned, is hanging; but, also, the balance of political power in eight of the most powerful States in the Union. For Negro voters in these States are in the horrible position of being a people without confidence. They stand where they stood after the visit to Mr. Hoover; stunned and wounded and bitter amidst the wreckage of the clay feet of their latest idol.

WE'VE TRIED 'EM ALL

I talked to a saloonkeeper in the midst of Detroit's "Paradise Valley." He had been an ardent New Dealer; not one of the short-lived ers; but one of the few Negroes who actually contributed to the coffers without having a political job. Every one of the 44 seats at his bar was filled; and the tables were jammed to overflowing. Personally, he had "no kick" coming; but his reaction to what he called "the South's stranglehold on the White Hou was painful to watch.

"I hate to say it," he stamme "but it looks like we've about t 'em all; all, that is—but the C munists; and I s'pose it ain't to think about them . . ." He du fingers into the table covering repeated with much less convic . . . no, I s'pose it ain't right think about them . . ."

On the homefront, then, one of strong pillars of the New Deal taking a terrific pounding. That been on the surface, almost, for s time; but until recently, most peo have concluded that Negroes are engrossed with their own racial just they have not cared to take such things as "foreign policy" "world relations," too. That some has "muffed the ball" on that shown in the next of this series.

(Continued Tomorrow)

Fair Employment Body Proves to Be Tragedy

This is the third of a series of articles written by Joseph V. Baker, Inquirer reporter, after a survey of Negro political sentiment in eight pivotal States where their votes will play an important part in this Presidential election year.

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

When tomorrow's political historians write about the "Collapse of the Negro Pillar of the Roosevelt New Deal," the name of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will be something to conjure with. For it was Mr. Randolph, holding the poorest hand ever seen in a political poker game, who bluffed the "master politician of all time" into a fatal ambush.

The awakening had already begun in 1940; but it reached a new high as industry began to pick up speed under the pressure of Lend-Lease. Tired of the light diet of phraseology, Negroes began clamoring for jobs. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt's housing program was running into snags on the Negro side, since some of the far-flung alphabetical units of his making were denying that group entrance. We were beginning to recruit an army, and Negro leaders were fearful that the South

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE
Jan. 30, 1943

A Hope For Unity:

Negro Publishers Join Forces; Ask FDR Resume FEPC Hearings

By ST. CLAIR BOURNE

With an increasing flood of protests against threatened extinction flooding his desk, and delegations literally pounding at the door of his office, Paul V. McNutt, chairman, War Manpower Commission (WMC) stuck to his guns in postponing public hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) and declared in Washington, DC this week that his action was, and is, "Good strategy." McNutt in offering this defense, added the pledge that there would be no retreat or soft pedalling in the drive to open greater job opportunities to Negroes in defense.

Other developments in the situation included:

● refusal of McNutt to confer with more than four of a delegation of over 40 in his office last week. The delegation, numbering civic and trade union representatives, Negro and white, left without a conference;

● meeting of a group of Negro publishers in NYC Saturday and issuance of a request directly to President Roosevelt to order resumption of FEPC hearings immediately;

● meeting of a group under sponsorship of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (NFCL) Tuesday afternoon in NYC's Biltmore hotel to organize a delegation to hold a meeting already arranged with the FEPC;

● reports that Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) plans to introduce in Congress this week a bill to create an FEPC with power to subpoena and punish;

Monday evening, at Abyssinian Baptist church, renewed protests against the hearing postponement were crystallized at a mass meeting sponsored jointly by the Negro Labor Victory Committee (NLVC) and the People's Committee (PC). A. Philip Randolph, director, March on Washington movement (MOW) was unable to appear although scheduled to speak, but those present heard a list of impressive speakers scoring the postponement.

The National Negro Congress (NNC) announced this week plans for formation of a nationwide coordinating organization to save FEPC, under the title of Associated Organizations on Manpower and Fair Employment Practices. Seventeen allied groups were reported joining with the NNC in the movement which plans an emergency national conference of leaders of both races in Washington within three weeks, local conferences on war employment and discrimination in cities throughout the country, a delegation to Washington and special radio broadcasts on national hookups to mobilize support for the FEPC.

Last Friday, the FEPC by unanimous vote, called upon McNutt to re-schedule the postponed hearings, was informed that this request would receive full consideration. The committee was also told that postponement of the railroad hearings did not imply similar postponement of other scheduled hearings.

In Washington Sunday, Executive Secretary Pauline Myers of MOW spoke at a meeting to protest postponement of the hearings, told her hearers that the MOW leaders are giving serious consideration to a non-violent, civil disobedience campaign as a measure of protest against discrimination in general. Such a campaign was rumored a fortnight ago at which time, MOW leaders stressed that it was only "under consideration," and would not be discussed until a planned conference this Spring.

Elaborating on the subject a bit, Miss Myers said a conference has been called in Chicago some time in May, declared frankly that the civil disobedience campaign will be introduced.

Delegates McNutt Snubbed

The following are the delegates of prominent peoples' organizations who made an unsuccessful trip to Washington to see Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt last week:

A. Philip Randolph, Walter White, Aldrich Burner, NY division, MOW, B. F. McLaurin, Int. Rep. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Rachel Corrothers, IBPOE; Herbert C. Bergstron, Assn. of Phila. Settlements; Noah A. C. Walter, Jr., Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Theodore A. Jackson, Joint Council of Dining Car Employees; Rev. J. S. Eldridge, pres. Baptist Alliance of New York; Eardlie Johns, NAACP; George E. Haynes, Federal Council of Churches; Al Hamilton, Socialist party; Dorothy M. Robinson, pres. Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom; Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, Baltimore; James Farmer, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Sturge Steinert, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Phila.; James Loeb, Union for Democratic Action; Melford E. Spiro, National Religion and Labor Foundation; E. S. Nevin, Philadelphia Fellowship of Reconciliation; Elisabeth Craig, Ladies Division, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; William Worthy, Youth Committee for Democracy, Phila.; Rachel Hylton, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Ladies Division; Marion B. Seymour, National Assn. of Colored Graduate Nurses; Ben Levin, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, American Civil Liberties Union; Morris Milgram, Workers Defense League, National Secretary; Bertha Lomack, Tues. Evening Club, Washington, DC; Leslie Perry, Washington Bureau, NAACP; Mrs. Winifred W. Schaum, Philadelphia Branch, Women's International League; David S. Richie, Drience Commission on Race Relations, Philadelphia; Virginia B. Hops, National Assn. of Colored Graduate Nurses; James C. Arnold, YMCA, Dr. Frances McPeek, Washington Federation of Churches; George K. Hunton, Secretary, Catholic Interracial Council.

FEPC Committee Wants Lowdown

WASHINGTON—The name of Frank W. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina has been mentioned frequently as successor to Malcolm MacLean as chairman of the FEPC. Dr. Graham is now doing special war work in Washington and would be most acceptable in the new post.

Special!

With the whole committee, minus Dr. MacLean and Col. Sarnoff, both of whom have recently resigned, attending a conference with Paul V. McNutt on Friday, an understanding was had whereby McNutt promises to give full consideration to the demand of the committee that the railroad hearings be re-scheduled.

It is believed he will make his announcement on this when the Committee next meets, Feb. 1.

McNutt has consistently taken the blame for the postponement of the railroad hearings, but it is tacitly understood the cancelations were on orders. Meanwhile, the committee feels that some more explanation is needed in the case and has asked McNutt for such, not only for its own benefit but for the information of the minority group so strongly effected.

According to the last information, the Detroit hearings are not affected by the postponement of the railroad hearings and the investigations under G. James Fleming are still going ahead preparatory to the open hearings in the Motor City.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM STAR-NE
Jan. 30, 1943

Roosevelt, Lincoln and the FEPC

Apparently the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) is doomed. The forces of reaction have seen to that. Washington, it seems, held out as long as it could, but now appears to have bowed to the wishes of the Prejudice First crowd which more and more is assuming a formidable position in the saddle.

The way we see it, the whole regrettable business, including Mr. Roosevelt's famous Executive Order 8802, was bungled when those who forced Washintgon to establish the FEPC and 8802, failed to set up a lobby in the capital powerful enough to combat all the enemies of fair play. It was apparent from the beginning that the FEPC and Executive Order 8802 were lovely to look at on paper, but difficult to conceive of in consecutive, dynamic action without proper force behind them. The force could not be contained alone in the President's Executive Order. Instead, power in other ways, was necessary to see that discrimination in war industry was eliminated.

There is an opinion among informed persons that the most critical war in which this nation has been engaged, (and they take into account World Wars 1 and 2), was the Civil War (1861-65) in which the very nation was threatened with collapse. The Civil War saw President Abraham Lincoln establish a precedent by the use of executive powers granted by the constitution. Thus, on Sept. 22, 1862, Lincoln issued his preliminary Proclamation announcing that on Jan. 1, 1863, the slaves would be declared free in territory then in rebellion. Congress, itself, followed with an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia on April 16, 1863. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863, declared forever free the slaves in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (with the exception of certain parishes), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. By Presidential Proclamation, Lincoln thus freed about 3,-120,000 slaves.

As Commander-in-Chief of the nation's armed forces, the President may make use of the extraordinary powers granted him when the nation is facing peril. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and the Navy as well as the militia of the several states when called into the actual service of the United States. He has the power to send troops and armed detachments into any areas where trouble may endanger the nation's cause. This power President Roosevelt was prepared to exercise in the recent strike of the anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania. The Presidential Order declared:

"If this order is not complied with (that the miners are ordered "to return at once to their job of producing vitally needed coal for their country") in 48 hours, your government will take the necessary steps to protect the security of the nation against a strike which is doing serious injury to the war effort."

Since 1932, when he issued his famous Proclamation on March 6 closing all the banks in the nation, Mr. Roosevelt has been accused of assuming or demanding more power than any other President in the United States history. On April 19, 1933, he issued a Presidential Order banning gold exports. He was handed more power when Congress, on June 13, 1933, passed the National Industrial Recovery Act, NIRA (signed on June 16, 1933), which gave the President control of agriculture and industry. Although the NRA was killed by the United States Supreme Court on May 27, 1935, and the AAA, processing taxes relating to agriculture on Jan. 6, 1939, Mr. Roosevelt's power as chief executive has not waned.

There are differences between an Executive Order to banks to declare a national holiday and an Executive Order to the coal miners to cease striking against the government, and an Executive Order to war plants in manufacturing for the same government the implements of war to cease the discrimination against workers because of race, color, creed or national origin. But these differences, as we see them, are only a matter of inclination. If the President want to supply the FEPC, which is not one whit less important to the well being of the nation, he has only to imply it in the proper tone of voice of choice of written words. To us there seems little difference in the strike of coal miners for an increase in wages, and a war plant that refuses to hire available labor because it might be of an objectionable color, race, creed or national origin. Eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln encountered what history reveals as sterner oppostion to the elevation of the slaves to free manhood. In Lincoln's day the White House was dealing with chattel property, representative of the investment of free, white citizens in human flesh. They were certainly far more ablaze on the race question than are their present day descendants. Lincoln could have appealed to the prejudices of his day and he could have been challenged there and won the battle.

If, as we are told on many sides, this is a war for keeps, then it would seem that it was about time that firmness of intention be shown in every situation proving itself a hindrance to the successful prosecution of the war. Lincoln's pronouncement ending slavery 80 years ago, established a precedent for his successor in the White House. Lincoln knew and declared that the nation could not exist "half slave and half free." He met that situation four square and free the slaves. Mr. Roosevelt will find that neither the war nor the peace can be won without the full integration of the Negro into the war effort. Will he act accordingly?

QUO VADIS?

THE SABOTAGING OF FEPC . . . the resignations of Epstein, Houston, Stevens and MacLean . . .

The refusal of War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt to receive a representative delegation of Negro leaders . . .

The resignation—unexplained, but significant—of War Department Civilian Aide William Hastie . . .

All these are disturbing the American people today.

Each one of them, in its effect on the war effort, is comparable to the loss of a major military engagement.

Blame McNutt if you wish.

Condemn Stimson and Knox in Navy and Army Departments if you must.

But the tragic truth is that these injustices take place while The Man in The White House remains silent.

The Bourbon South is in the saddle. The forces of reaction are riding hard. Industrially the Ku Klux Klan has come back to life, hale and hearty and yet thousands and thousands of black Americans are dying beneath foreign skies, in order that democracy may be prolonged and perpetuated.

Not for the sake alone of the liberals of the nation. Not for the sake alone of the Negroes of America, but because this nation owes a sacred debt of honor to black and white soldiers, Franklin Roosevelt daily loses his historic stature because he refuses to pay off.

This is the tragedy of a nation. That we have an Atlantic Charter, Four Freedoms and yet, A[illegible]

Negro Editors Meet Plan Progrm Fo FEPC Considerati

Negro editors and publi[illegible] from as far west as Oklahoma [illegible] Saturday at the offices of [illegible] NAACP 69, Fifth Avenue, to [illegible] a campaign for the considera[illegible] of the President's Committe[illegible] Fair Employment Practices [illegible] independent government [illegible] for the investigation of dis[illegible] ation against workers in wa[illegible] dustries on account of color, [illegible] or national origin. The follo[illegible] statement was issued by the [illegible]

"The President's Committe[illegible] Fair Employment Practice was [illegible] pointed by President Roosevel[illegible] July, 1941. This month, Chair[illegible] Paul V. McNutt, of the War M[illegible] power Commission, postponed [illegible] definitely public hearings wh[illegible] the Committee had scheduled [illegible] discrimination against Negro wo[illegible] ers on railroads serving as [illegible] arteries of the war effort, han[illegible] munitions, troop and war work[illegible]

"Mr. McNutt declared that [illegible] railroads held no war contracts [illegible] might not be within the jurisd[illegible] tion of the committee.

"We declare that if railroads [illegible] not practically subject to jurisd[illegible] tion of the committee, the Pre[illegible] dent should supplement his Exec[illegible] tive Order 8802 to bring the[illegible] within this scope. We declare t[illegible] President should direct the Co[illegible] mittee to re-schedule the pub[illegible] hearing which Chairman McN[illegible] cancelled. Wiping out the col[illegible] line in war industries is not on[illegible] necessary for the full use of th[illegible] nation's manpower, but is als[illegible] equally impotrant as a pledge to[illegible] our non-white allies of the goo[illegible] faith of the American Governmen[illegible] in its proclamation of freedom an[illegible] democracy as the objective of th[illegible] war.

"The attempts of reactionar[illegible] forces in Congress and certain hig[illegible] place government offices to pre[illegible] serve the color line in war in[illegible] dustries furnishes fuel for Na[illegible] and Japanese propaganda in Afri[illegible] and Asia that the Four Freedom[illegible] do not apply to the colored race[illegible]

"The Negro people and the Ne[illegible] gro Press are one hundred pe[illegible] cent behind the war effort but ar[illegible] determined that democracy shal[illegible] function at home as well as be[illegible] policy laid down for foreign con[illegible] sumption."

Among those attending the con[illegible] ference were Ira F. Lewis, Pitts[illegible] burgh, Pa.; Chester A. Franklin[illegible] Kansas City, Mo.; Thomas W.[illegible] Young, jr., Norfolk, Va.; Roscoe[illegible] Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Okla[illegible] Ludlow W. Werner, C. B. Powell[illegible] A. C. Powell, New York City; John[illegible] Sengstacke, Chicago, Ill.; A. G.[illegible] Shields, Little Rock, Ark.; Carl[illegible] Murphy, Baltimore, Md.; Louis[illegible] Martin, Detroit, Mich.; and Claude[illegible] A. Barnett, Chicago, Ill.

Around and Beyond

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

THE TIDE of dissatisfaction over the action of War Manpower director, Paul V. McNutt in calling off the scheduled hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry continues to rise. That fact is evidenced not only by the tremendous interest which the Negro himself and all progressive sections of the labor movement have been manifesting, but also by the clear-cut and highly commendatory stand which many religious groups and educational institutions have been taking with respect to this important and tragic incident.

[redacted]

Frank R. Crosswaith

There is no doubt about it, Mr. McNutt has once more done a disservice to the cause of democracy generally and particularly to the New Deal administration. In the interest of preserving the excellent reputation which the President and his administration have earned among Negroes, liberals and organized labor, something should be done by the President to keep Mr. McNutt from further destroying that reputation. Mr. McNutt's refusal, on Jan. 19, to see a delegation of forty citizens representing religious, labor and liberal organizations, did not help the situation, but instead has contributed greatly to the storm.

Rail Brotherhood a Factor

It is the general belief among the people concerned in this struggle, that Mr. McNutt's conduct is simply reflective of the fact that the railroad brotherhoods are strongly entrenched in Indiana. The charge of discrimination against Negro railroad workers involves not only the railroad managements, but also the brotherhoods. Anyone who proposes to measure principles purely by the yardstick of political expediency, very seldom—if ever—overlook the potential balloting power of large groups of organized workers.

While we are glad to see the tide of discontent over Mr. McNutt's conduct continue to rise—and we want to see it rise high enough to bring about a change both on the part of Mr. McNutt and the railroad brotherhoods—certain groups are injecting themselves in this fight primarily because they recognize in it an excellent opportunity to advance their special political program. In other words, it's the old tactics of the traditional carpetbaggers.

Must Hold to Democracy

We are fully aware of the fact that American democracy has not been all that it should be where the Negro and where labor generally are concerned. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the principles upon which that democracy is founded are sound principles and that they offer to the Negro and to labor our best opportunity for progress and final emancipation.

Over the radio recently this writer heard a speaker, who was advocating the purchase of victory bonds and war saving stamps, fervently declare that "it was far better to die than to live as a slave." When it is remembered that the expression came from a citizen of this land which for over 245 years endorsed and promoted slavery, then it is not so difficult for us to appreciate the greater benefits to be derived by the common man from a democratic form of government, as against any form of totalitarianism. Mr. McNutt's decision in calling off the railroad hearings and thereby insuring the death of the FEPC, should not be permitted to stand. The collective eyes of the Negro and their friends are now turned toward President Roosevelt. We are looking Around and Beyond.

The FEPC Fiasco

Editor, The New York Age:

It was with profound shock that I read about War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's action to suppress the hearings on anti-Negro discrimination in the railroad industry. Discrimination — the frank allegation of superiority over one's fellowmen, and the denial of a man's right to work which is his birthright—is inseparable from the Fascist concept of the "herrenvolk" and the Fascist policy of tyranny and human subjugation. By discouraging public action against those employers who violate the very things for which we are fighting, the War Manpower Commission undoes all that Americans have labored to achieve throughout their democratic history. It makes the war we are fighting a farce. It makes the lost lives of our young heroes a criminal waste.

Simultaneous with the news of the postponement of the F.E.P.C. hearings comes the report, by the New York State War Council Committee on Discrimination in Employment, that "in New York City, where Negroes form approximately 6.1 per cent of the population, they comprise 26 per cent of all unemployed persons." What recourse have Negroes, and members of all minority groups, if they can no longer look for aid to a committee appointed by the President of the United States for the safeguarding of their right to work and to live? Representatives of railroad labor organizations are endeavoring to force abandonment of the public inquiry because, as they put it, it would cause "friction" among railroad workers. But on what basis have these organizations concluded that the American working man is prejudiced and bigoted, when, as a matter of fact, we have figures to prove the contrary? According to a questionnaire circulated by the National Urban League among white workers in a typical American city, only 3.1 per cent preferred not to work with Negroes. If, on the other hand, the assumptions of the railroad brotherhoods is correct, then we have not yet learned how to work and to live in harmony. If the assumption of the railroad brotherhoods is correct, then who are we to teach fascists the American way of life? If the assumption of the railroad brotherhood, is correct, then what is the American way of life?

Perhaps the time has come for us to ask for an explanation, in concrete terms, of what we are fighting for. Until yesterday, we thought that we were fighting [illegible] which Vice-President Wallace spoke in his memorable address of November 8th, 1942. If that is not so, if we are at war merely to win a military victory over a foreign power without regard to correcting racial and religious injustices then we are fighting an imperialistic war. Then let us all lay down our arms and join the ranks of Hitler and Hirohito since they are the acknowledged champions of hatred tyranny and oppression. Let us tell our friends and neighbors that we are fighting an imperialistic war. That we do not want

For our Army and Navy, unlike our business firms, include all kinds of men—black, white and yellow, Christian and Jew.

It seems to me that, under the terms of the President's regulation, Chairman McNutt can have no alternative other than to carry out the expressed will of the American people for equal opportunity for all men, regardless of race, color or creed.

BERNARD ROSENBERG

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Negro Firemen Contest Loss of Positions

FOR A GREAT many years the locomotives on southern railroads were fired by hand. Stoking these insatiable monsters with coal was hard work. Consequently the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—one of the famous railroad brotherhoods—had no objection to permitting Negroes to become firemen. But time brought technological changes which caused them to reconsider. First, mechanical stokers were installed on coal-burning engines. Then Diesel locomotives appeared which burned oil. The firemen's work became less onerous and was more abundantly rewarded. Consequently the labor union, which had managed to retain for itself the right to represent the Negro firemen although it would not permit them to become members, began to cast covetous eyes toward the firemen's jobs which were occupied by Negroes. Since 1929 no new Negro firemen have been hired on the southern railroads. But that method of replacing Negroes with whites appeared to be working too slowly for those impatient to grab Negro jobs. After twelve years, some 2,400 Negroes were still at work. So two years ago the labor union entered into an agreement with the railroads that Negro firemen might not be transferred to Diesels, and might not be given any new jobs. The protest of the firemen, who have asked the intervention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has brought about an investigation by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which is to hold hearings in Washington on January 25. Now that the matter has come into the open in this fashion, it is hard to see how the white railroad labor union which is involved can maintain its position. It owes an apology to its fellow workers which it can best give by opening its membership to Negro firemen without discrimination and protecting their rights to work.

FEPC, McNutt Meet; To Consider Rescheduling Railroad Hearings

Answer Expected By February 1

By AL WHITE

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Members of the Fair Employment Practice committee met here Friday with Paul V. McNutt, manpower commissioner, and for the first time sat in and discussed with the person to whom they are responsible the pertinent matters relating to the present and future status of FEPC.

Present were Mark Ethridge, who is acting chairman; Sears Brooks of CIO; Shields of AFL; Webster, and [illegible] chairman, was present nor was Col. David Sarnoff also recent resignee.

As a result of the conference, a statement was issued in which it was stated the committee strongly urged McNutt to reschedule the hearings on the railroads and asked that the hearings be set for an early date.

"SATISFACTORY" CONFERENCE

It was further stated a "satisfactory" conference had been held, or that it was as much with the members of the committee. This, it is believed, refers to the manner in which Mr. McNutt received the group and frankly discussed with them the problems before them.

However, there has been no retreat from the stand taken regarding the railroad hearings. Mr. McNutt promised his committee he would take their recommendations under consideration and an answer is expected by the group when it next meets on Feb. 1.

Although McNutt had assumed full responsibility for the cancellation of the hearings without explanation it is being generally thought that some explanation is due the minority groups as to what caused the cancellation and who was behind the agitation for such action. Since the committee itself was not advised of the change, why did McNutt so suddenly on Jan. 9 decide it would not be advantageous to hold the hearings? If he were given orders, the committee and the minority groups are entitled to know who gave the orders and why.

SINCERITY DOUBTED

The sincerity of the whole thing now is doubted by many who felt the last order was the first attempt to wreck the committee. The underhand methods used against the members of the committee as well as the public are resented and the general public feel it is entitled to an explanation more satisfactory than that given a newspaper by Mr. McNutt—"for strategic reasons."

As usual in governmental cases, the attitude and actions of the head of the Department is reflected right down the line and there are no underlings who go against the will of the head.

Discussing the matter of replacements, it is possible that Col. Sarnoff and Dr. MacLean will be replaced as soon as the fundamental matter of reorganization, much discussed in the past few days can

GRAHAM MAY BE NAMED

Prominently mentioned as the successor to MacLean is Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, a well known liberal now on leave serving with the government here in Washington.

Dr. Graham's presence would add much to the committee.

Despite the blow caused by the cancellation of the railroad hearings, the Detroit matter is said to be rapidly getting into shape under the direction of Examiner G. James Fleming. Mr. Fleming was in Washington for a brief visit and to make a report on his findings. He returned to Detroit Saturday. At present, these hearings will go on as scheduled, unless there is a sudden determination by someone to call them off because of "strategic" reasons.

Persons in the service feel the present status of the FEPC has not been jeopardized and that the committee will go on in spite of political pressure and expediency.

Reports of protest meetings held in various parts of the country are beginning to find their way to Washington and even right in the capital itself, there have been meetings which have adopted and sent resolutions to the President and McNutt protesting the cancellations of the railroads he hearings.

McNutt Is Urged To Reverse Ruling On FEPC Stymie

NEW YORK, N. Y. — (SNS) — Ferdinand Smith, national secretary of the National Maritime Union and national treasurer of the National Negro Congress, this week vigorously condemned attempts to cover up discrimination in the railroad transport industry through indefinite postponement of hearings due to have been held in Detroit by the Fair Employment Practice Committee of the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. Smith, in a pointed telegram to War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, declared:

"The National Maritime Union protests the calling off of the proposed hearings on railroad discrimination before the FEPC. Such action is a blow to the war effort and tends to demoralize not only the Negro Americans who are anxious to serve their country in this crisis, but also the people of the United Nations who see this struggle as one against [illegible]

New York Post
Feb. 1, 1943

Churchmen Ask Pledge on Race Bias

President Roosevelt today received a request from leading churchmen of all faiths asking that he reaffirm Executive Order 8802 forbidding race discrimination of war industries.

They asked that the Fair Employment Practic Committee be removed from jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission and that public hearings on allege discrimination on southern railways, canceled by Commissioner McNutt, be rescheduled. The plea was made by Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Church; the Rev. John LaFarge, chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council, and Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

New York Times

Clergy Asks Probe Of Anti-Negro Bias

Leading churchmen today appealed to President Roosevelt to reschedule public hearings on alleged discrimination against Negroes on southern railways. The hearings were canceled by Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

The appeal was made in a memorial requesting that the President reaffirm his executive order forbidding race discrimination in war industries and reconstitute the Fair Employment Practices Committee, removing it from the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission.

The plea was announced yesterday by Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Church; the Rev. John La Farge, chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council, and Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference on American Rabbis.

Liberals Ask Strong FEPC to Guarantee Negro Job Rights

By JAMES KORTY

On a street corner in a southern war boom town, a dozen Negro workers and one Negro soldier in uniform stood waiting for a trolley. A rapid car stopped by, loaded at the doors. There came one in which the Jim Crow section was full, but the white section had a number of empty seats.

The Negro workers did not stir. Nor did they move to speak when the Negro soldier boarded the car and took a seat in the white section.

The motorman looked back and saw him. "Get out of there, you ——," he shouted. The soldier did not move. The motorman came back, broke handle from its socket and approached him. The soldier rose, removed his tunic and [illegible] on the seat.

"If I am got to die in this war," he said, "I'm going to die right here, because then I'll know why I'm dying." He paused. "Maybe we'll die together," he added.

The motorman, by good fortune, had a rush of good sense to the head. He put the brake handle back in its socket and started the car.

The man who told me this incident is a trustworthy person. He saw it happen. And a week later he witnessed a second which is more heartening, almost, than one could have hoped for.

The decent citizens of that town, white and black, called a meeting. They discussed that incident and others like it, almost inevitable in their disrupted community, short of housing, short of transportation, war-tensed and jittery. They decided to scrap the jim crow ordinance for the duration. Now it is first come, first served, on the street cars and buses. The Negroes fill up the seats from the back. When there is no more room, they do not have to give their seats to the whites. A while back, a red-mouthed cracker attempted to assert his "white supremacy." The police promptly arrested him and an exasperated judge gave him thirty days in jail and a fine of $150.

That town has sent its best sons—black and white—to the four corners of the earth to fight what is supposed to be a people's war against the Axis. Meanwhile, it is grimly determined to keep the peace at home, and what it is doing to that end makes sense.

It makes a lot more sense than what our federal government has been doing in Washington. On January 11, Paul McNutt, acting on orders from the White House and without prior discussion with the committee or its staff, postponed indefinitely the Washington hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee which were to have considered the grievances from, apparently, that had been [illegible] Delegation after delegation called [illegible] ington. They were neither [illegible] busybodies, but responsible leaders [illegible] unions, church and civic bodies, and [illegible] minorities.

The trade unionists knew, if the Administration didn't, that the FEPC, starved [illegible] though it has been, has done invaluable [illegible] It has cracked open industries that [illegible] traditionally closed to Negroes and other [illegible] minorities. It has challenged the color bars [illegible] some of the union constitutions and [illegible] which operates automatically to build up [illegible] hostility to the unions, to break strikes [illegible] lower working standards.

The delegation organized by the [illegible] Committee to Save the FEPC [illegible] motive Fireman included officials of the [illegible] Council of Churches, the Central [illegible] American Rabbis, and the Catholic [illegible] Council. When, to the amazement of the [illegible] ington newspapers who had never [illegible] nessed such politically moronic behavior, [illegible] McNutt curtly refused to see the delegation, [illegible] chairman sent a stiff telegram to the [illegible] dent. When Mr. Roosevelt returned from [illegible] Africa, he had on his desk not only this [illegible] grim but a carefully prepared memorial, [illegible] by half a hundred distinguished priests, [illegible] and pastors, from which the following is quoted:

"The principle that there can be no [illegible] class economic citizenship, no calling of [illegible] or creed in the defense of democracy is fundamental. . . . As stated in Executive Order 8802, it is surely, Mr. President, one of the most significant and powerful affirmations of your whole political career. It, too, is a weapon which must be used, not discarded; which must be sharpened, not blunted or dulled.

"To this end . . . we ask that you reissue Executive Order No. 8802 and re-[illegible] execution."

The President's friends and [illegible] to him now for similar [illegible] on the national and international level. [illegible] absence, the President's [illegible] fumbled the ball all over the [illegible] velt, if he lives, can make a [illegible] brilliant recovery. The way to [illegible] reclamation and democracy is [illegible] not surrender to them. [illegible] dent announced a plan this week [illegible] FEPC; but one which would [illegible] mittee of its independence.

It is [illegible]

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1943

Another 'India' Threatened By Our Treatment of Negroes

By JOHN BEECHER

Civil disobedience on a mass scale in wartime America, with A. Philip Randolph and his Negro March on Washington movement here playing the role of Gandhi and his National Congress Party in India, may be the disastrous end-product of the Administration's policy of expediency with respect to the Negro.

That Randolph could seriously propose such a campaign—and find thousands of ready listeners among Negro Americans—is evidence enough of the damage already done to Negro morale by the Administration's reluctance to go down the line for the President's Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in war industries.

"A Dead Letter"

Dubbed a "Second Emancipation Proclamation" and "Negro Labor's Magna Carta" by overjoyed Negro editors when it was first issued on June 25, 1941, the President's order is now termed by these same editors in their disillusionment "a dead letter" and a "scrap of paper."

At the start, those who knew the score foresaw a terrific battle if the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, established to enforce the order, should dare to tackle race discrimination in its Southern citadel.

Well-intentioned though the Administration was known to be toward the Negro, it had waited until Randolph's threat of marshaling 100,000 Negro demonstrators in the capital forced it to concede the seeming guarantee of job equality embodied in the order.

Randolph Got Credit

This yielding to Randolph at the eleventh hour was generally acknowledged to be not trailblazing statesmanship but a reluctant yielding to expediency. Among Negroes Randolph consequently got far more credit for 8802 than did the President himself.

It might have been foreseen what would happen when the forces on the other side—Southern poll-taxers, biased Northern corporations and "lily-white" trade unions—got really going.

When the order was [illegible] is believed, [illegible] to [illegible]

any event, the squawking from that quarter did not start till much later.

Pre-War Slowness

Despite the unsettled state of Negro morale and the rapid expansion of the defense program, which made fast corrective action on discrimination imperative, the White House moved with pre-war slowness toward implementation of 8802. A month elapsed between the date of the order and the appointment of the FEPC to carry it out.

For chairman of the FEPC, which was to serve on a voluntary basis, the President selected Mark Ethridge, liberal Southern editor. Other members were David Sarnoff, RCA and NBC executive of New York; Earl Dickerson, Chicago alderman and attorney, a Negro; Milton P. Webster, also a Negro, Randolph's right-hand man in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; William Green, AFL head, and Philip Murray, CIO president. Green and Murray designated alternates to serve for them—Frank Fenton representing the AFL and John Brophy the CIO.

The South Last

Three more weeks went by before the first full-time staff member was selected, Executive Secretary Lawrence W. Cramer, former governor of the Virgin Islands. Simultaneously the FEPC announced that it would hold public hearings on discrimination in the Far West, Middle West, East and South. This showed the FEPC really intended to tackle the South—but tackle it last.

Three months after the executive order was issued the FEPC's first field investigator was "cleared for appointment" by OPM personnel. It took seven months to get an investigator for the South appointed. Negroes found it hard to understand why it was so difficult to get the FEPC moving, since the agency only $80,000 to finance the FEPC's first year of operation.

Sling-Shot vs. Tank

In view of the recognized magnitude of the task—nationwide liquidation of discrimination against Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, aliens and other minority groups in the midst of conversion of our entire industrial economy—the FEPC's budget was as tragically inadequate as a sling-shot against a 50-ton tank.

Dauntless as any David, however, the FEPC set out—with its lone investigator—to show up discrimination on the Pacific Coast. After cases had been prepared, a public hearing with the whole committee in attendance was held in Los Angeles on Oct. 20 and 21, 1941.

The Real Picture

The FEPC heard testimony from complainants and defendants representing 12 companies, including seven aircraft plants and two shipyards, as well as three local unions. The real picture at last came out with startling clarity, despite the evasions of company representatives and boycotting of the hearing by the International Assn. of Machinists (AFL). At Los Angeles the FEPC found that:

Douglas Aircraft employed 33,000 workers—10 of them Negroes. North American Aviation employed eight Negroes, all janitors, the company president having publicly announced that Negroes were unacceptable in any other capacity.

54 Out of 43,000

[illegible] yard had two skilled Negroes working as common laborers, both employed the morning of the hearing. Lockheed-Vega Aircraft had 54 Negroes out of 43,000, all hired in recent weeks under threat of the hearing. Consolidated Aircraft of San Diego had 228 Negroes in custodial capacities out of 39,000, but claimed this was the Maximum number it could employ.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, [illegible] 1, 194[illegible]

Negro Policy Fell to Pieces

By JOHN [illegible]

"This Administration has got to make up its mind what it's going to do about the Negro. It has got to show the Negro it stands for justice, not expediency."

The man saying this last week was no bitter-day Abolitionist, but a famous Southerner, a staunch Administration supporter and a moderate liberal. Months of Administration stalling over giving funds and power to the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, coupled with War Manpower Commissioner McNutt's peremptory sidetracking of the FEPC's educational public hearing on railroad discrimination against Negroes, made him feel that the Administration was betraying its own policy as well as the hopes of 13,000,000 Negroes.

Behind the betrayal was heavy undercover pressure from the Southern Democratic bloc, discriminatory Northern employers, "all-white" trade unions and, even, from close White House advisers, who had been long demanding in the back rooms that the FEPC be "put to sleep."

What He Said in June, 1941

This man didn't call the President's Executive Order 8802 against discrimination a "Second Emancipation Proclamation" as many Negro leaders did when it was issued in June, 1941. He knew it was less than that and said so at the time. He did think, and say, however, that the President meant what he wrote down in the order—that discrimination in defense industry had to stop, or else.

From the beginning there has been no doubt that the Administration has had good intentions toward the Negro. When the defense program first got under way after the fall of France, a minorities section was created in the National Defense Advisory Council. Will W. Alexander, former Southern Inter-racial Commission head, and Robert C. Weaver, Negro social scientist, were employed to see to it that Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and minority nationality groups got their fair share of defense training and jobs.

Persuasion Failed

When NDAC gave place to OPM, Weaver and Alexander came over to the new agency with augmented staffs. Of necessity their approach to discriminatory defense contractors and labor organizations had to be persuasive. Employers and unions were shown the inconsistency between job discrimination and the democratic objectives of the defense effort. They were politely requested to admit Negroes or Jews to jobs as an "experiment." Some complied. Far more did not.

All the while open pressure from Negro groups was mounting, as Negroes in every section reported being turned away by government job training schools and defense alike. Negro engineers and skilled workmen applying to aircraft plants were offered jobs as janitors. As for opportunities for women opened, Negro women, with college degrees were barred from clerical and production line, but given jobs in the cafeteria or cleaning toilets.

A New Negro Movement

Out of the resultant mass discontent rose a new Negro movement captained by A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, powerful all-Negro union in the AFL. This single, simple objective of this movement was embodied in its name—the March on Washington. A hundred thousand demonstrators would dramatize the paradox of the American Negro's plight—victim of Hitler-type discrimination in the arsenal of the democracies, jobless in the midst of plenty of jobs.

The White House attempted to forestall the March on Washington. Not only would the march embarrass the Administration both at home and abroad, it was seen, but bloodshed was likely in Jim-Crow Washington with its largely Southern white police force and biased general population. So a sop was thrown, in the form of a joint memorandum by Co-directors Knudsen and Hillman of the OPM under date of April 11, 1941, urging defense contractors to make "full utilization of available and competent Negro workers."

The President Speaks

In the main, defense contractors brushed off the Knudsen-Hillman memorandum as so much lip-service with no big stick behind it. So did Randolph, who went on with plans for the march, scheduled for the Fourth of July. On June 12, the President directed a communication to Knudsen and Hillman noting "with satisfaction" their memorandum and pledging "the full support" of the White House behind it.

"No nation combating the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of its population from its defense industries," the President wrote. "Even more important is it for us to strengthen our unity and morale by practicing at home the very democracy which we are fighting abroad."

Randolph would not be moved. Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia then intervened. Only one thing he told them, [illegible] also the substance of the Executive order of the President, spelling out forthrightly an official policy against discrimination and creating machinery for its actual enforcement.

Credit went the President.

Randolph and other March on Washington leaders, including Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were admitted to a conference with the President. Out of that conference came Executive Order 8802 reaffirming the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color or national origin." The order set up in the OPM a Fair Employment Practice Committee to receive complaints and take "appropriate steps" to redress grievances.

Randolph "postponed" the march on Washington, waiting for results from the President's order. Nineteen months later, the March on Washington movement is still in existence, and plans go forward for a spring conference to discuss a mass Negro campaign of non-violent civil disobedience to win what Executive Order 8802 promised but failed to fulfill.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1943

'Hit-Run' Tactics Hurt War on Race Bias

Even This Campaign Is Now in Danger of Being Abandoned

By JOHN BEECHER

Commando tactics—strike and withdraw—have characterized the Administration's approach to the Hitler-type discrimination against Negroes, Jews and other minorities which 19 months after the issuance of Executive Order 8802 still undermines America's home front. Even this limited campaign is now in danger of being abandoned as lease employers and "white supremacy" advocates strike back in force.

With a budget of $80,000 from the President's contigent fund—mere peanuts as government budgets go—and a corporal's guard of field investigators, the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee — enforcement agency for 8802—could not in its first year muster an all-out offensive against the discriminatory hiring practices in defense industries and government, of which reports poured in from every point of the compass.

So the FEPC mapped out a commando-party strategy of quick raids—public hearings in the Far West, Midwest, East and South—to show the over-all picture and stir the country into sanctioning drastic action about it.

The first of these hearings, held at Los Angeles in October, 1941—four full months after the President signed Executive Order 8802—unmasked appalling discrimination against Negroes, particularly in the big government-built "private" aircraft industry.

At Los Angeles the finger was also put on the International Assn. of Machinists (AFL) for barring Negroes from jobs in closed-shop setups through a "lily-white" ritual provision. Evidence significantly showed that it was O. K. by the rank and file IAM membership for Negroes to be admitted, but that reactionary labor bureaucrats at the helm blocked union democracy.

Though William Green, AFL chief, was personally represented on the FEPC by Frank Fenton, AFL director of organization, the FEPC had to go all the way to the White House to get a crackdown on the machinists' union. The President called in Green, who then put Harvey Brown, machinists' head, on the spot.

Brown agreed to clean up the situation. On the Pacific Coast, some Negroes were thereafter admitted to jobs on a work permit but not union membership basis. Yet as late as the summer of 1942, the machinists pointed up an organizational drive for a big Houston, Tex., shipyard with a vicious leaflet promising the white workers that Negroes would never get jobs there if the IAM were selected bargaining agent over the rival Shipyard Workers (CIO), who opposed discrimination.

The machinists' case was the first—and last—brought to the President's personal attention by his FEPC.

Two months after Los Angeles, the anti-discrimination commando struck at the Midwest, holding a public hearing in Chicago Jan. 19 and 20, 1942. Of 11 corporations whose employment policies were reviewed, the FEPC adjudged 10 to be guilty of discrimination against Negroes, Jews or both, while the eleventh — Majestic Radio—was commended for having recently fired a discriminatory employment manager and a plant superintendent preparatory to turning over a new leaf.

The Chicago Situation

With 280,000 Negroes making Chicago the world's second largest Negro city, the FEPC found that:

Stewart Warner Corp. (speedometers) employed no Negroes. On the stand the company's personnel director denied ever submitting discriminatory requisitions for workers to the State Employment Service, but the FEPC ferreted out copies of requisitions specifying "whites only" filed a short time previously.

Buick, in its aviation engine plant near Chicago, was discriminating against Jews and Negroes. From a sample of 908 Buick applications analyzed by the FEPC it appeared that the company hired 43 percent of the Protestant, 36 percent of the Catholic, 15 percent of the Jewish and none of the Negro applicants. Few Jewish and no Negro graduates of aircraft training courses at the Illinois Institute of Technology got jobs with the company, though they applied. One Negro applicant, turned down by Buick despite his standing at the head of a class of 51, was then employed as an instructor by the Institute. Buick's failure to take this brilliant Negro was explained by the company's personnel manager as "just one of those things that could happen."

Studebaker admitted having only 10 Jewish and 45 Negro workers in its Chicago plant. The Negroes were all doing floor polishing, sweeping and shop hauling. A Negro qualified for drafting or machine operation was put to work as a janitor, this being the only job the corporation "had to offer him at the time."

A Negro complainant who had tried to make application to the Nordberg Manufacturing Co. told how a company guard wouldn't let him in the gate for a blank but ordered him to "scram." The company's personnel director admitted that no Negroes were employed, saying some skills seemed to be concentrated in certain nationalities.

Three big Milwaukee corporations—A. O. Smith, the Allen-Bradley Co. and Allis-Chalmers — employed three Negro employees altogether, two of these janitors.

The Bearse Manufacturing Co. advertised in the paper for "gentile" power machine operators because Jewish operators "do not work well on heavy canvas goods."

Simpson Construction Co. advertised for a "gentile, Protestant" stenographer but blamed this on a bookkeeper who was permitted "to hire the kind of people he wanted."

The FEPC hearings at Los Angeles and Chicago paid big

...quent dividends in Negro ...yment, Lockheed-Vega pac... field on the coast and the ...o. of Milwaukee in the Mid... However, the FEPC's re... budget and staff prevent... from properly following up ... the "sample" companies ... for the hearings or the hun... of others whose policies ... never been brought out into ... ht.

The Chicago hearing brought ... fact that the Illinois Legis... had passed a law prohibit... crimination in defense in... s on July 21, 1941, but that ... had ever been entered un... and no appropriation had ... made for its enforcement.

(A fourth article in this series will appear tomorrow.)

FDR Orders Reopening of FEPC Rail Case

McNutt Called to White House for Parley On Revising and Strengthening Committee

By Kenneth G. Crawford
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4. — President Roosevelt yesterday instructed War Manpower Chief Paul V. McNutt to call a conference "to consider a revision and strengthening" of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC).

In announcing his decision to reconstitute the FEPC, the President praised its past performance in fighting discrimination against Negroes and other racial groups in war industries and said the new agency should be more effective.

He also said that hearings in the railroad case should be resumed as soon as the new agency is set up. This case, involving the refusal of established unions to accept Negro workers, is considered a test of Government good faith in its anti-discrimination campaign.

To the President's order seemed to be a complete victory for groups aroused by McNutt's recent order scuttling the FEPC. McNutt himself is understood to have recommended the conference plan now sponsored by the President.

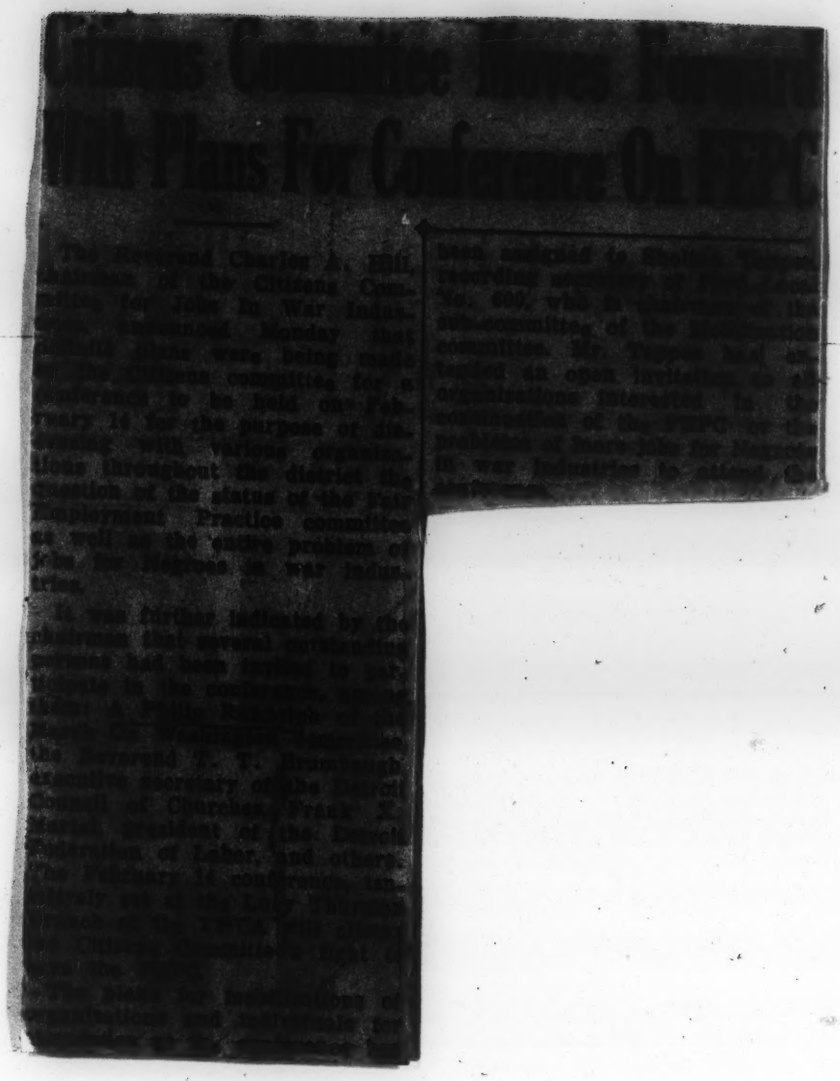
The White House announcement said: "The President ... mittee on Fair Employment Practice, to call a conference of leaders of those groups opposing discrimination in war employment to consider a revision and strengthening of the committee's scope and powers."

For nearly two years, the President said, "the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its executive director have done an excellent piece of work, placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicapped by the fact that the members of the Committee were working on a part-time voluntary basis, and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

"The President said he considers it advisable, therefore, to review the situation, and that when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been temporarily postponed will be continued."

It is understood that an executive order creating a new five-man commission as a branch of McNutt's agency has been drawn up and will be submitted at the conference for the approval of interested groups. Under this plan, all members of the board would be full-time officials and the board would adopt rules of procedure similar to those followed by the National Labor Relations Board.

Frank P. Graham, president of the Uni... of North Carolina, is ...



PITTSBURGH COURIER
Feb. 6, 1943

TIME FOR A LAW

Practically every liberal-minded person of importance in this country has condemned the scuttling of the Fair Employment Practices Committee in scathing and often brilliant statements.

If eloquence and logic could make the FEPC a potent governmental agency, it would be the most powerful in Washington, D.C.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the FEPC today is an anemic appendage to the War Manpower Commission and quite unable to do the job for which it was created.

The failure of the FEPC is grounded in its basic weakness of being without punitive powers.

It could suggest, recommend, advise and "view with disapproval," but it could not FORCE anybody to do anything about ending discrimination against certain workers because of color, creed or nationality.

That weakness can only be remedied by the passage by Congress of a law providing for the punishment by fine or imprisonment or both of employers guilty of practicing discrimination in the hiring and promoting of workers.

All individuals and organizations interested in ending color, religious and alien discrimination in war industry should get friendly Senators and Representatives to introduce and back such a bill in both [illegible] of Congress.

NEW YORK POST
Feb. 4, 1943

How War Firms Discriminate Against 'Majority' in N. Y. Area

By JOHN BEECHER

New York City, where so-called "minorities" make up the majority—Jews, the foreign-born and Negroes accounting for two-thirds of the entire population—has produced close to a fourth of the complaints of discrimination received from the whole nation by the President's Fair Employment Committee.

This deluge of complaints led the FEPC to establish here last Aug. 1 its only permanent office outside of Washington. In five months the overworked local FEPC staff handled—as best it could—989 written complaints involving better than 150 war contractors and government agencies, mostly in Greater New York. Hundreds more persons made verbal charges at the office or over the telephone. Three main groups of complainants were involved—Negroes, Jews and foreign-born.

Following its commando technique, the FEPC first raided New York for evidence of discrimination a year ago, after hearings at Los Angeles and Chicago had shown widespread violation of the President's Executive Order 8802 on the Pacific coast and in the mid West.

The New York hearing, held Feb. 16 and 17, 1942, reviewed the employment policies of 10 companies in the metropolitan area. Two of these—Sperry Gyroscope and Ford Instrument—were given additional time to rebut testimony against them but, as far as is known, have not done so to date. The remaining eight were found by the FEPC to be discriminating against Jews or Negroes or both. Specific FEPC findings were:

Negroes Barred

The Wright Aeronautical Corp., Paterson, N. J., had refused to accept Negroes for production jobs. Playing close ball with the company, the Paterson Board of Education had barred Negroes from free aircraft training courses being offered at the Public Vocational School—despite the anti-discrimination clause in the Act of Congress appropriating federal funds for defense training. Under pressure of the public disclosure, Wright showed a change of heart, the Paterson Vocational School subsequently training and Wright accepting Negroes.

Babcock and Wilcox of Bayonne, N. J., employed no Negroes there, though it claimed to employ them in other plants. Uncontroverted testimony from the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) indicated that the union had referred Negroes to the company. All were rejected. The personnel manager told a union organizer that "We don't discriminate, but we feel it is not necessary to hire these people."

Carl Norden, Inc., manufacturers of the famous bomb-sight, employed no Negroes in their Manhattan plant. Norden's personnel director denied submitting discriminatory requisitions to the public employment service, but a check of USES records revealed that all requests for workers made by the company up to Sept. 1, 1941, called for "WX"—w Christians.

When New York passed Mahoney Act forbidding discr ination in defense industries, USES representatives explained to Norden's that it could fill no more "WX" requisitions. Thereupon, USES records showed further, the company cancelled all orders with the service. The FEPC subsequently reheard this case in Washington and vacated its finding of discrimination against Norden's. Yet at last accounts Norden's employ only four or five Negroes in Manhattan.

Findings Again Vacated

Titeflex Metal Hose of Newark had advertised for "Gentiles" in a Detroit paper and had submitted requisitions to the Employment Service calling for "Catholics or Protestants," yet denied discriminating against Jews. The FEPC thought it did discriminate on the basis of the evidence but later reheard the case in Washington and vacated its own findings.

Isolantite of Belleville, N. J., advertised in the paper for "Girls—white," admitted it had no Negro employees, but tried to pin this on the white workers who, company representatives said, had "let the management know that if there were any colored girls employed they would walk out in a body." This was later checked with th Chemical and Oil Workers Union (AFL) which had a preferential shop agreement with Isolantite. The union denied having any objections to Negro wokers and arrangements were made to integrate them.

Negroes Turned Down

Fairchild Aviation of Jamaica, Queens, was found to employ only five Negroes though Negroes made up 20 per cent of the local community in which the aircraft instrument plant was situated. Qualified Negroes referred by the War Production Board and National Youth Administration had been invariably turned down. Witnesses testified that a whole class from Jamaica Vocational School was referred to Fairchild for jobs and that all were hired with the exception of a single Gentile whose background wasn't liked and seven Jews who put down their religion on the application blank—while one Jew who put down "Catholic" got a job. Employment Service records showed Fairchild had asked that agency for white Christians.

Half of 1 P. C. Jews

A follow-up investigation of Fairchild's Jamaica plant made by the FEPC in December disclosed that:

In spite of huge increases in the plant's working forces Negroes made up less than one per cent of the total. In so far as could be determined from employee records, Jews—none of whom had admitted their Jewish religion or descent on their application blanks—constituted about one-half of one per cent, though sampling of application files showed Jews composed better than 25 per cent of the rejected applicants. The U. S. Employment Service had continued to supply workers to Fairchild—notwithstanding its new policy of refusing to service discriminatory employers—as had the Aviation Trades Center, public defense training school of Brooklyn.

Pittsburgh Courier
Feb. 6, 1943

piscopal Convention Endorses The FEPC

A resolution, submitted by the Rev. Mr. Whitehead of Christ Church, E. Jefferson avenue, was passed in favor of the president's FEPC by the convention of the Diocese of Michigan Protestant Episcopal in their annual meeting Wednesday and Thursday of last week at St. Paul's Cathedral

Churchmen Appeal To FDR:

'Prestige' Body May Replace FEPC; A McCarthy To Dixie's Ed Bergen?

By NELL DODSON

The vital problem of employment discrimination may soon be in the hands of five "well known citizens" whose "prestige would be sufficient to combat the attacks of lily-white groups."

The information came from the nation's Capitol this week with the announcement that some of the high potentates of the inner sanctum in the country's affairs are readying to submit to President Roosevelt the draft of an executive order creating a new Government commission to combat racial discrimination in war industries and replace the Fair Employment Practices Commission. It is to be known as the Full Employment Committee.

So far suggested have been the names of William H. Hastie, who until recently was Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Frank Graham, president of University of North Carolina and member of the War Labor Board; Father Haas, and Malcom Ross. Graham has been tentatively named as chairman of the new board, legal aspects of which have been studied and approved by Attorney General Francis Biddle, and the executive order drafted by Department of Justice officials.

MAY ALLAY RESENTMENT

The new plan, which is said to carry the approval of War Manpower Commissioner McNutt, being publicized as effective enough to smooth over the rough edges of the resentment caused by the stalemate of the FEPC after cancellation of the southern railway discriminatory hearings and the resignation of several of the Commission members.

The fact that the idea allegedly rests upon "prestige" of members to aid in the settlement of cases of discrimination in industry isn't being met with enthusiasm in liberal and progressive government circles; the whole proposal savors too much of appeasement tactics. The original FEPC board, composed of men outstanding in the nation's educational, industrial and business fields, carried more than its share of "prestige." If it is purely window-dressing that's desired, it must be admitted the former body certainly was imbued with more of it than the suggested quintet for the new set-up.

Day by way the feeling is growing among both Negro leaders and liberal whites that any federal agency concerned with the exposing and fighting of Negro discrimination in industry, unless some drastic changes occur in the Washington scene, seems to be doomed to failure as a tool of the southern bloc in Congress. The financial shackling of the FEPC gave more than a hint of what was to come. If lily-whites are to be pampered and cajoled into line, it is a tacit admission anti-Negro policies will be merely a Charlie McCarthy to the South's Edgar Bergen.

Weaknesses of the proposed plan include:

● the fact that the board would be operated along the pattern of the National Labor Relations Board which [illegible]

charges are even filed, and the suppression of publicity about all cases except the most difficult ones;

● the fact that although it has been announced the new agency is being proposed with the idea of allaying some of the resentment stirred up by the cancellation of southern railroad hearings, no mention has been made of how this is to be accomplished. Is it to be glossed over, "temporarily postponed" or ignored completely?

WALTER WHITE HAS HIS SAY

Meanwhile, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP had this to say about the FEPC, and it can also be applied to the new group:

"Unless the FEPC has the full backing of the government such as was given to the Securities and Exchange Commission and the National Labor Relations Act when they were under fire at the inception, the FEPC can never be of much value. The Committee must have *effective sanctions such as the right to impose money penalties and prison sentences and to hold public hearings when Government officials refuse to comply with Executive Order* 8802 *prohibiting discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin.*"

On the basis of White's statement, and his is typical of the attitude of many, it takes more than "prestige" to make a federal agency function—if it is to function as anything but a Charlie McCarthy to the South's Edgar Bergen.

The March - On - Washington Movement has called for a "Save FEPC" Conference to be held in Washington at the YWCA, Ninth and Rhode Island av, Friday, Feb. 5, at 11 a.m., for the purpose of discussing ways and means to save the FEPC. Representatives from a long list of Negro and white groups, both civic and religious as well as industrial, will be present, along with Walter White and A. Philip Randolph, National Director of MOW. The Conference will be sponsored by the Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen.

TO CARRY ON REGARDLESS

According to Iona Morris, New York executive secretary of MOW, the Friday meeting will be carried out regardless of any developments that may take place in the proposed setting up of a new agency to replace the FEPC.

"If anything," Mrs. Morris stated [illegible]

Several delegations will be formed to wait on Attorney General Biddle, Paul VcMcNutt, James F. Byrnes of Economic Stabilization, various congressmen and senators to lay before them the crisis caused by the FEPC status, and ask the body be maintained.

Leading churchmen this week sent an appeal to President Roosevelt asking him to reaffirm Executive Order 8802, to reconstitute the FEPC and remove it from the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission, and reschedule the cancelled railroad hearings. Announcement of the appeal was made by Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist church; Rev. John La Farge, chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council and Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Commission On Justice And Peace Of The Central Conference On American Rabbis.

'Save FEPC' Confab For Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK, Feb. 4—The Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen has called a "Save FEPC Conference" to be held in Washington, D.C., at the YWCA, Ninth and Rhode Island avenue, Friday, February 5, at 11 a. m., for the purpose of discussing ways and means to save the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice which was established under Executive Order 8802.

Representatives from Negro churches, the Jews, the Catholics and white Protestant religious groups, trade unions, women's groups, business and professional associations, fraternal lodges, college fraternities and sororities, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Dining Car Employees' Union, the Red Caps and individuals are being invited to attend the conference.

TO FORM DELEGATIONS

Several delegations [illegible] of the conference will [illegible] on Attorney-General Biddle of the Department of Justice, Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, James F. Burns of Economic Stabilization and various congressmen and senators to lay before them the crisis which exists with FEPC and to demand that this committee be maintained and strengthened.

Walter White, secretary of the NAACP and A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement will attend, according to reports by Ashley L. Totten, secretary-treasurer of the Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen at their headquarters at [illegible] New

Bill Increases FEPC's Powers

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—A bill which would give the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice broad powers to stamp out discrimination in employment by any contractor or subcontractor holding a Government contract was introduced today by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.).

The bill would add to the FEPC's present investigating authority the power to:

¶ Inquire fully into an alleged instance of discrimination because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or citizenship.

¶ Issue orders to employers to cease and desist from continued violations.

¶ Assess a guilty employer a fine of $500 for each day's continued violation of a cease and desist order.

¶ Order the hiring or reinstatement of a person kept from employment because of discrimination.

¶ Bar any contractor, found guilty of unfair practices, from receiving any Government [illegible] for a maximum of three

Report Work-or-Fight Job Bias To Local FEPC, Workers Told

The issuance of the work-or-fight order applying to men between 18 and 38, deferred for dependency and working in any of 65 nonessential occupations, caused the War Manpower Commission regional office Friday, Feb. 5, to warn that New York employers discriminating against Negroes, Jews, aliens, or other minority groups, would be prosecuted "vigorously."

The drastic order may result in a piling up of violations of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 against discrimination in war industries because almost one-fourth of the cases of violation have come from New York City.

The WMC is asking any persons who are subjected to discrimination, provided they sought jobs on their own initiative, to refer complaints to the FEPC regional office, 11 W 42 st., room 2240.

REPORT BIAS TO FEPC

Workers who are referred to jobs by the United States Unemployment Service and discriminated against should report back to the USES interviewer who sent him out.

Only those complaints originating in New York State will be handled directly by the New York regional office. Complaints against employers in New Jersey or the New England states will be accepted but

FEPC representatives in those regions for handling, it was revealed by Edward Lawson, acting executive-in-charge.

HOLLYWOOD TAKES A [illegible]

Two Big Negro Musicals Are Under Way—A Goldwyn Opportunity Awaits Babies

By FRED STANLEY
Hollywood.

TWO major studios, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Twentieth Century-Fox, in producing pictures with all-Negro casts, are following the desires of Washington in making such films at this time. Decisions to produce the pictures, it is stated, followed official expression that the Administration felt that its program for increased employment of Negro citizens in certain heretofore restricted fields of industry would be helped by a general distribution of important pictures in which Negroes played a major part.

The Metro picture, "Cabin in the Sky," based on the Broadway show of 1940, is in the editing stages. Fox's "Stormy Weather," being produced by William Le Baron and directed by Andrew Stone, is a musical of the "Cavalcade" order, a revue of Negro entertainment from 1918 to the present as seen through the eyes of its principal character, Bill Robinson, the tap dancer. Although Hollywood regards these pictures as precedent-setting and experimental, it is considered noteworthy that Fox didn't wait for the outcome of MGM's project before launching its picture, which, being filmed in Technicolor, will cost in excess of $800,000.

Another interesting angle to "Stormy Weather" is that Lena Horne, the popular 25-year-old songstress, is playing the romantic interest to 64-year-old Bill Robinson. The studio explains that the situation is not in the least incongruous, as Robinson photographs as though he were at least twenty-five years younger than the average man of his age. The picture is

being filmed "straight," meaning that none of the trite situations and circumstances generally connected with Negro comedians in pictures are being used, such as proverbial laziness, crap shooting proclivities or any other of the traditionally accepted characteristics. In this connection, Mr. Le Baron explains how one line of dialogue did get recorded, but was eliminated in retakes. This was the answer of one character who, when asked where he obtained his new suit, said: "I won it in a crap game."

Race Bugaboo Fails to Scare Labor in South

Alabama Press, Too, Backed FEPC Hearings Last Summer

By JOHN BEECHER

The Southern white worker is getting wise to the demagogues. In the rough-cast phrases of a veteran iron-molder and AFL organizer, speaking before the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee at the Birmingham hearing in June, "that old bugaboo"—the race scare—"was created after they struck the schl ated after they struck the shackles from the Negro."

"We woke up and found that they had welded one end around his neck and the other end around my neck," he said, "and instead of having chattel slaves, we became industrial slaves, and then they said that we should not work together, should not do certain things, we should be prejudiced, and we found out it was for the purpose of holding down the wage system."

The Rumor-Mill

When the FEPC opened its field investigation office in Birmingham last spring preparatory to showing that the President's anti-discrimination order held good in the South as well as in the Far West, Midwest and East where previous hearings had been held, the rumor-mill in Montgomery—"radle of the Confederacy"—opened an immediate propaganda offensive. Chief rumor-monger, it was said, was Alabama's Gov. Dixon, attorney for Northern industrial interests and nephew of Thomas Dixon, author of "The Klansman."

The FEPC's real goal—so the rumors from Montgomery ran—was Negro supremacy in the South. Getting Negroes jobs was just the opening wedge. Next would come abolition of separate schools, drinking fountains and toilets. Uutimately—a matter of but a few months unless the whites woke up—a black revolution would establish Negro domination. The Commander in Chief—and his wife—were already preparing for this by pulling white troops out of Alabama camps and replacing them with Negroes.

Labor Isn't Worried

Unimpressed, the Alabama Federation of Labor at its convention strongly condemned anti-Negro discrimination in defense training and industry, at the same time electig the first Negro vice president in its history. The state CIO had been against discrimination in policy and practice from its formation. CIO newspapers in Birmingham and Mobile welcomed the FEPC investigation, while local CIO unions helped gather evidence.

When the plague germs broadcast from Montgomery failed to "take" and produce the hoped-for epidemic of mass hate, other means to head off the FEPC expose were tried. In Atlanta, where Coca-Cola was dreading an FEPC going-over on its policies in a powder bag-loading subsidiary, and Talmadge's State Education Dept. was up for FEPC examination on denial of federally financed defense training to Negroes, the WPB regional director suddenly tied up funds allocated to the FEPC for the Birmingham hearing. This block was dynamited from above, by Donald M. Nelson himself.

Klan Rears Its Head

Direct appeal sto kill the hearing were then made to the White House by the Southern Congressional block and, this final maneuver failing, it is reported that a plan was hatched in Birmingham to kidnap and beat up the FEPC in Klan style. This was dropped, it was said, only out of fear that the President would declare martial law if it were carried through.

As the hearing opened on June 18, the Birmingham Age-Herald expressed the real feeling of the Alabama white majority in a lead editorial solidly backing the purposes of the FEPC. So did the Anniston Times, whose editor was president of the Alabama Press Assn., while the Montgomery Advertiser warned that "the only cause for fear is the activity of the unscrupulous within our midst who would attempt to panic the rest of us, even as Hitler made use of the Jews and the Communists to achieve his ends."

The Same Picture

Aired at Birmingham were

ing two aircraft companies, four shipyards, a construction firm, the AFL Boilermakers and Carpenters, and the national defense training authorities of three states. The parade of evidence established the facts of wide discrimination against Negroes. In Nashville, New Orleans, Atlanta Savannah, Mobile and Birmingham the picture was almost identical — Negroes barred from skilled training because they couldn't get jobs, excluded from skilled jobs because they weren't trained.

Despite assurances given the FEPC by Vultee Aircraft at the Los Angeles hearing eight months before that a non-distriminatory hiring policy was in effect at all corporation plants "in California, Tennessee and Michigan," Vultee had only Negro janitors at Nashville—a fraction of one per cent of the plant's employees though they were more than a quarter of the general population. Vultee's policy, testimony showed, resulted in keeping Negroes out of free aircraft courses operated by the State Board of Education but paid for by the federal government.

No Training for Negroes

A similar freeze-out was indicated in Atlanto, where Bell Aircraft of Buffalo was building a bomber plant for which state authorities had been training whites at the rate of 300 a month while Negroes couldn't get training.

At a "Victory Dinner" first announcing the construction of this plant, the head of Bell Aircraft had assured an audience of Atlanta business men that, though northern-managed, the plant would be operated in accordance with Southern traditions.

This was understood by Atlanta's 100,000 Negroes to mean no Negroes on the production line, though Bell employed hundreds of the 20,000 Negroes in Buffalo.

NEW YORK POST
Feb. 9, 1943

The People's Voice Feb. 13, 1943

FEB. 13, 1943
PITTSBURGH COURIER

PITTSBURGH COURIER
Feb. 13, 1943

Forward March!

FEPC Probe Here Opens War Jobs

Twenty-five qualified Negro workers, whose applications had been passed over by officials of the Anaconda Wire and Cable Company of Yonkers, N. Y. during a recent hiring campaign, were called in and put to work last month following an investigation by officials of the New York regional office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

Many had filed for the jobs last summer. Despite the fact that they more than met the company's specifications, they had been told to wait until they were called. They had never been called.

Examination of a cross-section of the company's records showed that of 48 typical Negro applicants, 25 met the basic requirements for mill workers and five qualified as inspectors. None of these had been hired.

Following a conference with Edward Lawson of the regional FEPC staff, Veto DeLustro, superintendent of the Anaconda plant, agreed to have all qualified Negro applicants called in and reinstituted. As a result the 25 men and women have since gone to work and many more have been approved for openings as they occur. Of those not hired, many already had found employment in other Westchester County war industries.

According to William A. Patterman, personnel director of the company, the Negro workers "have proven to be competent and loyal employees and fit into our operations."

Congressman Seeks To Put 'Teeth' In FEPC

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11—Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York introduced into the House of Representatives a bill (H.R. 1732) which would cloak the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice with broad powers to stamp out discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or citizenship by any contractor or sub-contractor holding a federal government contract. The bill has been referred to the House Judiciary Committee.

The Marcantonio Fair Employment Practice Act establishes as the public policy of the United States the repudiation and prohibition of all forms of employment discrimination by any employer furnishing any goods for use by any agency of the federal government.

FULLER POWERS

It gives the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, created by President Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 8802, power to inquire fully into any alleged instance of discrimination and to issue orders to employers found guilty to cease and desist from continued violations.

POWER TO PENALIZE

The bill gives the Committee discretionary power to assess a guilty employer a fine of five hundred dollars for each day's continued violation of a cease and desist order; to order the hiring or reinstatement of a person kept from employment because of discrimination; and, to bar any contractor, who after hearing has been found guilty of unfair employment practices, from receiving any government contracts for a maximum period of three years. All orders of the Committee are made subject to review and are enforceable by the federal courts. A penal provision for persons wilfully interfering with the execution of the act, carries a penalty of $5,000 fine or one year's imprisonment, or both.

POTENTIAL WEAPON

Commenting on his bill Congressman Marcantonio stated: "This bill is designed to put an end to all question as to the status and powers of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. The critical need for more manpower to win the war, makes it imperative that Congress acts firmly and promptly to stop un-American discrimination against Negroes, Italians, Jews, Puerto Ricans, foreign born, aliens and other groups who are hindered from giving their full energies to war production. I shall press for speedy action on this vital war measure."

LEAD FIGHT TO "SAVE" FEPC

Thurman L. Dodson, D.C. attorney; Miss Natalie Moorman, Minorities Workshop representative, and A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are shown as they discussed the

The 150 delegates from all sections of the country who attended the conference formed "delegations which visited Congressmen and Senators, passed resolutions calling for the strengthening and perpetuation of the

6 Months—and Not a Hearing

'Strengthened' FEPC Still Gets Nowhere

By JOHN BEECHER

Negro and other minority group leaders were uncommunicative when the President issued a statement recently lauding the "excellent piece of work'" done by his Fair Employment Practice Committee but intimating that the present voluntary anti-discrimination body was to be scrapped in favor of a full-time board with enlarged powers and personnel. Though this would seem a substantial improvement, many were skeptical. This was why:

The FEPC had received White House congratulations following its Birmingham hearing last June only to be transferred without warning from the executive office to McNutt's War Manpower Commission on July 30. This was interpreted at the time as a move to appease poll-tax reactionaries in the Democratic party who had raised a howl over FEPC's invasion of the deep South. It was obvious that the FEPC would have far less freedom of action as an appendage of the sprawling and semi-political WMC than as an independent body answerable only to the President.

To the protests of progressive, Negro and Jewish groups the President responded that the reason for putting the FEPC under McNutt's care had been "misunderstood," his intention being "to strengthen — not to submerge — the committee, and to reinvigorate—not to repeal—Executive Order 8802." Trusting this reassurance, FEPC's friends relaxed. But FEPC's experience in WMC proved their previous apprehensions to be more than warranted.

Budget Trouble

First, there was a battle over budget. An FEPC subcommittee, headed by a conservative businessman — David Sarnoff, RCA president, of New York—estimated that $1,000,000 was needed to do the FEPC's assigned task of "effectuating" Executive Order 8802 upon a national basis. The previous year's budget had been mere peanuts—$80,000. Matched against the mammoth sums appropriated for the operation of other war agencies, the $1,000,000 asked for seemed moderate enough.

McNutt's lieutenants in WMC were horrified at the extravagance of Sarnoff's budgetary request. Interminable arguments followed. Savagely hacked, the FEPC budget finally cleared WMC for the Budget Bureau. Here the arguments started all over again. FEPC was required to show cause, in the form of complaints actually in hand, for the employment of investigators.

There had been no complaints against many of the worst discriminatory situations in the country for the reason that the aggrieved did not know where to turn for redress. Very few complaints came in from the South since bitter experience has taught Negroes not to write letters to Washington which are invariably referred to their home communities for investigation—often by the very persons and agencies complained against.

Hacked to One-Fourth

The FEPC's budget was approved four months after the transfer to McNutt and five months after the beginning of the fiscal year for which the funds were appropriated. All this while the FEPC had been in a dead stymie which a word from the White House would have broken up. In its final form, the FEPC budget of $278,000—a quarter of the sum needed—provided only 18 investigators for the whole U. S. Two of these—one in Atlanta and one in Dallas—were expected to cover the entire South.

Three months from the WMC transfer were consumed in a wrangle with McNutt's lieutenants—as well as his sergeants and corporals— over where and how the FEPC fitted into WMC. Meanwhile the anti-discrimination program got nothing done since there was no procedure established for doing it. The agreement finally reached put FEPC's field staff under McNutt's regional directors, a distinct defeat. The better features of the agreement have yet to be applied.

6 Months and No Hearings

In nine months prior to the transfer, the FEPC held four major public hearings, while in the six months of McNutt control not one has been held

Still unrevealed is whether the railroad hearing, when resumed, will be an all-cards-on-the-table affair like previous hearings or will take place behind doors closed to the public.

It is strongly hinted that the public hearing technique — through which the FEPC has achieved its greatest positive results in getting the picture of discrimination across to the public and obtaining compliance with Executive Order 8802—is henceforward to be employed only as a last resort. In effect this would mean that hearings were "out" and that 8802 had taken another —perhaps a fatal—beating.

Eighth and last article of a series.

We Can't Get Men, the Shipyard Protested

But Outside the Gates Skilled Negroes Were Walking the Streets

By JOHN BEECHER

"A slap in the face of the South," Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi called the directions of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to the Delta Shipbuilding Corp. of New Orleans when these were issued lately. The directions to stop discriminating against Negroes were based on FEPC findings at the public hearing held in Birmingham last June. The FEPC "cease and desist" order also covered Local 37 of the AFL Boilermakers in New Orleans.

This was the picture presented at the hearing:

"We are from Cleveland, Ohio," said the company vice president. "We are not prejudiced." But he admitted Negroes were only 8 per cent of the workers at the New Orleans yard—all janitors, chauffeurs and laborers—though 30 per cent of the city's population was Negro.

"Slowest Progress"

One witness contended that a clear result of the company's exclusion of Negro workers—who had built ships from the keel up at New Orleans in World War I—was failure to make production schedules. Rear Admiral Vickery, vice-chairman of the Maritime Commission, had publicly blasted Delta the previous February, charging it was "making the slowest progress of any shipyard in the country" and attributing this lag to the fact that "they have about 3,000 working while they should have at least 5,000." Delta's alibi was "workers not available."

But testimony showed that back in 1941, before Delta had laid a keel, the secretary of the New Orleans Urban League had offered to help the company recruit qualified Negro workers, whom the company then said it would hire on all levels of skill. The Urban League thereupon [illegible] and submitted to the company 400 applications from Negro welders, ship carpenters, painters, shipfitters and pipefitters. Not one was hired.

No Training Allowed

Testimony further showed that the Urban League had registered 2,116 New Orleans Negroes who desired training for shipyard jobs, but that these persons had been denied admission to courses by Delta, which operated an in-plant training program, and by New Orleans defense training authorities on the presumptive ground that there would be no jobs for them afterwards.

A Negro who had been a quarterman—supervisor over several hundred workers—in a New Orleans shipyard during the first World War and claimed 22 years of shipbuilding experience testified that he had been employed as organizer of a Negro auxiliary local by the AFL Boilermakers, which had a preferential hiring agreement with Delta.

He Was Kicked Out

This man told the FEPC that he had signed up thousands of Negro mechanics and referred hundreds to Delta—but that none had been hired despite the agreement with the Boilermakers. Complaining then to the Boilermakers' white representative, the Negro organizer was told "Keep your mind off Delta because Negroes are not going to work there." Soon afterwards the Boilermakers kicked him out of his job with the Negro auxiliary.

A light-hued Negro member of the AFL Ship Carpenters testified that his local had referred him to Delta but, noting that no other Negroes were on the job, he disclosed the fact that he was a Negro to his union secretary and a company employment official. Both counseled him to quit, and he did so.

No Racial Trouble

The New Orleans Metal Trades Council (AFL), including both the Boilermakers and the Ship Carpenters, denied discriminating. The president thought, however, that to put Negroes on the hulls at Delta would cause friction and strikes. He admitted, nevertheless, that the Bricklayers—also members of the council—had white and Negro members, met in the same hall and had worked side by side with no racial trouble in all the 20 years he had been acquainted with the union.

Though it was not brought out at the hearing, the CIO in New Orleans has had great success in getting whites and Negroes together in the same unions—among them the National Maritime Union, Transport Workers, Shipyard Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The Higgins Case

A. J. Higgins, New Orleans shipbuilder holding a $200,000,000 Liberty ship contract from the Maritime Commission, was at the time of the Birmingham hearing setting up what he described in a statement to the FEPC as the South's "most completely equipped and largest school for training crafts . . . with equal facilities for training white and Negro." Higgins planned to use Negroes in all categories of skill and the Metal Trades Council, which had a closed shop contract, had agreed to go along with him.

Shortly afterward the Mari-

Clergymen Petition FDR On FEPC Stat

NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 11—Prominent Clergymen here are much concerned over the life of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and have sent a memorial to the President urging him to reaffirm his executive order forbidding race discrimination in the war industry and that he reconstitute the Committee. The memorial also asked the President to move this Committee from the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission and reach[illegible] on reported [illegible] Southern Railways.

Announcement of [illegible] was made by Bish[illegible] McConnell of [illegible] Church, the Rev. [illegible] Chaplain of the [illegible] racial Council and [illegible] E. Goldstein of the [illegible] on Justice and Peace [illegible] eral Conference [illegible] Raleigh.

[illegible] White Calls For FEPC Independence, Warns U.S. Is Menaced By Reactionary [illegible]

WASHINGTON, D. C. —"Unless the Fair Employment Practice Committee has the full backing of the government, such as was given to the Securities and Exchange Commission and the National Labor Relations Act when they were under fire at their inception, the FEPC can never be of much value," asserted Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the John Wesley A.M.E. Church.

The Committee, White said, must have effective sanctions such as the right to impose money penalties and prison sentences and to hold public hearings when war contract holders, labor unions, or government officials refuse to comply with Executive Order 8802 prohibiting discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin. Whether the Committee members are paid or not is a minor issue in comparison with this more fundamental issue. Even if they were paid munificent salaries they would be just as ineffective as they now are on a voluntary basis unless they are backed unequivocally and given real authority.

"The Committee to date has been an unwanted stepchild kicked about [illegible] willing to peek whenever the president might see fit to give it the look.

"The fundamental needs of the Committee are first, complete independence as an investigatory and corrective agency which should be located in the executive offices of the President with responsibility solely to him as Commander-in-Chief.

"Much more is involved in the decision made on FEPC than the mere existence of this one agency. Its abolition or any action other than full authority will increase a pessimism among minorities, particularly the Negro, which may be disastrous to the winning of the war. Vicious reaction [illegible] Washington today, and a bad case of jitters is affecting hitherto intelligent and courageous officials. When the country awakens to the menace of the Southern Democratic-reactionary Republican bloc there will be a revolt against those who today are trying to set back the clock. An appropriate sentiment for this coalition which represents all of the social gains of the last decade would be one with slavery rampant and freedom confined. This constitutes a menace not alone to the Negro minority but for all the ideals for which we profess to be fighting this war."

To the Editor of The New York [illegible]

Among the many ceremonies of Lincoln Day, one may have escaped general notice. It was the first of its kind, but will not, in all probability, be the last, and will some day be recalled as a historic occasion.

Six clergymen, three colored and three white, belonging to the three major American faiths, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, laid a wreath upon the statue of Lincoln in Washington. The Rev. W. H. J. Jernagin spoke for the Protestant clergy; the Rev. John M. Hayes, assistant director of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, spoke for the Catholic clergy; and Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for the Jewish clergy.

Through this symbolic act an important truth was shown: that religious men and women, of all affiliations, should unite in their resolve that no barriers of injustice or misunderstanding should separate the racial groups of our nation. The stringent requirements of defense and war production have done much to destroy such barriers. But the future, too, must be considered. No time is more opportune than the present to emphasize these truths, lest the war's lessons be too soon speedily forgotten. It will be to the common advantage of all citizens if this pilgrimage becomes an annual event and carries its teachings to other places in addition to the national capital.

(The Rev.) JOHN LAFARGE,
[illegible]
New York, [illegible]

FDR 'Revives' Fading FEPC; Bill Would Make It Fool-Proof

WASHINGTON—A conference to consider a revision and strengthening of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the possible re-scheduling of the postponed Southern railroad discrimination hearings were on the Executive docket here this week.

A White House statement released last week contained the following announcement:

"For nearly two years the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its executive director have done an excellent piece of work placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicaped by the fact that the members of the committee were working on a part-time volunteer basis and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

"Therefore the President thinks it advisable to review the situation and that, when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been temporarily postponed will be continued."

MARCANTONIO SPONSORS BILL

Meanwhile, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) introduced a bill which would give the FEPC broad powers to stamp out discrimination in employment by any contractor or subcontractor holding a Government contract.

Also under the Marcantonio bill the FEPC would be empowered to order the hiring or reinstatement of any person found to have been kept from employment because of discrimination.

Negro Is Indispensable Says Secretary Ickes

Sir: In fields and factories and the armed forces, American Negroes are working and fighting for the common cause. They are an indispensable part of our total war effort, and their devotion is beyond praise. Their contribution to the war—their war and our war—is of such a nature that it should go far towards the eradication of race prejudice once and for all.

HAROLD I. ICKES,
Secretary of the Interior
Washington.

Permanent Anti-Discrimination Set-Up Demanded At Conference

Continued from Page One

Lawraxon Riggs, chaplain, The More House Club at Yale University; Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, and Rabbi Isadore B. Hoffman.

Still Not Employed

Lending emphatic point to the need for an effective anti-discrimination government agency is a definite report prepared by the Minorities Workshop in Washington, D. C., on the problems of Negro workers in war production. Such workers are still a very long way from being fully utilized and integrated into the war industries. Whereas the total proportion of Negro workers to white workers in all industries was 5.2 per cent in May of 1942, it rose only to 5.8 per cent in July, and dropped to 5.7 per cent in September. The proportion of Negro workers in industry remains far below the proportion of Negroes in the population, says the report, citing the following figures:

Proportion of Negroes in:	July, 1942	Sept., 1942
Total labor force	11.0%	11.0%
[illegible] industries	4.7%	4.6%
Aircraft production	2.9%	3.1%
Explosive production	3.3%	4.5%
Guns production	3.4%	3.9%
Tank production	2.2%	3.1%

Many local communities, both North and South, fail to use local Negro workers. Thus creating an artificial shortage of labor, which necessitates the importation of out-of-town labor into already crowded communities. In Indianapolis, there has been an influx of 1,000 outside workers a month, while most Negro men living there continue to do unskilled work or none at all. The addition of these thousands of families to communities within a year's time taxes the housing, educational, transportation and sanitary facilities, with resultant hazards to health, safety, and efficiency. Moreover, states the Minorities Workshop in its report, "only a minor difference was revealed between hiring practices involving Negroes in the North and in the South."

Requests of employers for "no non-white" workers continue to be honored by the United States Employment Service in [illegible] often practices [illegible]

FEPC Bill Introduced

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Congressman Vito Marcantonio, N. Y., on Friday introduced into the House of Representatives a bill which would clothe the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice with broad powers to stamp out discrimination in employment

Confer on Negroes

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt will meet Friday with leaders of Negro organizations to discuss plans for a new Government anti-discrimination commission to replace the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

McNutt disclosed yesterday that "a number of proposals" were being weighed and that he wanted to obtain the views of outside leaders before reaching any final decision.

Tentative plans formulated by Administration officials, it is reported, call for establishment of a full-time anti-discrimination commission, patterned after the National Labor Relations Board.

PERMANENT ANTI-DISCRIMINATION SET-UP WITH TEETH, DEMANDED AT CONFERENCE

By Harry Fleischman

THE FATE of the Fair Employment Practices Committee will be decided this coming week as Negro, labor and church groups extend themselves to counterbalance pressure on the White House by reactionary Southern Bourbons.

Hard upon the heels of Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's indefinite postponement of the FEPC railroad hearings and his refusal to see a delegation of eminent Negro and white church and liberal leaders, came the arrival of more than 150 delegates from 42 organizations to a conference in Washington to "Save the FEPC."

Roosevelt's announcement, just before the conference, that the railroad hearings would be resumed, was applauded by the delegates but his intimation that the voluntary FEPC would be replaced by a paid board was received with a great deal of uneasiness.

Administration-inspired rumors indicated that FEPC would be replaced under an executive order prepared for Roosevelt by Attorney-General Biddle by a "Full Employment Committee" of paid people, which would discard the committee's most effective weapon—public hearings—for more "diplomatic" methods of exerting pressures against discrimination.

Demand Of The Conference

In sharp contrast to this proposal, the "Save FEPC Conference" demanded that FEPC continue as a voluntary committee and that it be removed from the jurisdiction of "Hoosier Hitler" McNutt and his War Manpower Commission.

The conference, headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the pullman porters' international and outstanding Negro leader, also unanimously insisted that the railway hearings should be held as scheduled, and by the original committee which prepared the cases; that the FEPC should be given a budget of at least $5,000,000 per year for investigators, field offices and other essential machinery to carry on its work; and that the use of public hearings be continued and enlarged.

A resolution adopted by the conference declared that "The recent action of Commissioner McNutt in summarily postponing the railroad hearings is another indication of the tremendous reactionary wave which has begun in this country. If the federal government is forced to capitulate to the reactionary and anti-liberal forces of this country who insist on imposing their pattern of discrimination and intolerance upon the minorities of this country, then serious and irreparable injury to the morale of these groups will result."

Planning Group Set Up

The conference created a planning committee to organize a permanent committee to safeguard the FEPC. One of its aims is to ensure by legislative action the continued existence of the FEPC in the post-war period.

Shortly after the conference, a meeting was held by President Roosevelt with the full membership of FEPC and Attorney-General Biddle. It is reliably reported that the FEPC members unanimously supported the five-point program of the "Save FEPC Conference" and that their determined stand strongly impressed the President. Responsible sources indicate that the government spokesmen present denied the persistent rumor that an executive order was being prepared which would create a paid board to replace the voluntary FEPC.

As a face-saving device, however, the administration, those in the know declare, is attempting to force acceptance of a paid chairman for FEPC. A meeting is scheduled to be held Feb. 18 at which President Roosevelt will discuss his new plans for FEPC with Negro, church and labor leaders who have been active in the anti-discrimination front.

Soul FEPC Doomed

The feeling of the Negro community may be summarized by the statement of the chief of the Washington Bureau of the Chicago Defender, largest Negro newspaper:

"From the harsh brazen ultimatum of Paul V. McNutt, war manpower czar, to the soothing, diplomatic White House statement by President Roosevelt himself, the hot potato of FEPC was tossed about with abandon in the capital—but at week's end the doom of FEPC was still sealed.

"The President on his return from Casablanca, Liberia, and points east virtually decreed the demise of the short-lived Fair Employment Practices Committee but he couched the death verdict in artful, suave words.

"Reliable sources indicate that the new three or five man board which is expected to be called the Full Employment Committee instead of 'Fair' will be staffed with lake-warm liberals rather than the militant type of men. It is also doubtful whether labor will be represented on the new group.

". . . While the present members of the FEPC were paid a high tribute by the president for their 'excellent piece of work,' not a single one of the names mentioned as prospects for the new group is an FEPC member."

Explaining the point of view of the March On Washington Movement Mr. Randolph explained that it believes a paid committee would not be free and independent. "It feels," he added, "that this would make it too political, would tie the committee to the administration and might cause it to forget the problem of the minority groups that are victims of the discrimination in the defense industries. Realizing that Negroes are weak on government jobs, the paid committee would be used to provide a big job for one Negro as an appeasement to the masses. Feeling is strong among our people that the time has come when Negroes must be ready to forego jobs for one or two 'big' Negroes for the interest and benefit of the larger and broader masses."

Clergymen Protest

The conference in Washington was cheered by the news that leading clergymen of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths had joined in a memorial to President Roosevelt asking him to re-affirm executive order 8802 forbidding race discrimination in war industry, to reconstitute the Fair Employment Practice Committee, remove it from the jurisdiction of War Manpower Commission, and to re-schedule the postponed public hearings.

"There can be no second class economic citizenship, no ceiling of color or creed in the defense of democracy," declared the memorial, which urged that the FEPC be given independent status answerable only to the Chief Executive, that it be vested with adequate powers for the enforcement of its rulings, and that public hearings be held as an essential part of its procedure.

Among the signers of the memorial were Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Father John LaFarge, chaplain, Catholic Interracial Council; Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, Commission on Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis; Rev. S. T. Eldridge, president, Baptist Ministerial Alliance of Greater New York and Brooklyn; Rev. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Albert W. Palmer, president, Chicago Theological Seminary; Rev. Edward E. Swanstrom, Brooklyn; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Reddy, Brooklyn; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Ryan, O. D.; Rev. Dr. Edgar E. Siskin, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Everett Clinchy, Dr. Guy E. Shipler, Rev. Joseph A. Hughes, Duluth; Bishop Charles [illegible], New York; Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Pastor [illegible] Presbyterian Church, New York; Rabbi [illegible] Abrams, Rev. Franklin J. Kennedy, Milwaukee; Rev. Ernest Fremont Tittle, Evanston, Ill.; Rabbi Louis Binstock, Chicago; Rabbi Abram Vossen Goodman of Temple Immanuel, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. Ambrose Hering, executive secretary of the Lutheran Council; Rev. T.

Continued on Page Five

Randolph Says United Nations Are Failing Minority Groups

forced by the fact that Mr. Churchill—

and Negroes for the [illegible] and freedom of [illegible] that he had not become the first minister of Great Britain to preside over the liquidation of the British empire. The [illegible] there is that Great Britain has this year for the first time granted [illegible] Apparently the bit of British diplomacy has not [illegible] the Indian people.

With respect to the [illegible] doctrine, set forth by President Roosevelt, it may be said that [illegible] the hope and aspiration of [illegible] free world. If only [illegible] applied without [illegible] or color. Religion or political [illegible] But there is nothing [illegible] the [illegible] of the New Deal to indicate that the Negro people of America can expect [illegible] four freedoms will be granted them.

Striking out at [illegible] March on Washington [illegible] Randolph sought to clarify the movement's position on the racial issue. Declaring that the [illegible] still have faith in the movement [illegible] though it is opposed by many Negro [illegible] practically all white persons of prominence and power. Opponents have [illegible] on the grounds that we did not march. Our answer is we did not march [illegible] March On Washington Movement [illegible] of an executive order [illegible] discrimination in defense [illegible] and the government.

[illegible] Randolph, [illegible] the Pullman [illegible]

Here Are The Facts McNutt Suppresses

Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has postponed indefinitely hearings scheduled by the Fair Employment Practices Committee on discrimination which threatens to oust 2,400 veteran Negro firemen out of their jobs.

Postponement of the hearings, without any explanation, has brought vigorous protests from the CIO and the UAW-CIO, as well as from other organizations which oppose racial discrimination. McNutt's high-handed action threatens to bring resignation of the members of FEPC, which is now a subdivision of the Manpower Commission.

What is McNutt trying to keep from the light of public hearing? Here is the answer:

The Interstate Commerce Commission has decreed that steam engines shall be replaced by stokerized or Diesel engines by July 1, 1943; on Feb. 28, 1941, the Southeastern Carriers Conference Committee (representing 22 southern railroads) and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen signed an agreement making it impossible for a Negro working on a steam or stokerized engine to be switched to a Diesel engine.

THE BACKGROUND

Negroes have been working on southern railroads for nearly a century as porters, firemen, brakemen, switchmen and in other capacities. Whenever colored men's jobs became desirable to whites, the Negroes were eased out.

Prior to World War I, white men did not want firemen's jobs because they were dirty and difficult. When the government improved the hours, wages and working conditions, and when stokerized engines were introduced, the jobs became desirable.

As a result of these factors, plus reduction of the size of railroad crews, between 1924 and 1942 the number of Negro firemen was reduced from 6,478 to 2,400. No Negro firemen are known to have been hired after 1929. Then came the agreement of Feb. 28, 1941, which specifies that Negro firemen cannot be used on Diesel engines, and which declares also that Negroes shall not be given new jobs or new runs.

Negro firemen on the railroads are among the most highly paid group of Negro workers in the country. Due to stringent rules by the white railroad brotherhoods, firemen and porters jobs were the only work open to Negroes on the railroads.

THE CASE SUMMARIZED

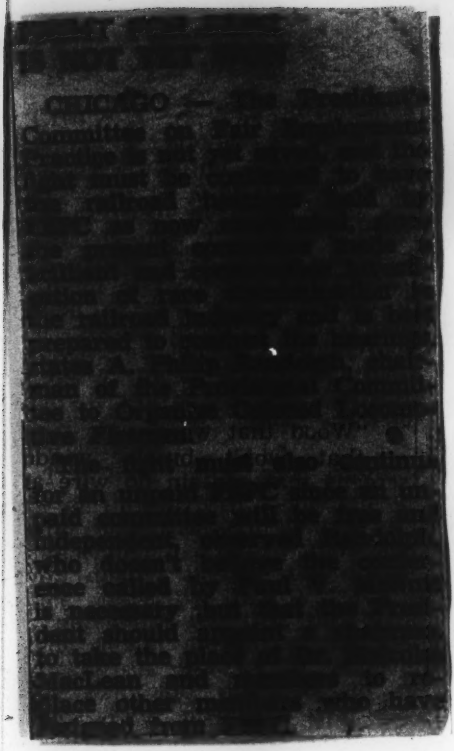
Concluding the case as it was to be presented at the FEPC hearings, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, stated:

"It is definitely in the public interest at a time when so many skilled workers are being drained off into the armed forces to have colored locomotive firemen retain their jobs. Most colored firemen have records of over ten years of service and are considered both by the engineers they work with and the carriers who employ them to be excellent, dependable workers. The majority of them are above the age of active military service; many having served in World War I.

"It is also in the public interest not to damage the morale of 12,000,000 colored Americans, who have contributed 10 percent of all the volunteers entering our armed forces, in spite of the fact that Negroes make up only 10 percent of the population.

"If American Negroes can see that they are moving up the economic and social scale, they have hope. If, on the other hand, they are to be pried off the highest rung of the economic ladder they have attained this spells defeat, retrogression, reaction. Its repercussions would effect not only the Negroes in the United States, but the colored peoples of South America, Africa and the Orient."

A Citizen's Committee to Save Colored Locomotive Firemen's Jobs has been organized with wide representation from labor and progressive circles. Mayor F. H. La Guardia is chairman. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, honorary chairman; members include: Harold L. Ickes, Herbert H. Lehman, Clarence Dykstra, Culbert L. Olson, Walter P. Reuther, Monsignor John A. Ryan, Leverett Saltonstall, Robert J. Watt and U. S. Senator Arthur Capper.



NAACP Questions FDR FEPC Conference Plan

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 11—Doubt as to the value of a meeting such as proposed this week by President Roosevelt in his request that War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt call a conference of leaders of groups opposing employment discrimination was expressed this week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP indicated its approval of President Roosevelt's wish that the Fair Employment Practice Committee have more power and larger personnel.

—VV—

E.P.C.

The Right to Work
is the Right to Live
F.E.P.C.

Negro Leader Sees F.E.P.C. as Aid to Industry

Randolph Says Law Would Raise Buying Power in 11 Southern States

A. Philip Randolph, who was mainly responsible for President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, which brought into existence the temporary Fair Employment Practice Committee, said yesterday that the creation by Congress of a permanent committee would be a boon to industry and business by raising purchasing power and living standards in eleven Southern states with a combined population of 25,000,000.

With a permanent law, Mr. Randolph said in an interview at his office, 217 West 125th Street, "there would be an end to the antagonism and competition between white and Negro labor." He added that Southern wage levels "could no longer be kept down by those who have encouraged this division of the races in order to further their own selfish ends." He said this is a common practice in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas.

Mr. Randolph is international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. He is the founder and moving spirit of the National Committee for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. He is co-chairman of the committee's New York council which is sponsoring a mass rally at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 28.

Cites Purpose of Rally

"The rally has been called as a demonstration of unity among minority groups, to break down intolerance in this country, and to gain support for our legislative goal," said Mr. Randolph. He said passage of Federal legislation "is practically assured if sufficient Americans can be made conscious of its importance."

Mr. Randolph added: "The bills, S-101, and HR 2232, ought to be enacted by the Congress. Besides the economic benefits that it would bring to Americans, it would show the world that America while insisting on democratic practices in Bulgaria and Roumania, is also striving for these ideals at home."

Southern Senators, currently filibustering against these bills, drew the following observation from Mr. Randolph: "They are attacking the very foundation of our government. By denying other Senators the right to vote on these bills, they have raised the issue as to whether we shall have government by the people or give way to the American ha[illegible] decision."

Organized March

In 1941 Mr. R[illegible] March-on-[illegible] to [illegible] against Negroes in the nation's war industries. The march never took place. Instead, Mr. Randolph was summoned to Washington to discuss the grievances of his group at a White House conference.

Besides Mr. Randolph, the grievance committee consisted of Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Frank R. Crosswaith, secretary of the Harlem Labor Union, and Mrs. Layle Lane, a Harlem school teacher representing the March-on-Washington movement. Also summoned to this conference by President Roosevelt were the late Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy; Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; Lieutenant General William S. Knudsen, director general of the Office of Production Management; Sidney Hillman, associate director-general of O. P. M.; Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, and Mayor F. H. La Guardia.

At this meeting Mr. Randolph demanded positive action by the Administration as a condition for calling off the march. Out of this meeting came President Roosevelt's directive, 8802. Mr. Randolph refused to accept a seat on the committee which the President was shortly to appoint, but he said he was allowed to select as one of the members, Milton F. Webster, first international vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Career Is Noteworthy

Mr. Randolph's career is, if not remarkable, at least noteworthy. He was born in Crescent City, Fla., the son of a minister. He has worked successively in New York and Jacksonville, Fla., as a railroad section hand, elevator and switchboard operator, waiter and porter.

He was graduated from City College in New York and has furthered his education by voluminous reading. He is widely recognized as an eloquent speaker. He was a co-founder and editor of "The Messenger," a defunct Negro magazine which emphasized the economic implications of the race problem.

In 192[illegible] Randolph set out to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, taking up where others left off. The Brotherhood takes in train porters, car washers and other railroad workers. It claims a present membership of 16,000.

Through the brotherhood, wages of sleeping car porters have increased from $67.50 a month in 1925 to a present minimum of $137.50. Mr. Randolph says that the brotherhood is now demanding a 30-cent increase on its next contract.

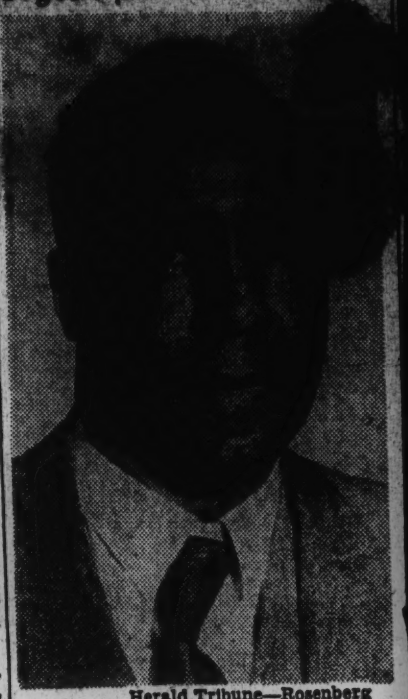
Filibuster Condemned Here

Filibuster tactics in Congress against the passage of a permanent Federal fair employment practice bill were condemned as un-American at a meeting yesterday of representatives of fifty-five organizations at the Wilkie Memorial Building, 20 West Fortieth Street.

With Mayor [illegible] O'Dwyer fixing Feb. 28 as Fair Employment Practice Committee Day in a proclamation issued at City Hall, seventy-five representatives of the organizations listened to an address by Malcom Ross, chairman of the national Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Reporters were barred from the meeting and Mr. Ross's remarks, which had to do with the present filibuster in the Senate, were off the record. In a statement for the press, however, Charles H. Tuttle, who was chairman of the temporary committee which framed New York's Ives-Quinn anti-discrimination bill, said the filibuster is "a denial of basic principles of American democracy." The meeting adjourned with a resolution calling for vigorous appeal to Representatives and Senators in support of the F. E. P. C. bill.

Urge Permanent F.[illegible] C.



Herald Tribune—Rosenberg

A. Philip Randolph

Hope Dims for FEPC Truce

Foes Fear House Would Put Teeth in It

Washington, Jan. 28 (AP)—Hope for a compromise FEPC bill that would end the Senate's 11-day-old filibuster diminished today.

Southern opponents of the measure said they feared principles they were fighting might be restored when such a measure reached the House.

"I distrust those city fellows over there," said one of the Southerners, who asked not to be quoted by name.

The bill, endorsed repeatedly by President Truman, would create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to police industry, labor unions and [illegible]ment against racial and religious discrimination.

[illegible]thern opponents have been using the filibuster weapon to delay action indefinitely. They contend the bill would stir up racial antagonisms instead of calming them, and would take away from employers a basic right to choose the persons on their payrolls.

To Hold City Rally

The New York Council for a Permanent FEPC will hold a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 28.

Mrs. Eleanor [illegible]velt and authoress Lillian Smith are honorary chairmen of the group which is urging Mayor O'Dwyer to set aside an FEPC day in the city.

1/28 - Post

Feb. 28 Will Be FEPC Day [illegible]

[illegible]or O'Dwyer, in a proclamation yesterday, designated Feb. 28 as Fair Employment Practice Committee Day. On that day the New York Council for permanent FEPC will [illegible] at Madison Square Garden, declaring him in favor of [illegible] FEPC legislation. O'Dwyer [illegible] want fr[illegible] regardless [illegible] whether [illegible] of [illegible]

Names Mak[illegible]

Mrs. [illegible] Robert [illegible] to speak [illegible] den rall[illegible] EPC on Thu[illegible]

Frank [illegible] ept. secretary who he[illegible] down Murder, Inc., is [illegible] to succeed **Francis J. K[illegible]** nd deputy police commis[illegible] hen Kear retires Feb. 16.

Vernon C. Riddick, Harlem attorney who recently was mustered out as a lieutenant colonel, was sworn in as magistrate Friday by **Mayor O'[illegible]**

Good [illegible] clothing and food [illegible] ew Regu- l[illegible] r 18 [illegible], Do. [illegible] sub- st[illegible]

[illegible]tion On FEPC Plea

More than a score of national organizations, religious, labor and civic, today awaited action by President Truman on their united demand for Presidential denunciation of the current Senate filibuster as "rule by a wilful minority," and for full administration support of permanent legi[illegible]n for a Fair Employme[illegible]tices Commission.

[illegible] for public interven[illegible] President, accompa[illegible] request for a White [illegible]erence on the FEPC [illegible] was made by the 27 national organizations after a strategy conference called in Washington by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC.

"We have asked the President to publicly condemn government by minority rule," A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council, stated, in reporting on the strategy meeting today.

Southern Gifts Cited

"We have also asked his help in the Senate. Few Northern Senators—and this includes Democrats as well as Republicans—have shown anything like the same fervor in fighting [illegible]r the bill that the Southern[illegible] have shown in fighting against it."

"Within recent weeks," he said, "the Council has received substantial financial gifts to push our fight in Washington. This included $5,000 from inter-racial and inter-faith groups in New Orleans, $5,000 from Ft. Worth, $4,000 from Kansas City, $3,000 from St. Louis and sums exceeding $1,000 from Wichita, Houston, Atlanta, Durham and other Southern cities."

Labor organizations have also contributed heavily, he said.

A mass meeting will be held in Madison Square Garden Feb. 28.

27 Groups Await Truman Action on FEPC App[illegible]

More than a score of national organizations, religious, labor and civic, today awaited action by President Truman on their united demand for Presidential denunciation of the current Senate filibuster as rule by a wilful minority," and for full administration support of permanent legislation for a Fair Employment Practice Commissio[illegible]

The plea for public [illegible]ervention by the President, accompanied by a request for a White House conference on the FEPC stalemate, was made by the 27 national organizations after a strategy conference called in Washington by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC.

"We have asked the President to publicly condemn government by minority rule," A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council, stated, in reporting on the strategy meeting today.

"We have also asked his help in the Senate. Few Northern Senators—and this includes Democrats as well as Republicans—have shown anything like the same fervor in fighting for the bill that the Southerners have shown in fighting against it."

"Within recent weeks," he said, "the Council has received substantial financial gifts to push our fight in Washington. This included $5,000 from inter-racial and inter-faith groups in New Orleans, $5,000 from Ft. Worth, $4,000 from Kansas City, $3,000 from St. Louis and sums exceeding $1,000 from Wichita, Houston, Atlanta, Durham and other Southern cities."

Labor organizations have also contributed heavily, he said.

Mr. Truman will receive further appeals for public denunciation of the filibuster today, Randolph said, after a round-robin long-distance conference which telephone co[illegible] officials have promised t[illegible] between the labor leade[illegible] William Green, Phili[illegible] Patterson of the [illegible] Union, Walte[illegible] Tobias and [illegible]

Geo[illegible] executive director [illegible] holic Interracial Council, and Frank Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, both present at the Randolph press conference, outlined support being given by Catholic and labor [illegible]

A mass meetin[illegible] in Madison Squ[illegible] Feb. 28.

Read[illegible] Forum

TODAY'S LINE—*"Price control is the guardian of the consumer's pocketbook, while uncontrolled prices mean inflation."* Audrey Levenberg, 912 Saratoga Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. ($1 will be paid for each Today's Line published by The Post.)

Rally Marks FEPC Day

Dear Editor — Congress acts when the people speak—even filibustering Senators!

And, the people can speak at the mass rally at Madison Square Garden on Thursday evening, Feb. 28, which is being sponsored by the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

Prominent speakers, and outstanding entertainers, including Helen Hayes and Canada Lee, will be in a specially written script. Katherine Dunham, Muriel Rahn and many other stars will be present.

In recognition of the importance of FEPC, Mayor O[illegible]yer has named Feb. 28th as the official FEPC Day for New York City.

Register your [illegible]ndignation. Show Southern [illegible] Show Congress, that [illegible] means that "we wa[illegible]manent FEPC."

Attend the [illegible]y—bring your friends, your business associates, even your relatives. Remember "The right to work is the right to live." A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

29 NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1946

TRUMAN STR[illegible]SES FEPC

Legislatio[illegible] Integral Part of Re[illegible]

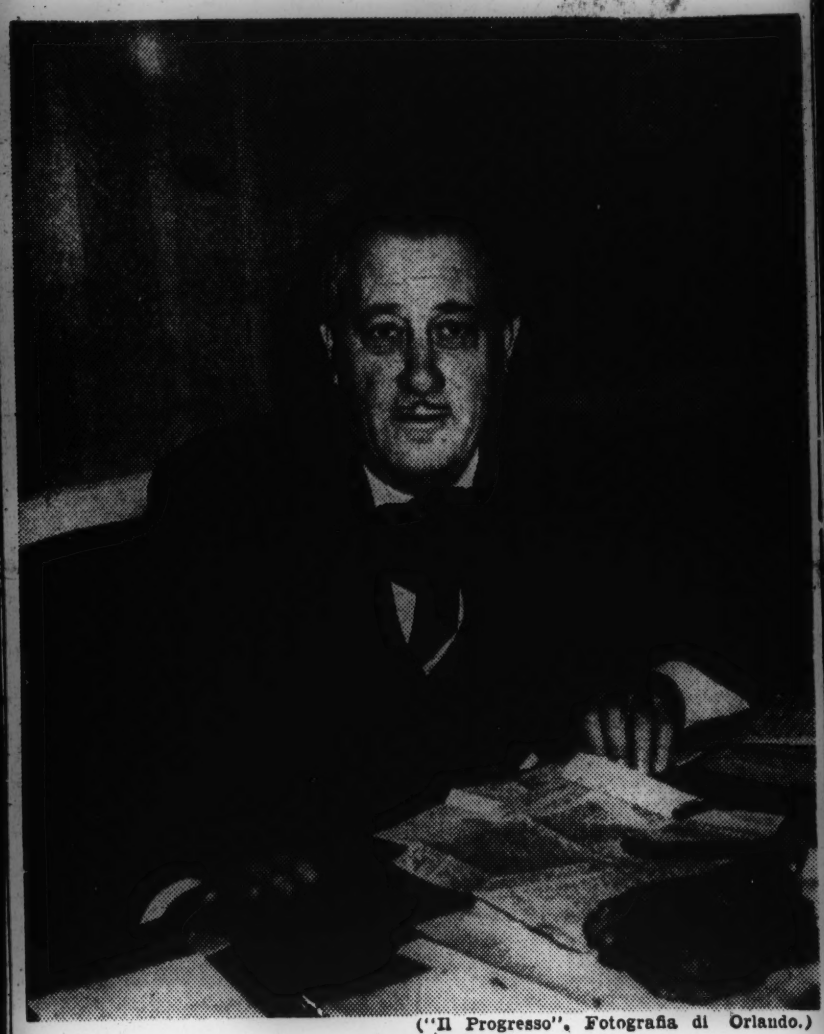
Presid[illegible] A. Philip[illegible] of the Nati[illegible] Permanent Fa[illegible]nt Practices Commiss[illegible]d legislation for fair e[illegible]t practices as an integral [illegible] of the reconversion progra[illegible] the council disclosed yesterday.

Mr. Truman's letter read[illegible]

"My Dear [illegible]r. Randolph:

"I wa[illegible]hank you for your heart[illegible]ter of Jan[illegible]th. It [illegible] that [illegible] to [illegible] tio[illegible]y re- conver[illegible]ll continue m[illegible] Congress a chance [illegible]vote o[illegible]

Antonini si scaglia contr[o] le varie discriminazioni negli impieghi



("Il Progresso", Fotografia di Orlando.)

Luigi Antonini

Luigi Antonini, segretario generale della Locale 89 e presidente dell'Italian American Labor Council, ha severamente criticato i Senatori del South che fanno i filibustieri per boicottare l'approvazione della legge contro le discriminazioni sul lavoro.

"Mentre tutto ciò è un'offensiva contro i negri, il danno ricade anche, specialmente dopo le inconsulte dichiarazioni del Senatore Bilbo, sugli ebrei e sugli italiani" — ha detto Luigi Antonini intervistato dal nostro reporter.

"Questa ondata di reazione è contro i neri in particolare e contro gli ebrei in generale.

"Molti Senatori del Nord sono favorevoli al progetto di legge, ma tentennano.

"Quelli del South, per ragioni politiche, fanno di tutto per impedirne l'approvazione.

"Sono gli stessi Senatori che sostengono la "pool tax" per impedire ai neri di votare; sono gli stessi, i quali, eletti da una esigua minoranza, fomentano le discriminazioni di razza.

"Tutto ciò è in aperto contrasto con la Costituzione, che garentisce a tutti i cittadini gli stessi diritti e li sottopone agli stessi doveri.

"La liberazione degli schiavi diede ai negri pieni diritti di cittadinanza. Ma nel South, questi diritti sono rimasti sulla carta"— ha continuato Antonini.

"Tutti sanno come, nel South, i negri sono trattati.

"Sembra un'eresia affermarlo, ma per ciò che riguarda il South i negri poco o niente hanno guadagnato con la liberaione.

"Eppure, malgrado le condizioni d'inferiorità nelle quali sono mantenute, i negri hanno sviluppato un vasto movimento intellettuale che dimostra come essi siano pienamente degni di essere alla pari con tutti gli altri cittadini.

[g]uarda poi il lo-
ro con[tr]ibuto alla grandezza di
questo [P]aese possiamo affermare
che i neg[r]i nulla hanno da rim-
proverarsi.

"Dur[a]nte la recente guerra mondiale, essi hanno dato prova di grande patriottismo, sia come operai nelle fabbriche belliche e sia come soldati sui campi di battaglia.

"Con la coscienza di sincero cittadino americano e con l'esperienza che mi viene dai lunghissimi anni vissuti fra i lavoratori, io affermo che la legge contro le discriminazioni negli impieghi dovrebbe essere subito approvata.

"Ciò rappresenterebbe un'altra affermazione di quei sani principi di democrazia per i quali centinaia di migliaia di giovani americani, discendenti di tutte le razze, hanno combattuto con valore, durante il recente conflitto, su tutti i cieli, tutti i mari, tutte le terre del mondo" — ha concluso Antonini.

Fight for FEPC [T]o Be Pre[s]ented At Rally Here

While the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People launched an official campaign to defeat every Northern Senator who opposed cloture on the recent filibuster, 75 local organizations today pushed plans for a rally at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 28.

Addressing more than 100 representatives of local groups at Freedom House, 20 W. 40th St., Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, declared:

"The Madison Square Garden rally must be our answer to those who think they can stop our fight through a filibuster. We can only show them that we have just begun to fight by turning out in record numbers."

Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the NAACP, whose organization is co-operating with the national and local FEPC Council on the Feb. 28 meeting, told the group:

"While we are pr[o]ud that our own political streng[th] forced 48 Senators to vote for [c]loture after exactly the same n[u]mber signed the petition, we mus[t] be that only unprecedente[d] pressure from the people can [get] the bill back to the Senate [in] this session. The Garden m[ee]ting must help us exert that pressure."

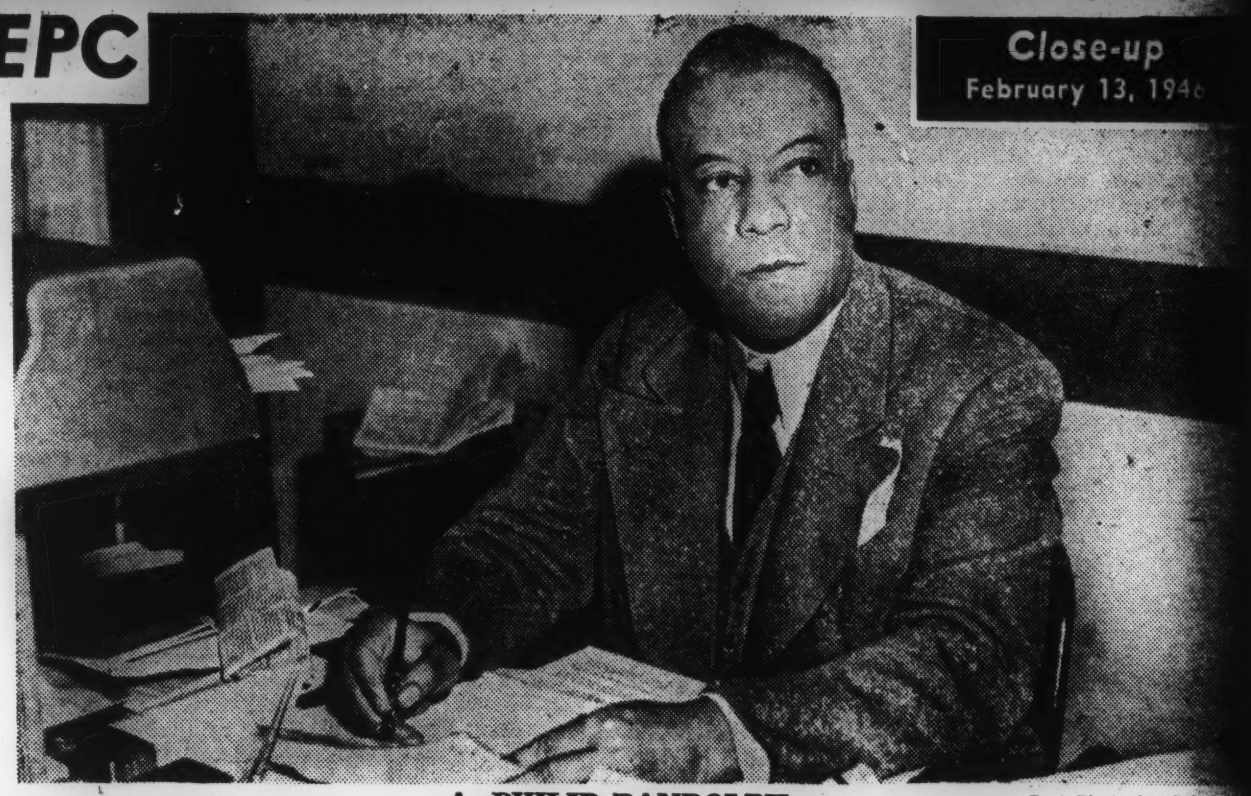
Shortly before the meeting the NAACP announced that its Board of Directors had voted on F[e]b. 1 to instruct 1,200 local ch[a]pters throughout the country "to use their influence and power to aid in defeating for re-election those Senators who refused to vote for cloture and those who willfully absented themselves from the session at which the voting occurred."

Carmen's Comin'

MURIEL (Carmen [J]ohn is among entertainers who'll appear at FEPC Rally, Madison Square Garden, Feb. 28. Tickets are on sale at N. Y. Council for a Permanent FEPC, 242 E. 14th St.

POST
Daily Magazine and Comic SECTION
NEW YORK PO

From Shakespeare to FEPC



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH — Post Photo by Calvac

By TED POSTON

Luckily for supporters of federal legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee—thousands of whom are scheduled to rally at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 28—A. Philip Randolph took a licking on the first major decision of his career.

Young Asa Randolph, a serious-minded student in Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Fla., was determined to become an actor and singer. But his itinerant Methodist minister father and his deeply religious mother wouldn't hear of it.

It was no passing fancy, the tall, deep-voiced president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, and the man most responsible for the existence of a temporary FEPC, explained today as he pushed his plans for the big Garden rally.

"I really wanted a stage career. I started taking singing lessons in my teens. I memorized every line in 'Othello,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' and 'Hamlet.' But my parents were very firm about it. They made me promise not to become a professional actor."

The future winner of the Spingarn, Clendenin and other awards for Negro and labor leadership didn't turn professional, but he didn't give up the Bard of Avon right away either. Years after he left Florida where he had been born in Crescent City in 1889, he organized the Shakespearean Society in Harlem and played Hamlet, Othello and Romeo before audiences, and—one time—at the old Lafayette Theatre.

Wife Was School Teacher And "Hair Parlor" Owner

The 56-year-old Randolph, broad-shouldered, erect and smooth-faced despite his now-graying hair, discussed this early ambition in a deep vibrant voice whose diction and broad accent once led the late President Roosevelt to interrupt a Cabinet White House conference to ask: "Phil, what year did you finish Harvard?" (He never attended Harvard nor finished any other college, although he holds an honorary Ph. D. from Howard University in W[illegible] D. C.)

Mrs. Randolph is the former Lucille Green, a Howard graduate, and one-time Virginia school teacher. She was a beauty parlor proprietor ("hair parlor," she calls it) and he was managing a placement bureau when they met in Harlem.

The old Fall River Line bounced the young CCNY student out on his ear when he tried to organize his fellow waiters. A group of headwaiters hired him to edit their house organ and promptly fired him when he exposed their petty rackets. The old Lust Committee (forerunner of Dies) branded him "the most dangerous Negro in America," when, with Chandler Owen, a young Columbia student with whom he had been reading law and Lester Ward, he founded "The Messenger," a Socialist magazine, and led an all-out fight against conscription in World War I.

Planned to Show Strength By March on Washington

And Mrs. Randolph was in on the decision back in 1925 when Milton P. Webster, Ashley Totten, T. T. Patterson and three other Pullman porters asked the then young Socialist (a Liberal Party member now) to help them form a union.

"You can list those three men," he said, "among the persons who most influenced my life. They stuck with me and the Brotherhood when we didn't have a crust of bread or a nickel to make a phone call."

Randolph's 10-year fight with the Pullman Co.—punctuated by threats of arrest, indirect offers of bribery, attempted intimidation by private detectives and wholesale dismissals of more than 500 porters, is a much-told tale. But today, 16,000 Brotherhood porters receive a $137.50 monthly minimum wage as against $67.50 in 1925.

World War II brought Randolph his greatest pressures however—this time largely from his friends. He quit the Socialist Party because he didn't share its opposition to an all-out war against Fascism. And then, one day in 1940, while making a Southern trip with Webster, he conceived the idea of a March-on-Washington by 10,000 Negroes as a means of obtaining an executive order outlawing discrimination in defense and government employment.

Early in 1941, he wrote a series of articles for the Negro papers outlining his plan, which, Marching-on-Washington Committees sprang up all over the country.

Mayor LaGuardia, Randolph's close friend and the Brotherhood's first volunteer counsel, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom he deeply admired, summoned Randolph and White, NAACP executive secretary, down to City Hall. It won't work, they told him. You can't intimidate the Federal Government. And you can't settle a moral question by executive order anyway.

Then Randolph and White were summoned to the White House.

FDR Firm but Friendly —Smile Breaks Tension

The President was warm that day, Randolph recalled, but not too friendly at first. Flanked by his Secretaries of War and Navy and other ranking Government officials, he summarily demanded that the proposed march be called off. Randolph refused and requested the issuance of a non-discrimination executive order. Mr. Roosevelt challenged anyone's right to exert pressure on the White House, but neither White nor Randolph would back down. The argument became heated. The tension was finally broken though by FDR's sudden smiling query about Randolph's Harvard accent.

And the conference broke up with the President's promise that "something will be done." Two weeks later on June 25, 1941, he issued Executive Order 8802, establishing a President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

A few months later, Randolph organized the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, and with Dr. Alan Knight Chalmers as co-chairman, started the drive which led to indorsement of permanent legislation by leaders of both major political parties and to the recent Senate filibuster against S-101. The filibuster didn't worry him much.

"We'll win," he said, "because the masses want a Permanent FEPC. And our Feb. 28 demonstration of inter-racial, inter-faith, AFL-CIO solidarity on this question will give further evidence of our mass support."

Some day, but only after FEPC is an accomplished fact, Randolph hopes to get back to the diversions he dropped when he first tackled the Pullman Co.

Baseball games, for instance. He was a fair pitcher and a pretty good first baseman before becoming a hair-pulling fan. Or the theatre. He loves serious plays but hasn't had time to see one in years. He still sees a movie now and then and loves the cops and robbers type like "The House on 92nd St."

Since he only sleeps four hours a night, he has been able to keep up somewhat on his reading—principally labor, economics, philosophy, biography and the poetry of Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley and Dunbar.

He tried to follow his doctor's advice to "slow down" last ye[ar] but wound up addressing mo[re] than 500 FEPC and Broth[er]hood meetings — including o[ne] in Topeka, Kan., less than a week after he got up from a pneumonia attack. The Madison Square Garden ra[lly] on Feb. 28 is only one of a series [planned] for this year.

[Young] Asa Randolph kept [faith] to his parents, but was [it] Shakespeare who backed a[way] all the world being a stage?

Truman to Press Fi… For …

…which was …elved … successful filibuster.

In a letter to A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, the President said:

"It is good to know that you feel I am with you and to know that you are with me . . . I want you to know that I regard fair employ… practic… tion as an … part … ver… …m and … ti… …to give … gr… …ote …"

Stars Rehearse FEPC Play

Helen Hayes, Canada Lee, John Carradine and other Broadway stars began rehearsals today at the home of Mrs. James Marshall, 30 W. 54th St., of a specially written play which will be presented at a mass FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden next Thursday, Feb. 28.

Tickets for the mass meeting, called to s… …ther Congressional ac… …ing FEPC legislati… …purchased for … 1.80 and 2.40 … …rk Council for a Permanent FE… 242 E. 14th …, the Manhattan-Washington …kshop, 2084 Seventh Av.; …m 155… at 9 Rockefeller Plaza, or at Madison Square Garden on the night of the rally.

NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1946 16

The Variety …

Big Stuff at the Strand— Miranda's Shrinking Inco…

By Paul Denis…

When Janet Blair made her … …s State she was warned by Jackie … …e him as Jackie Cooper. "So man… …ogan complained. Janet was indig… …know you're Coogan," she said, "and … …won't introduce you as Cooper." Then she went on stage and introduced him—"that great kid actor, now grown up, Jackie Cooper."

Then Jackie took a ride out to Woodhaven, and his cab skidded. Result: Jackie suffered leg injuries, while his companions escaped without a scratch. Jackie returned to the State, his right leg bandaged. And Jane Kean, who's been kicking him all week (nothing personal; it's in the act), felt so sorry for Jackie that she now kicks him only in the left leg. She doesn't believe in kicking a man when he's down—only when he's standing …

* * *

There's big stuff at the Strand: Jack Carson, 6-foot-3, Arthur Treacher, 6-foot-1, and Art Mooney, 6-foot without counting his high pompadour haircomb. Dave Willock, who's Tugwell on Carson's radio program, is practically a midget, being a mere 5-foot-10.

MOONEY

Carson gets up early mornings and jogs around the Central Park reservoir, just to keep trim. Willock jogs along too, but when he tires, he cheats—he takes a cab to finish the jaunt.

And now take Art Mooney. (Go ahead, take him.) He was a pfc. in the Army. Now he's got a big band, which includes two of his former captains and a former lieutenant. Does Mooney make them scrub his dressing room with a toothbrush? Or pick up cigaret butts? No. He treats them like they … beings.

* * *

Georgia Gibbs, the singer at the Paramount, tries not to look at Danny Kaye on stage—because she just can't help laughing. And when he "breaks her up" he wins $1. "And he takes the buck, too," says Georgia. She had a bad throat … days—hemorrhage of … vocal cords—but she's well enough now.

Carmen Miranda's salary for her 4 weeks at the Roxy is $40,000 (she got … $8,500 a week last time here), but she's not going to take other vaudeville dates. She wants to return to Hollywood and her swimming pool. (Of course, the pool is attached to a house.) "I don't kip more than feefteen percent of my eencome at the end of the yir," says Carmen, who has to pay musicians, agents, taxes. It's really sad. She has to manage on a paltry $1,500 net a week—hardly enough to buy an extra platform for her shoes.

New at Loew's State this week are the Gaudsmith Brothers, 3 Rockets, and the Crosby Sisters. Frances and May Crosby clown, sing and imitate the stars, except Bing Crosby. They're talented girls.

* * *

Flora Stuart, dancing at the Roxy, has "legs that express more proud sex than any other woman's," says Leora Thompson, theatrical agent who claims she's viewed over 25,000 pairs of shapely legs. "Miss Stuart has the 3-curve leg which, if highly developed, exposes the owner's sexy qualities." (Educational stuff, folks.)

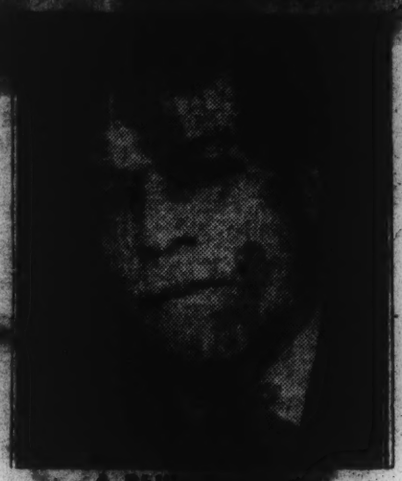
Thursday, Feb. 28, is the night for the big Madison Square rally for a permanent FEPC, with Helen Hayes and Canada Lee starring in a brilliant show. . . . Lionel Hampton Band, at the 125th St. Apollo this week, goes into the Aquarium Restaurant Mar. 4. . . . Earl Bostic, whose band is at Village Corners, wrote the arrangements for the new Ina Ray Hutton Band. . . . The Music Hall stage show is again being held over. . . . New show at the Capitol Thursday will have Marie McDonald and Sammy Kaye Band. Paul Regan, satirist at the Capitol now, has added takeoffs on UNO representative…

It's another …th for Charles C. Mos…tz, … Loew's. . . . And …nie … at the Roxy, says "Bl… the meek, for they shall in… the earth—less 40 pct. tax… And yes, it looks as though … kick off, and even then yo… in the hole. . . . And they sh… …'t call it Internal Revenue; they should call it Eternal Revenue."

Fight for F. E. P. C.

By A. Philip Randolph

Chairman, National Fair Employment Practices Commission



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE bill to make permanent the Fair Employment Practices Commission is not dead. Even though the coalition of the Southern Senators and Northern reactionaries was successful in the Senate, the fight for a permanent FEPC measure is still on. The slogan of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission is: "We have just begun to fight!"

Throughout the country [illegible] who believe that [illegible] discrimination [illegible]. The contrary is true. [illegible] display of oratory and [illegible] took place on the [illegible]

ployment practices than anything that has been done before. We have [illegible] careful canvas of Senators that had the [illegible] been brought to the floor the FEPC bill would have passed. [illegible] it is back on the Senate calendar, and can be brought to the floor at any time.

The fight before us is on three fronts: Washington, your home front and the national education front. In Washington, the next move will be in the House. There the problem is to get the bill out of committee and on to the floor. Because of the archaic House rules, this is not an easy matter. Again we know when we get the bill out of committee [illegible] to the floor that [illegible]ure will [illegible]

[illegible] the home front, I urge every per-

[illegible] believes that there should [illegible] the United States [illegible]d, or color to [illegible]enators, and [illegible]mitments [illegible] given [illegible]ntatives in Congress [illegible]rt the FEPC bill.

[illegible] education front, it is [illegible]t every person and every organization do his utmost to keep the [illegible] before the public. There [illegible]s meetings similar to the [illegible] planned in New York City [illegible]28 at Madison [illegible]. must be newspaper [illegible]es

Adamson" had been [illegible]ntry fo years as head [illegible]alin sp network [illegible]formatio [illegible] *Worke* [illegible]led "witch [illegible] of imperialism [illegible]ican, were on th [illegible] information mad [illegible] by the [illegible]an police that [illegible]ember of the [illegible]n embassy sta had fully implicated Stalin's Dominic diplomats in the spy ring.

In this welter of headlines, the fo lowing facts emerge:

The exposure of Stalin's ring i Canada is only a minute part of th entire circle of Russian espionage. It major activities are centered in th United States.

This is nothing new. Since 1923, th Communist International has had it trained operatives working within a nations, using the Russian embassies a a focal point of activity. Every membe of the Communist Party is a potentia spy in any nation, and those placed i key technical, scientific and militar plans or organizations have been a con stant source of information.

Long ago the FBI assigned hundred of its [illegible] agents to break up [illegible] the United States [illegible] red- [illegible] policy of appeasement [illegible] against the Soviet," [illegible] national security and the [illegible] of the Communist Inter- [illegible] be exposed [illegible] the [illegible]

NEW LE DER

L. XXIX—No. 8 FEBRUARY 23, 194 SECTION ONE PRICE TEN CENTS

In This Issue

Fin du Mondisme ..... SIDNEY HOOK

Stalin Has Spoken ..... DAVID J. DALLIN

CCF Government In Saskatchewan ..... A. ANDRAS

Notes On The Nuremberg Trial ..... GERHART H. SEGER

Fight for FEPC Continues ..... A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Review by MORROE BERGER, FRANK R. CROSSWAITH, [illegible] ORTY

"WE HAVE JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT"

RALLY for the F.E.P.

MADISON SQUARE GAR

EIGHTH AVENUE AT 50th STREET

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28th, 1946

DOORS OPEN AT 7 P.M.

●

SPEAKERS:

LEWIS J. SCHWELLENBACH, Secretary of Labor
Senator WAYNE MORSE - Sen. ROBERT F. WAGNER
FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA - A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JAMES B. CAREY, CIO — WILLIAM GREEN, AFofL
Rev. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS — GEORGE K. HUNTON
LESTER GRANGER — Rabbi WILLIAM F. ROSENBLUM
ROY WILKINS

●

STARS OF STAGE, SCREEN AND RADIO:
HELEN HAYES - CANADA LEE - MURIEL RAHN
JOHN CARRADINE - KATHERINE DUNHAM - JANE WHITE - FRIEDA LOUISE ANDREWS' 1,000 Voice Choir

Honorary Chairmen: ELEANOR ROOSEVELT — LILLIAN SMITH

F.E.P.C. IDEAS—TRUE and FALSE

FALSE: The F.E.P.C. Bill is dead.

TRUE: The F.E.P.C. Bill is in committee in the House of Representatives.

FALSE: The F.E.P.C. Bill was defeated in Senate.

TRUE: The F.E.P.C. Bill is on the Senate calendar.

TRUE: The F.E.P.C. Bill will pass in the Senate when it comes up for a vote.

TRUE: The F.E.P.C. Will will pass in the House when it comes up for a vote.

Work for Passage of the Permanent FEPC Bill

NEW YORK COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FEPC
242 East 14th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

I enclose $..... for .....seats at $..... per seat, for the MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY. (Seats available at 60¢, $1.20, $1.80, $2.40.)

I would like to do my share to sup[illegible] my contribution of $.....

Name .....

Address ..... Phone.....

City ..... State.....

Choir of 1,000, Led by Woman, Will Sing at F. E. P. C. Rally

[illegible]-voice chorus, unique in [illegible] selections and enthusiasm [illegible]ted by Mrs. Frieda Louise Andrews, will be featured at a rally sponsored by the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission Feb. 28 at Madison Square Garden under the joint-chairmanship of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Miss Lillian Smith.

"People said I couldn't do it," Mrs. Andrews said in an interveiw last week at her home, 301 West 130th Street. "They said I couldn't get a thousand people in a choir. Well, I got them."

Last October the buxom deep-chested former opera singer formed the 1,000 Voice Gospel Chorus among the members of forty-seven Harlem church choirs. Catholics, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists and members of other Protestant sects, the men and women come from all walks of life and their occupations range from teaching to truck driving.

"We're just ordinary people who like to sing the old-time hymns," Mrs. Andrews explained. "Mostly older people and five times as many women as men, who do it for pleasure, not profit. I direct, but I guess I sing all the time even when I'm at the piano or the organ or up front."

No one, she said, can help singing with the chorus because its repertoire consists mainly of gospel songs. "Spirituals came from the suffering of our people," Mrs. Andrews explained. "They express all [illegible] enslaved race [illegible] of our [illegible] the gospel songs are triumphant. They're an expression of a hope to come, the feeling that we are going through suffering with the assurance of a bright tomorrow. 'Steal Away to Jesus,' for example, is a spiritual, but 'Angels, Get My Mansion Ready' is a gospel song, full of the shouting happy old-time religion."

In spite of a triumphant debut at the Golden Gate Auditorium in Harlem last January, skeptics warned Mrs. Andrews against taking the chorus "downtown." She stuck to her decision and that of the choir which, by popular vote, volunteered its services in support of the F. E. P. C. rally.

"They won't make fun of us downtown," Mrs. Andrews said with a throaty laugh, recalling the incident of the policemen who had come to keep order at the Golden Gate Auditorium and had remained to truck down the aisles and beat time with the singers. "Nobody can just sit and listen to gospel songs. First thing you know you're tapping your foot. Then you're nodding your head and all of you starts to sway. Pretty soon you're clapping your hands and before you know it you're standing up singing with the rest of us."

Born in Chicago, Mrs. Andrews studied at the Magnolia-Lewis School of Music and sang with the Imperial Opera Company.

The chorus will present three songs at the F. E. P. C. rally, including "Lift Every Voice and Sing," the Negro national anthem for which James Weldon Johnson wrote the words; "Tell It, Sing It, Shout It," a gospel song, and "We Want F. E. P. C." The words of the last were written for the rally by a member of the chorus.

Mrs. Andrews sat down at the piano and began to play and sing "We Want F. E. P. C." A friend, who was measuring her for a new dress during the interview, joined her. After one stanza this reporter found herself tapping her foot. After the second she was standing near the piano and after the third refrain she was in there clapping.

Sundries

Mrs. Roosevelt and L[illegible] a permanent [illegible]ght. . . . Brooklyn [illegible]upped its membership [illegible]e Oct. 1, wants ma[illegible]ive ending May 1. . [illegible]00 if you can spare [illegible] volunteer in the R[illegible]ign starting Friday.

Judge Sa[illegible]enman got that medal from Phi Epsilon Pi at the Plaza last night.

Oops, here's Mrs. Roosevelt again, at a Union for Democratic Action meeting, 8:45 tonight at Hunter College, 68th and Park. . . . The Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, lunching at the Roosevelt today, will hear from staff workers back from Europe. . . . War veterans in the radio industry are to share profits of [illegible] radio show *Stage Door C*[illegible]

We[illegible]

[illegible] today, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], maximum temperature about [illegible] clear and [illegible]

L[illegible] Leaders Back FEPC Rally

More than two score [illegible]al, state and local labor organizations have announced active support of the mass FEPC rally Thursday at Madison Square Garden.

AFL Pr[illegible] William Green, who will [illegible]ly, and Philip M[illegible] of the CIO, [illegible] endorsement.

Tickets for the mass meeting, called to speed further Congressional action on pending FEPC legislation, may be purchased for 60 cents, $1.20, 1.80 and 2.40 at the New York Council [illegible] Permanent FEPC, 242 [illegible] St.; the [illegible]h-on-Wa[illegible] Sev[illegible] and Roo[illegible]0 at Rec[illegible] Plaza.

Mrs. Roosevelt Joins FEPC R[illegible]

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt [illegible] Sen. Chavez (D-N.M.), [illegible]or of fair employment practices legislation, have joined the impressive list of speakers at tomorrow night's mass FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden. Sens. Morse (R-Ore.), Taft (R-O.) and Labor Secretary Schwellenbach will also address the rally.

Tickets [illegible] the mass meeting, [illegible] speed further Congressio[illegible]tion on pending [illegible]EPC [illegible]tion, [illegible] [illegible]ed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Ask Newarkers Join FEPC Rally

Following Mayor O'Dwyer's example, Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark has designated Thursday as "FEPC Day" and has urged Newarkers to attend the mass FEPC rally that night at Madison Square Garden.

Tickets for the mass meeting, called to speed further Congressional action on pending FEPC legislation, may be purchased at $2.40, $1.80 and $1.20 at the New York Council for FEPC, 242 East Fourth St.; Church-on-the-Hill, Washington Boo[illegible] 20th St. and Seventh Ave.; Room 1553 at 9 Rockefeller Plaza.

[illegible] Scores FEPC Note

President Truman will strongly re-affirm his support of federal legislation for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee tonight in a message to a mass FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden, The Post learned today.

The Presidential message, listing FEPC legislation as one of the important points of the Administration's reconversion program, will be brought to the rally by Secretary Schwellenbach, one of a score of notables scheduled to address the meeting.

Other speakers will include Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Sens. Morse, Wagner and Taft, AFL President Green, James B. Carey, CIO secretary; Fiorello H. La Guardia, A. Phillip Randolph and the Rev. Allen Knight Chalmers, co-chairmen of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC; Lester Granger, National Urban League, and Roy Wilkins, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Helen Hayes, Canada Lee and John Carradine will appear in an original play at the Garden meeting, called to speed further Congressional action of FEPC legislation, and other Broadway stars appearing will include Katherine Dunham, Jane White and Muriel Rahn. A 1,000-voice interracial inter-faith choir will [illegible] new [illegible]mn under [illegible] Louise [illegible] for the [illegible] for 60 [illegible] 40 [illegible]

242 [illegible] St.; Washington Boo[illegible] Seventh Av.; Room [illegible] Rockefeller Plaza or at Madison Square Garden tonight.

FEP[illegible]Y ANN[illegible]

Spea[illegible]rsday [illegible] Mo[illegible]r, Schwell[illegible]

Th[illegible] York Counci[illegible] Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee announced yesterday a rally in support of this legislation on Thursday, at 7:30 P. M., at Madison Square Garden. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, are co-chairmen of the council [illegible] offices at 242 East Fourt[illegible]eet.

Th[illegible] include Senator Way[illegible] Oregon, Senator Ro[illegible] Wagner, Louis B. Schwellen[illegible] Secretary of Labor; Ja[illegible]s B. [illegible]rey, secretary, Congress of Industrial Organizations; William Green, president, American Federation of Labor; Fiorello H. La Guardia, [illegible]zer, executive secre[illegible]tional Urban League; R[illegible]m F. Rosenbaum, and Roy [illegible] assistant secretary, Nat[illegible]l [illegible]ociation for the Advancem[illegible] of Colored People.

FIGHT [redacted] TRUMAN [redacted] FEPC PLEDGED

Schwellenbach at Rally in the Garden Says Roosevelt Policy Will Be Pursued

MORSE AND CHAVEZ SPEAK

Senators Unite in Calling on Voters to Defeat Candidates Opposed to Bill

President Truman intends to carry on the fight for the enactment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act as President Roosevelt did, Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach told 15,000 persons at a rally in Madison Square Garden last night.

"I come here tonight clothed with full authority to speak on behalf of President Truman," he declared. "I come with authority to tell you that he is just as determined as was his predecessor that this fair employment practices principle be enacted into law by the Congress of the United States. And he intends to carry on that fight just as did Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Mr. Schwellenbach's address and the President's message, was in keeping with the spirit of the meeting, which was that the fight for the FEPC bill, beaten recently by a filibuster in the Senate, had just begun, that it would eventually win, because it was right, decent and American.

The declaration was stressed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Republican Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Democratic Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, two principal Senatorial sponsors of the measure; by former Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, James B. Carey of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, who read a message from President William Green of that organization.

Schwellenbach's Views

Mr. Schwellenbach, expressing his sentiments, said:

"The struggle for this legislation will go on with constantly renewed effort. With the fine leadership and cooperation you have given, the cause will succeed. Inevitably this question is now influencing and will continue to influence the development of peace in our country and throughout the world. Our country and our way of life are on trial.

"The people of the world who yearn for the blessings we sum up in the word 'democracy' are watching us. They are hoping and praying that we shall not fail them. Democracy can not blossom unless those in charge of government know the importance of and recognize [redacted]ity for, equality and justice."

Senator Morse [redacted] Senator Chavez united in declaring that the voters should strike down at the polls this time those who opposed the FEPC bill, regardless of [redacted] they were Democrats or [redacted]

Senator Morse asserted that the fight was a political one, [redacted] on party lines. He t[redacted] filibuster and [redacted] a farce [redacted] although forty-nine [redacted] signed a cloture pe[redacted] were few who would join him in his suggestion that the Senate be kept in continuous session so that the filibuster could be broken.

Senator Chavez said a majority of the Democrats in the Senate were for the measure, even though the Democratic party platform did not go as far as the Republican platform in urging it. However, the majority of the Republicans failed to stand by their party's pledge, he declared.

Mrs. Roosevelt said that at the recent UNO sessions, representatives of fifty-one nations had pledged themselves to a program of equality without discrimination, and declared that we could not exercise the leadership in the world that is ours by right and obligation if we failed to eliminate discrimination at home.

Mr. La Guardia expressed agreement with Senator Morse that the way to beat the Senate filibuster was by continuous Senate sessions.

Message From Green

The message from President Green, of the AFL, as read by Mr. Woll, said:

"It is a reflection upon our Democratic processes and parliamentary procedure that a minority of the members of the Senate was able to bring about a temporary defeat of this measure. However, those who believe in the principles of freedom, liberty and democracy and who are uncompromisingly opposed to the practice of discrimination because of race, color or nationality will not remain passive or yield to indefensible minority opposition.

"Those who conducted the filibuster in the Senate in opposition to the FEPC bill actually served to strengthen the fixed determination of the friends of this legislation to fight on. A surrender to minority domination and control means compromising with injustice. That cannot be, must not be and will not be. Mere acquiescence in this procedure means the substitution of government by force on the part of the minority for government by law and majority rule."

Mr. Carey, for the CIO, declared that discrimination meant lower wages, and compared the General Motors strike with the battle for the FEPC, as struggles workingmen could not afford to lose.

Other speakers were George K. Hunton for the Catholic Inter[redacted] Council; Rabbi W[redacted]. Rosenblum, Roy Wilkin[redacted] The Crisis; Charles [redacted] Randolph and [redacted] Webster of the Broth[redacted] Sleeping Car Porters, and [redacted] Welles.

Truman Seen Determined on An F.E.P.C. Act

Schwellenbach Tells Rally Here Fight Will Go On and 'Cause Will Succeed'

President Truman and his administration are determined to carry on the fight to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor, said last night.

Mr. Schwellenbach assured an audience of thousands gathered in Madison Square Garden that: "The struggle for this legislation will go on with constancy renewed effort . . . the cause will succeed."

Characterizing the recent defeat of a bill to make the F. E. P. C. a national law as the loss of "a minor skirmish," Mr. Schwellenbach said, "You won a victory in the approval of the majority of the American people of the cause you so ably presented."

He continued: "I come here tonight clothed with full authority to speak on behalf of President Truman. I come with authority to tell you that he is just as determined as was his predecessor that this fair-employment practices principle be enacted into law by the Congress of the United States.

"There are very few people who wil deny that there is a moral obligation upon all of us, and particularly upon our government, to insure to all our people the inalienable right of every American to work, regardless of his race or color or creed or national origin," he said. "This right is basic . . . if this is denied, then the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness become meaningless."

"We in the Administration in Washington bear the responsibility of treating justly and giving equality of opportunity of employment to the minorities. . . . By doing this we preserve the principles of justice and equality for all Americans. Our way is plain. The path that we must take must be peaceful, generous and just. When we have traversed that path and achieved our objective, the world will forever applaud, and God must always bless."

The rally, sponsored by the New York Council for a Permanent F. E. P. C., drew a host of prominent speakers including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator Dennis Chavez, Democrat, of New Mexico; A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; former Mayor F. H. La Guardia, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, of New York; William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and James B. Carey, secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Also Roy Wilkins, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Lester Granger of the National Urban League; Senator Wayne C. Morse, Republican, of Oregon; the Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers; Rabbi William F. Rosenblum and George K. Hunton, secretary of the Catholic International Council.

Senator Chavez, who introduced the original F. E. P. C. bill in the Senate, where a filibuster caused its death, said that "the F. E. P. C. act is so fair, so humanitarian, so typically American, so thoroughly in keeping with our principles of democracy that—I submit—no American Congress can long deny its assent. . . . I can only say to you in the words of your late great Heywood Broun: 'When a good cause goes down to defeat in America the only question is, when do we fight again?'"

Rally Calls for March on Washington to Back FEPC

By TED POSTON

A new march on Washington by tens of thousands of Catholics, Negroes, Jews and trade unionists in support of Federal legislation for a permanent FEPC was in prospect today after enthusiastic indorsement of the proposal by 17,000 persons at an FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden.

The call for a nationwide "silent, non-violent demonstration down the highways to Washington," was made by A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, whose threat of a similar march in 1941 resulted in the creation of the present temporary anti-bias agency.

"Such a m[illegible] will help cleanse the soul of [illegible]," Randolph told the most [illegible] FEPC gathering ev[illegible] in this city.

Ratified Un[illegible]

"It will [illegible] dominated minorities ne[illegible] and faith in the strength, not of ma[illegible] power, but of the spirit."

The labor leader's second March-on-Washington call, unanimously ratified later in a resolution, climaxed a five-hour meeting which opened with Lucky Millinder's orchestra, reached ecstatic heights with a [illegible] sung by a 1,000-voice choir, and closed with a specially-written playlet condemning job discrimination and featuring Helen Hayes, Canada Lee and John Carradine.

In between, the audience heard Secretary Schwellenbach reaffirm President Truman's support of the legislation: "I come clothed with authority to tell you that he is just as determined as was his predecessor that this fair employment practices principle be enacted into law by Congress and that he intends to carry on the fight in the same way."

Ovation for Mrs. F. D. R.

It also cheered Sens. Morse (R-[illegible]) and Chavez (D-N. M.) when they denounced their own parties' behavior in the recent filibuster and urged the election of more liberal legislators and a change of the Senate rules.

The rally's greatest ovations went to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and ex-Mayor LaGuardia, both of whom stressed the part an FEPC must play in America's role in world leadership.

"If we are to assume a position of world leadership," Mrs. Roosevelt said, "then here at home we must see that all of us as citizens of this greatest democracy have equality of opportuni[illegible]"

James Carey, CIO [illegible] speaking for Philip Mur[illegible] "Americans generally are shocked by the reports of fraternization between our occupation troops in Germany and the Nazi frauleins, but right here the failure of our Congress to pass a permanent FEPC is evidence of a fraternization of American political leaders with the Nazi ideas of racism and discrimination so abhorrent to Americans."

No Date Set

Matthew Woll, reading from a speech prepared by AFL President Green, declared: "The fight must go on until victory has been won. The FEPC legislation must be recorded upon the books of our nation. Let all here rededicate themselves to the cause."

Randolph revealed [illegible] the National Council indor[illegible] idea of a march on Washington at a recent strategy me[illegible] capital. No date w[illegible] proposed demonstr[illegible] and it is not belie[illegible] will be taken until [illegible] tempt is made to for[illegible] to the Senate floor. A discharge petition for House consideration still lacks 50 signatures.

Other speakers [illegible]ded George K. Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Rabbi William J. Rosenblum, Assn. of Reform Rabbis; Roy Wilkins, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People; Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Milton [illegible]bster, International Brother[illegible] of Sleeping Car [illegible]ers; Magistrate Charles S[illegible]

ATOMIC DEFENSE TEST TO USE GERMAN V-2 BOMBS

Washington, Mar. 1 (AP)—The Army marshaled its top rocket and radar wizards today for a dress rehearsal defense against pilotless atomic missiles hurtling down from 90 miles above the earth.

The rocket men will send 3,000-mile-an-hour German V-2s into the stratosphere from the white sands proving ground in the New Mexico desert. The radar men will try to track them by every known means of electronic detection, including devices used recently to bounce beams off the moon.

If the radar technicians succeed, "danger of atomic bombardment of our great cities by long-range stratosphere rockets may be considerably lessened"—because radar-guided interceptor rockets can be designed to pick off the atomic missiles high in the heavens.

F[illegible] Fight [illegible]y Is Ass[illegible]

The present administration, with President Truman's support, intends to carry on the fight until a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Act is written into the nation's laws, Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach asserted last night.

Speaking at a rally of 15,000 in Madison Square Garden, Secretary Schwellenbach said he was "clothed with full authority to speak on behalf of President Truman."

He assured the rally that the fight had not been lost because of the recent Senate filibuster.

"You must realize that you did not lose the battle," he asserted. "You did not lose a war because the moral issues which make up this cause are never lost. They will always prevail."

The rally, sponsored by the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC, also heard a number of other prominent persons indorse the words of the Secretary of Labor, and applaud the spirit of the rally, which [illegible] that the fight for the FEPC h[illegible] begun.

Other speakers [illegible] Mrs. Ele[illegible]oosevelt; [illegible] Sen-ator [illegible]yne Morse [illegible]regon and Democratic Se[illegible]nnis Chavez of New Mexico, [illegible] principal sponsors of the measure; former Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia; James B. Carey of the CIO; Matthew Woll of the AFL who read a message from President William Green of that organization.

PM Daily

FIVE CENTS

(Copyright, 1946, by The Newspaper PM, Inc.)

VOL. VI — NO. 220

Friday, March 1, 1946

Clear and Warmer

COMPLETE EDITION

Murray vs. Lewis

CIO Head Sp[eaks] of's 'Unity', Sees A[ction] GOP

Page 4

Step on Fr[eedom]

Editoria[l] Over Oil

Page 2

[Ameri]can Fl[ags]

[Fail a]s Goals in Qu[arter] Rally.

[Page 8]

FE[PC] Fight No[w]

[Bea]ch Te[st]

[Con]t[inued]

[Page] 10-11

[Ar]mies Britain [Pl]ays As[sa]ps Fail to Leave

Page 6

Atom Control

Scientists Attack Army's Bid [f]or Policy of Secrecy

Page 3

GET ELSEWH[ere]

. . . . Members of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Ca[rs] carry their flags into Madison Square Garden last night. . . .

Byrnes [Meets] Names, But [Critic] Brit[ish], Soviet Polic[y]

PM TELLS YOU MORE NEWS IN LESS TIME

'FEPC Fight Isn't Lost,' Schwellenbach Tells Rally

. . . On t[illegible]atform are (left to right): Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, Matthew [illegible] AFL, and Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon.

Photos by Bernard Aumuller and Steven Derry, PM

President Truman is just [illegible] termined as President Roosevelt was that a Fair Employment Practices bill be made a law by Congress, Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach told 17,000 people at an FEPC mass rally in Madison Square Garden last night.

"I know how disappointed you and all your supporters must have been when you had to abandon temporarily the struggle in the Senate," Schwellenbach said. "But you must realize that you did not lose the battle. You were not permitted to have a decision, or you would have won. You did not lose a war because the moral issues which make up this cause are never lost. They will always prevail."

Comparing the FEPC setback with the dark days at Bataan, Schwellenbach called on Americans to "be firm in our determination to proceed with this righteous cause."

There is a moral obligation on the Government, he said, to insure all Americans the inalienable right to work, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin: "If this right is denied, then the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness becomes meaningless."

The Labor Secretary pledged that the struggle for FEPC legislation will go on "with constantly renewed effort."

Senator Wayne C. Morse, Oregon Republican, said that, as shown in FEPC's defeat, "minority rule runs legislation. It threatens the foundations of representative government. . . . The (*Truman*) ad[illegible]monstr[illegible] by acts, not w[illegible] stand up and [illegible] I want to see [illegible] of the [illegible]cratic side join the Republicans for an FEPC in an all-American fight."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt stressed that everyone in America should have equality of opportunity and a chance to work.

Former Mayor LaGuardia warned that "as long as any section or industry is able to discriminate in employment, they are able to depress wages." He said a Senate filibuster could be broken if the majority keeps enough men on the floor to vote down adjournment.

"Keep on voting against adjournment," he advised, "until the filibusterers drop in their tracks; then move the previous motion, and win your vote."

Other speakers were Senators Dennis Chavez (D., N. M.); Matthew Woll, AF[illegible] vice president, James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The rally was sponsored by the New York Council for a Fair Employment Practice Commission, which is composed of more than 30 civic, fraternal and trade union organizations, including the National Bar Assn., the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Central Trades and Labor Council AFL, the New York State CIO a[illegible] [illegible]ces, and the Anti-D[illegible]

At Rally A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, greets Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Fiorello LaGuardia.

PM's SUNDAY PICTURE NEWS

MAGAZINE SECTION MARCH 3, 1946 NEW YORK, N. Y. Copyright, 1946, by The Newspaper PM, Inc.

Hope for the FEPC Secretary Schwellenbach, drawn by Don Freeman in [illegible] Garden Thursday when he told 17,000 persons that the Senate set-back to FEPC was like a Bataan, but that the cause for which the bill stands would prevail.

NEW YORK

March 2, 1946

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Entered at the Postoffice of New York as Second-Class Mail Matter

EUROPEAN EDITION—21 Rue de Berri, Paris, France. Published daily except Monday. Single copy price—5 francs.

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Mr. Byrnes on the Defensive

...speech of Mr. Byrnes before the Over... Club has been praised in some ...s as a fighting answer both to Rus... pretensions and to Senator Vanden...'s implied criticisms of the conduct of ...American foreign relations. It was an answer, but it was a defensive answer, and it outlined a defensive policy for the United States. This was apparent even in the most meritorious aspect of the address, the fact that the Secretary of State discussed power relationships in the world with a frankness new in pronouncements by high officials of the America... ...ernment.

Americ... ...never wh... ...ally ...

...ol... ..., the wro... ...erialism ... ...threat ... ...ynamic power. ...he ... ...ernment is appar... ...prep... ...the problem of na... ...power ... ...and, to put it more ...bluntly, ...es, amorally.

...ts a serious deterioration in ... diplomatic situation—from ... standpoint ... destr... ...man and Japanese empires left the victorious powers with no overt enemies said, we think, that he is like... to be worth ... certain ...ghly ...en... ...plen... and ... ...to ... mi... ...e has ... in his ... ...if... ...style ... "... ...legation" and th... ...has ...hel... ... his ... ...eat ...rec... ...nis... ...trator in ... ...has not always been a public trust. Perhaps because of its pioneer past, this country has often liked "color" and a strain of pugnacity in its public men, and the same qualities which made "Honest Harold" good copy when he was a Cabinet officer will, we believe, make what he writes as a columnist good copy for his syndicated readers.

With a birthday March 15, Mr. Ickes will start his columnist days at the age of seventy-two. But years, as was proved by the incident which resulted in his Cabinet exit, have not withered his infinite variety of pungent sentences nor staled his ability to supply, on occasion, 2,000 fighting words. On his record, one wishes Mr. Ickes a career as a columnist lasting through more than one Navy Secretaryship.

Reviving the F. E. P. C.

President Truman has put new life into the issue of a Fair Employment Practices Commission. By sending word to a Madison Square Garden meeting that he is still "determined" upon enactment of the principle of economic fair play, Mr. Truman has challenged the leaders of both major parties in the House of Representatives. There, since last June and despite the President's previous public appeals, the F. E. P. C. has been held in the Rules Committee, and a petition to discharge the committee and obtain a vote upon the measure is now pending. Unless the committee relents the petition will be the next object of popular concern—a concern which, manifestly, has deepened since a vote was thwarted by filibuster in the Senate last month.

Some sixty signatures are needed to bring out the House bill it was stated in January, fifty Republicans and one hundred and five Democrats having signed at that time. In the Senate vote Republican members made good the pledge of the party's last convention: the test came on the complicating question of ending debate by the strict cloture rule, which was defeated by eight votes, the opponents including eight Republicans and twenty-eight Democrats. Since then both the advocates and opponents have become more explicit and ... the latter we find a Republican, ... Hawkes, of New Jersey, asserting ...e question is "much greater than a ...l party," since the bill, if enacted, ...rovide "another nail in the coffin ... ...rprise." With this we disagree. ... ...s no... ...blight... by ... ... a sim... ...York ... ...of th... ...moniou... ... ...cy wi... ... ...reducing di... ... by ... ...of educati... ... be ... ...e House, w... ...eported ... Repre... ...tin, of M... ...sent ...e advocates of the ... ...uld seek to persuade ... to petition ... bill ou... ...com...

New Republic

March 18, 1946 · Fifteen Cents

Churchill and the UNO

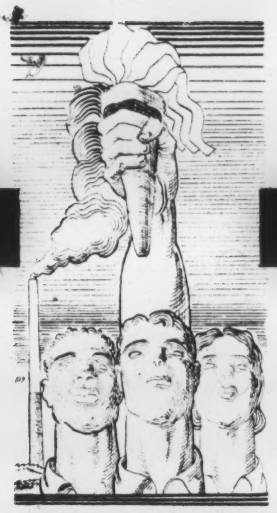
Editorial

Keep Atomic Energy Free! . . *Helen Gahagan Douglas*

A Strategy for Britain . . . . . *R. H. S. Crossman*

Sabotaging Chinese Unity . . . . . *Richard Watts Jr.*

Mass Meeting for FEPC . . . . . *Ralph G. Martin*



"The right to work is the right to live"

New York Council for a

PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

242 EAST 14th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • PHONE GRAMERCY 7-9146

February 19, 1946

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To the Managing Editor:

As you know, the New York Council for a permanent FEPC is planning a mass rally at Madison Square Garden on Thursday, February 28.

We would greatly appreciate it if your paper could run a box or publish an advertisement for us in your paper during the week preceeding the rally. We are enclosing a suggested advertisement.

If you do run such a box, would you be so kind as to send us a proof for our files?

Very sincerely,

Lenore Ferber

Lenore Ferber
per A. Phillip Randolph

PS You may reach me at Kandel-Sachs Associates, 9 East 46th Street, NYC, Plaza 8-0702.

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New York Council for a
Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission
Room 806
9 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Miss Lenore Ferber
PLAZA 8-0702

Suggested Advertisement for FEPC rally

R A L L Y

to the

F. E. P. C.

Fair Employment Practice Commission

Madison Square Garden

Eighth Avenue at 50th Street

Thursday, February 28th, 1946

7:30 PM — Door Open at 7:00 PM

PREVENT JOB DISCRIMINATION! THE RIGHT TO WORK IS THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

Speakers

Lewis Schwellenbach
Secretary Department of Labor

Senator Robert Wagner
Senator Wayne Morse

A. Phillip Randolph
International President, BSCP

James B. Carey
Secy, Congress of Industrial Organizations

William Green
President, American Federation of Labor

Rev. Allen Knight Chalmers
Pastor, Broadway Tabernacle

Fiorello H. La Guardia

Lester Granger
National Urban League

Rabbi William F. Rosenblum

Roy Wilkens
Editor, Crisis, N.A.A.C.P.

Stars of Stage, Screen and Radio

Helen Hayes

Canada Lee

Muriel Rahn

John Carridine

Katherine Dunham

Jane White

Freida Louise Andrews
Directress
1000 voice choir

and others

New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

I herewith enclose $___ __ __ for ___ seats at $_____
per seat for the Madison Square Garden Rally on February 28
at 7:30 PM (Seats are $.60, $1.20, $1.80, $2.40)

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

to labor and minority and liberal papers and magazines.

THE NEWS
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER
220 EAST FORTY SECOND STREET
NEW YORK

MURRAY HILL 2-1234

RICHARD CLARKE
MANAGING EDITOR

January 31, 1946

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman
Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission
242 East 14th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The News expects to give publicity to the forthcoming Madison Square Garden rally in connection with FEPC legislation.

It strikes me that anything in this connection published so far in advance can have little value in drawing public attention to the rally. I assume you will concentrate your efforts during the last week in February, when I should be glad to consider anything you have to offer.

Publication of the coupon, I fear, is out of the question owing to the strict space limitations which are imposed on us during the newsprint shortage.

Sincerely,

Richard Clarke

Richard Clarke

RG:D

New York Post

FOUNDED 1801

75 WEST STREET · NEW YORK · WHITEHALL 4-2000

T. O. THACKREY
EDITOR AND GENERAL MANAGER

January 22, 1946

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
New York Council for a PFEPC
242 East 14th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of January 18. We shall be very happy to run a box or coupon once a week, each week, prior to the mass meeting planned for February 28, in order to be of assistance in calling attention to the demonstration.

We shall doubtless as well find other methods of calling the attention of the public to this very worthwhile endeavor.

Sincerely,

T O Thackrey

TOT:rc

[redacted] Associates
[redacted] Street
[redacted]ork 17, N. Y.

[redacted] Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Lenore Ferber
Plaza 8-0702

FEPC Rally Air Spot Announcement

Thursday, February 28th, is the official FEPC Day for New York City by proclamation of Mayor O'Dwyer. Support FEPC! Attend the FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden.

Helen Hayes and Canada Lee will appear together for the first time, in a play which was specially written for the FEPC rally. Muriel Rahn, star of "Carmen Jones", John Caradine, stage and screen celebrity; Harry Hirshfield, humorist; Katherine Dunham, and many others will appear.

Remember - Thursday, February 28th is the day of the FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden.

Tickets are $.60; 1.20; 1.80; 2.40; and can be ordered from the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC at 242 East 14 Street, New York 17, or can be bought at the March-on-Washington Bookshop, 2084 Seventh Avenue or at Madison Square Garden the night of the rally or at Room 1533, 9 Rockefeller Plaza.

I repeat - tickets can be obtained for the exciting Madison Square Garden rally at FEPC, 242 East 14th Street, New York City.

##########

This and 8 other air spots where sent to the 11 local stations with a covering letter.

[redacted] Grant, "HEADLINE EDITIONS"
Station WJZ
N. Y. C.

From the New York Council for a
Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission
9 East 46 Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Lenore Ferber
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Feb. 28, 1946

CANADA LEE INTERVIEW

Announcer: Canada Lee is known from Maine to California and right down South into Jacksonville as one of the foremost American fighters for improved relations between the races. This is extra-curricula work for him, for he is an outstanding actor on the screen and on the stage.

Mr. Lee, now that the Senate has refused to consider FEPC, what do you think about the chances for its becoming a law?

LEE: They are good. Always remember..... the right to work is the right to live. To deny a man a job

(more)

because his color is not the same as yours, and his

another, is a vicious act. It is too vicious for America. We are a mixed people, a conglomeration of many races and nations. We are also a fair and square people..... it is our basic principle that all men are created equal. Can the obstructionists really stop the Fair Employment Practices Bill from becoming law? I don't believe they can. The right to work cannot be thwarted indefinitely by a minority of short-sighted Senators.

ANNOUNCER: Speaking of the filibuster, Mr. Lee, I understand you were in Washington when it was in action. Tell us about it?

LEE: It was a disgrace. I have seen many things in my life -- despicable, rotten actions. But never in my life have I been so angry as I was then.

ANNOUNCER: Getting back to my original question, Mr. Lee, do you think FEPC will pass this year?

(more)

The Right to Work
is the Right to Live
FEPC
you can help get a permanent
COMMITTEE FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES
come to Madison Square Garden
Thursday, February 28, at 8 p.m.
Entertainment . . . Prominent Speakers . . . Drama
Admission $.60, 1.20, 1.80, 2.40

IF YOU BELONG TO ONE OF THESE GROUPS

YOU ARE IN THE MINORITY

ENTS JOB DISCRIMINATION
race, religion, color or na-
gin, and guarantees jobs for
on the basis of skill.

OYERS REFUSED TO HIRE NEGROES,
, Catholics, and other Americans
foreign birth at the start of the war.
hen war production was endangered,
FEPC was created. The result? Every-
one worked together for Victory.

TODAY YOUR NEIGHBOR'S RIGHT TO WORK
—his right to live—is threatened. Be-
cause the war is over, once again mi-
nority Americans are the first to be
fired. *Tomorrow it may be you.* The
answer is a permanent FEPC.

THE BILBOS, THE GERALD L. K. SMITHS,
the Rankins and others of their ilk
want to set one group of Americans against another.
They preach prejudice, intolerance, bigotry. Their
hate and venom are directed against FEPC.

FEPC IS SUPPORTED BY ALL CHURCH GROUPS; BY BOTH
major political parties; and by AFL,
CIO, and independent labor unions, as
well as civic and fraternal organizations.
But Congress acts when the people speak. You can help get a permanent
FEPC.

Here is your job

- Bombard Congress with telegrams supporting FEPC (S 101, HR 2232). Get your friends and all the organizations to which you belong to do the same.

- Support your Local Council for a Permanent FEPC: volunteer your services, make a contribution.

- Come to the Madison Square Garden rally Thursday, February 28. Join with leaders from all sectors of American life in demanding passage of this bill. Stars of stage, screen, and radio will donate their talent. . . . Bring your friends to participate in this great demonstration of Americans united for fair employment practices.

permanent the Fair Employment Prac
Committee would carry out a fundame
American ideal. I am sure that the o
whelming mass of our citizens favor this
islation and want their Congressmen to
for it.—JANUARY 3, 1946.

ORARY CHAIRMEN
Eleanor Roosevelt
Lillian Smith

CO-CHAIRM
A. Philip Ran
Allan Knight Ch
Max Delson

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ns League of America
rs Defense League

with enclose $.....for.....seats at $.....
, for the Madison Square Garden rally on Febr
P.M. (Seats available at $.60, $1.20, $1.80, $2.40.)
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tion of $.....

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.....PHONE.....

New York Council for a
Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission
Room 806
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New York 17, New York

Miss Lenore Ferber
PLAZA 8-0702

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

We are sending you this biographical data on A. Philip Randolph whom you might interview or upon whom you might base a story in connection with FEPC. Mr. Randolph, who is the international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is the co-chairman of the National Committee for a Permanent FEPC and of the FEPC rally scheduled for Madison Square Garden on Thursday, February 28. We should be pleased to send you any additional information or arrange a personal interview.

A. Philip Randolph was born April 15, 1889, in Cresent City, Florida, the son of a minister of the African Methodist Church. As a boy he loved to read, but had to work in order to pay for his education. The family supplemented their income by running a small cleaning and dyeingshop in which all of them worked. Later young Randolph ran errands after school for a white grocer. After primary school he attended Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Florida. During that period he also worked as a sector hand on a railroad, digging, laying ties and performing other such manual tasks. Upon graduation from Cookman, he came to New York City where he studied at the City College of New York,

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specializing in political science, economics and philosophy.

In 1915 Randolph married a young Virginia school teacher, Lucille Greene, a Howard University graduate whom he met in New York City. Mrs. Randolph has worked with her husband in all his activities and was herself a member of the New York City Department of Welfare for nine years until she retired in 1941.

Despite Randolph's "book learning," he was forced to support himself by taking jobs as porter, waiter, and even ditchdigger. During one summer vacation he was a waiter on the Fall River Line and was fired for organizing the help in protest against the poor living conditions on board ship.

During the five years he was porter with the Consolidated Edison Company of New York City, he continued his studies, developing as a speaker, writer and organizer.

In 1917 Randolph and Chandler Owen launched the Messenger which he published until 1928, and in which Randolph stressed the importance of the economic approach to the solution of the Negro problem in America.

Despite supporting himself through manual labor, Randolph had developed up until 1925 as an intellectual leader. Then in that year he successfully organized the Negro pullman car workers who up until then had been thwarted four times before in their efforts to unionize. Randolph, not being an employee of the railroad and therefore not dependent on it for his living, was able to finally achieve the purpose. On August 25, 1935, under the amended Railway Labor Act, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was finally certified as the legal bargaining agent by the government.

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Mr. Randolph is international president of the Brotherhood, and the editor of the Black Worker, the official organ of the Brotherhood. He is the author of World Crisis and the Negro People Today and The Crisis of Negro Railroad Workers, and co-author of Terms of Peace and the Darker Races, The Truth About Lynching and Political Socialist.

Randolph was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from Howard University in 1942, and was awarded the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement for Negroes in 1941 and 1942. He is also the recipient of the Clendenin Award for 1944 in behalf of organized labor.

At one time Mr. Randolph was a lecturer on economics and history at the Rand School of Social Science. His latest outstanding achievement is the organization of the March-on-Washington Movement which was the direct cause of President Roosevelt's issuing the executive order which established the war-time FEPC to eliminate discrimination in defense industries on account of race, color, creed or national origin.

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New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Kandel-Sachs Associates
Miss Lenore Ferber
PLaza 8-0702

RELEASE DATE: Sunday, February 10, 1946

RANDOLPH AND CHALMERS PREDICT FINAL PASSAGE OF FEPC BILL

"We are not going to give up our fight for a permanent FEPC," A. Philip Randolph and Allan Knight Chalmers, co-chairmen of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and chairmen of the FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden on Thursday, February 28th, announced in a joint statement today.

"Despite the failure of the cloture petition, we know that the FEPC Bill will pass if it is introduced on the Senate floor and debated honestly.

"We are re-forming and tightening our lines in order to wage a more effective fight to secure the enactment of the bills for FEPC now in Congress.

"More than 100 national groups - churches, unions, civic bodies - have phoned us to tell us that they will mobilize their membership and get them to wire President Truman and their Senators demanding passage of the bill.

"The Southern Senators will attempt to keep it from being returned to the floor, but we will work to get it back and we will succeed.

"Following the example set by the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC, which will hold a protest rally at Madison Square Garden on February 28th, Chicago is scheduling a rally for February 13th, St. Paul and Minneapolis for February 13th and February 14th respectively."

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RELEASE DATE: Monday, February 11, 1946

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ENDORSES FEPC RALLY

One hundred and seventy-five ministers in the New York City area today endorsed the rally for a permanent FEPC to be held at Madison Square Garden, Thursday evening, February 28, under the auspices of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

Heading the list of ministers are Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council of Churches; Bishop Charles Gilbert; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick; Dr. Elmore T. McKee; Dr. Paul Scherer; and Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers who is rally co-chairman and co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC.

The church-goers and ministers endorsing FEPC will discuss the importance of FEPC during Brotherhood Week which began yesterday.

Church organizations officially sponsoring the rally include: Catholic Interracial Council; Interracial Commission, Brooklyn Church & Mission Federation; Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations; Interracial Fellowship; Greater N. Y. Christian Youth Council; Interchurch Welfare Cooperative Union; Baptist Educational Center of Brooklyn & Long Island; Interracial Truth Committee, Brooklyn Church & Mission Federation; Union Methodist Church; Flatbush Unitarian Church; Bethany Lutheran Church; Greenwood Heights Reformed Church; Brooklyn Council for Social Planning; Brooklyn Catholic Interracial Council.

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New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
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Phone: Kandel-Sachs Associates
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Plaza 8-0702

For release Thursday, February 14, 1946

Special to Editors and Publishers

The filibuster has kept the FEPC bill in committee and prevented it from reaching the Senate floor. This has been done by political logrolling and by the indifference of many Senators who themselves supported the bill. However, FEPC still has to come up in the House. And, it will continue to come up in the United States legislature until it is finally passed. For the principle of fair employment -- the democratic right to work, of equal opportunity for all -- is bigger even than a single Senate bill which may not have pleased all advocates of fair employment practices let alone those who oppose it because of regional prejudices. And it is on this principle of fair employment for all, that we believe the people of New York City are united.

The New York Council for a permanent FEPC, therefore, is asking the newspapers to continue their fine cooperation by keeping the issue before the public and emphasizing the importance of a large attendance at the FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden, Thursday evening, February 28th.

We know the people are with us and that we have only to mobilize them. We have not lost faith in the democratic process. We know that Congress acts when the people speak -- especially before a primary election period. But the hard and urgent task of stirring them is one for which we must largely depend on the newspapers for help through editorial columns, in news stories, and in features. Help us keep the principle of equal work opportunity for all, alive.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph,
Co-Chairman of the National Council for a permanent FEPC

# # #

New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
New York 3, New York

Phone: Kandel-Sachs Associates
Miss Lenore Ferber
Plaza 8-0702

For release Friday, February 15, 1946

Outstanding Talent to Appear at FEPC Rally at Madison Square Garden

Helen Hayes and Canada Lee will appear together for the first time in a play written for the FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden Thursday, February 28, 1946, under the auspices of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC. John Carradine, noted stage and screen actor, will appear as narrator in the play. The script was prepared by Murray Burnett, author of Casablanca and WOR writer in collaboration with Dick Forrest, radio script writer.

Muriel Rahn, leading lady of Carmen Jones; Harry Hershfield, radio and newspaper humorist; and Katherine Dunham are among the other performers on the program.

One of the largest choral groups in the world, the thousand-voice choir directed by Frieda Louise Andrews, will sing the hymn "I'm Bound for Higher Ground," for which words about FEPC have been written.

The rally will climax the observance of FEPC Day, officially proclaimed by Mayor O'Dwyer at the request of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

Tickets are $.60; 1.20; 1.80; 2.40; and can be ordered from the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC at 242 East 14 Street, New York 17; or can be bought at the March-on-Washington Bookshop, 2084 Seventh Avenue or at Madison Square Garden the night of the rally or at Room 1533, 9 Rockefeller Plaza.

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New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
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Plaza 8-0702

For release Friday, February 15, 1946

Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, who has just returned from Washington, will report on the future of FEPC in the House of Representatives, at a meeting to be held at 4 o'clock at Freedom House, 20 West 40 Street, New York, N. Y., Friday, February 15.

The meeting was called by the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

Speakers include: Mr. Roy Wilkens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Miss Mary Hillyer of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

Representatives of leading church, civic and trade union organizations will be present.

# # #

New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
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New York 17, New York

Miss Lenore Ferber
Plaza 8-0702

For release Monday, February 18, 1946

Truman Continues Fight for FEPC

President Harry S. Truman, in a letter to A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, describes legislation for fair employment practices as an integral part of the reconversion program.

The letter reads in part:

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I want to thank you for your heartwarming letter of January twenty-fourth. It is good to know that you feel I am with you and to know that you are with me....

I want you to know that I regard Fair Employment Practice legislation as an integral part of my reconversion program and shall continue my efforts to give the Congress a chance to vote on it.

Very sincerely yours,
Harry S. Truman

Mr. Randolph will speak at the FEPC rally along with Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach to be held at Madison Square Garden, Thursday evening, February 28th under the auspices of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

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New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
New York 3, New York

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New York 17, New York

Miss Lenore Ferber
Plaza 8-0702

For release Thursday, February 21, 1946

Thousand-Voice Choir at FEPC Rally

One of the largest choirs in the world, the 1000-voice choir directed by Frieda Louise Andrews, will sing at the FEPC mass rally at Madison Square Garden, Thursday, February 28th.

Mrs. Andrews, director of the choir, drew the choral group from 47 New York City church choirs. Members of the choir include Catholics, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists and other Protestant sects. Mrs. Andrews, who coaches many church and other choral groups, works in close co-ordination with ministers and other civic leaders who gave her their full co-operation when she decided to organize the mass choir. At the first meeting of the group, over four months ago, Mrs. Andrews was thrilled to find that over 1,000 people had turned out in answer to her call.

The singers, who met regularly at the Bethel Church, 60 West 132nd Street, New York City, come from all walks of life, and range from teachers to truck-drivers. Most of these people, work all day, and much of their free time is devoted to choir rehearsals.

Mrs. Andrews says, "The difficulty of working with such a large choral group is overcome through the co-operation of the people who are united by a common love and enthusiasm for singing the gospels andspirituals of their people."

The choir has written special words about FEPC for the hymn, "I'm bound

more

for higher ground", the song which will be sung for the first time at the Madison Square Garden, FEPC rally.

Tickets are $.60; 1.20; 1.80; 2.40; and can be ordered from the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC at 242 East 14 Street, New York 17, or can be bought at the March-on-Washington Bookshop, 2084 Seventh Avenue or at Madison Square Garden the night of the rally or at Room 1553, 9 Rockefeller Plaza.

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[redacted] Associates — IMMEDIATE RELEASE

for the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC

Senator Mead Pledges to Fight Filibuster

A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Madison Square Garden [redacted] permanent FEPC, which is being held on Thursday, February 26th [redacted] received Senator Mead's pledge of resistance to the Southern Democratic bloc. In response to a wire from Randolph asking that Mead [redacted] Democratic Senatorial support opposition to the filibuster, [redacted]

OUR LIBERAL DEMOCRATS ARE UNITED AGAINST THE FILIBUSTER AND ARE FOR A PERMANENT FEPC WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS

James Mead

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New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Miss Lenore Ferber
Plaza 8-0702

For release: Saturday, February 23rd.

Well-known educators, journalists, writers and other public figures have joined Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Miss Lillian Smith in sponsoring the rally at Madison Square Garden, Thursday, February 28th, under the auspices of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC.

The following is a partial list of sponsors:

Canon Theo. J. Alcantara, Roger N. Baldwin, Edward L. Bernays, Algernon D. Black, Bruce Bliven, S. J. Bloomingdale, Theodore C. Bobilin, Mrs. Sidney Borg, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John A. Byrnes, Chief Justice, Charlotte Carr, John A. Carter, Richard Childs, Norman Corwin, Chaplain John S. Daniel, Charles Davis, Dr. D. deSola Pool, Dr. John Dewey, Mary E. Dreier, Stephen Duggan, Ph. D., Dr. Irwin Edman, Dr. Albert Einstein, Henry Epstein, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Roma Gans, Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Lester Granger, Samuel L. Greenberg, Mrs. Alfred F. Hess, I. A. Hirschmann, Miss Libby Holman, Frank S. Hogan, John Haynes Holmes, George Houck, Bishop J. K. Humphrey, Sol Hurok, Fannie Hurst, Marion C. Ingersoll, Stanley N. Isaacs, Alvin Johnson, Rufus M. Jones, Freda Kirchwey, Oswald Knauth, F. H. LaGuardia, Florina Lasker, John Howland Lathrop, Lewis E. Lawes, Herbert H. Lehman, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Rev. Elmore M. McKee, David Mannes, Rev. William H. Melish, David Nemerov, Henry Neumann, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Mrs. William Paley, Jacob Pankin, Justine Wise Polier, Evelyn Preston, John A. Ritchie, Helen Sahler, H. Schaeffer, Harry Scherman, Jacob R. Schiff, Rose Schneiderman,

more

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New York Council for a Permanent FEPC
242 East 14th Street
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Miss Lenore Ferber
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For release: Monday, February 25.

ORGANIZED LABOR ENDORSES FEPC RALLY

Philip Murray and William Green, presidents of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and of the American Federation of Labor respectively, have endorsed the rally for a permanent FEPC which will be held under the auspices of the New York Council for a Permanent FEPC at Madison Square Garden, Thursday evening, February 28th.

Mr. Green will appear at the rally. Mr. Murray who is unable to be in New York on that date wrote to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC: "We have just finished a war to stamp out racial discrimination in Hitler Germany and do not intend to idly stand by and have it remain in our own country."

Mr. Randolph who is the international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL said: "The principle of fair employment practices is one upon which all organized labor groups are united." Mr. Randolph will also speak at the mass meeting along with Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach and Senators Wayne Morse and Robert Wagner.

James C. Quinn, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, in endorsing the FEPC rally to be held at Madison Square Garden, stated: "The 1944 Convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record as supporting the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, of which President William Green is a member. The American Federation of Labor through its legislative representative, in supporting the bills in Congress for a permanent FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION. We, in New York, must also unite

more

to give moral and financial support in urging the passage of the FEPC (S.101, HR 2232)."

The FEPC rally at Madison Square Garden is endorsed by the following CIO, AFL, and independent labor organizations and their leaders: Central Trades and Labor Council of the New York AFL, James Quinn - secretary and William Collins - regional director; New Jersey State CIO Council, Carl Holderman, Director; New York State CIO Council, Louis Hollander, President, Harold Garno, Secretary Treasurer; New York CIO Regional Office, Peter Mosel, Director; New Jersey CIO Regional Office, Ewald Sandner, Director; International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, David Dubinsky, international president; New York Joint Board Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, Milton Rosenberg, Manager; United Retail Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America, CIO, Samuel Wolchok, national president; American Newspaper Guild, Samuel Eubanks, vice-president; New Jersey Joint Board Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, Sol Steten, regional director; American Guild of Variety Artists, AFL; Cafeteria Workers, AFL, Local 302 - David Sullivan; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL - A. Philip Randolph, international president; United Auto Workers - George Cranmore and Charles Kerrigan, regional directors and R. J. Thomas, national president; United Rubber Workers of America, CIO - O. H. Bosley, regional director; Laundry Workers Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, Roy Sodern; Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, AFL - Max Zaritsky.

The Jewish Labor Committee and the Workers Defense League are among the independent labor groups sponsoring the rally.

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For the New York Committee
Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission

Kandel-Sachs Associates
9 East 46 Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Lenore Ferber
Pl-8-0702

For release: Wednesday February 27

Special to Radio Editors

Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach will address the Madison Square Garden rally for a permanent F.E.P.C. on Thursday, February 28.

The Secretary's speech will be broadcast from the rally over Station WMCA from 8:45 - 9:00 P.M.

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[illegible] the New York Council for a
[illegible]ermanent Fair Employment Practice Commission
242 East 14 Street
New York, N. Y.

From Kandel-Sachs Associates
9 East 46 Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Lenore Ferber
PI-8-0702

WHAT Rally for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission

WHEN Thursday, February 28, at 8 P.M.

WHERE Madison Square Garden

WHO Speakers: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Fiorello H. La Guardia, Senator Robert Wagner, Dennis Chave
Senator Wayne Morse, A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; James B. Carey, Secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle; Lester Granger of the National Urban League; Rabbi William F. Rosenblum, and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Editor of Crisis.

Entertainers: Helen Hayes, Orson Welles, Canada Lee, Muriel Rahn, John Carridine, Katherine Dunham, Jane White, Frieda Louise Andrews and her 1,000-voice choir, Lucky Millinder and his band and others.

Honorary Chairmen: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lillian Smith
Chairman of the Rally is Max Delson, prominent labor attorney.

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Reporters and photographers welcome